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12.

# Cabala, Mysteries of State,

IN  
LETTERS of the great MINISTERS  
of K. *James* and K. *Charles*.

WHEREIN  
Much of the publique Manage of Affaires  
is related.

---

*Faithfully Collected by a Noble Hand.*

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LONDON,  
Printed for *M. M. G. Bedell*, and *T. Collins*, and are to be sold at  
their Shop at the Middle-Temple Gate in *Fleetstreet*,

1654.

Capital

Matters of State

LETTERS OF THE MINISTERS

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE



LONDON

Printed for M. M. O. B. and T. C. and for the  
their shop at the Middle Temple Lane in London

1834



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*Read the Letters according to the Order of this Table.*

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Earl

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## The Preface to the Reader.



*Ere* is published a Piece, not to be matched in Antiquity; a Collection, not so much of Letters, as of the mysteries of Government, the wisdom, and manage of Publick businesses in the late Reigns, where the great Ministers of State are presented naked, their Consultations, Designs, Policies, the things done by them, are exposed to every mans eye, as they were brought forth by themselves. The most famous of all Modern Historians glories in the helps and advantages he had above all men else to write;

## The Preface.

*Sirada.* He came (so he tells us) prepared and furnished from the Cabinets of Princes, he had<sup>d</sup> seriously perused, and sifted their Letters and Orders; the Letters of the Illustrious Persons employed by them, the private Commands, Dispatches, and Instructions of Embassies; Debates, and Resolutions of Councils, without which all History must be lame and imperfect.

This was the way to make the causes of actions as visible as their effects, and without which all Diligence and Faithfulness else will do little. Much of the History of the last years of King James, and beginnings of King Charles may be here read. Here the height of the mighty Favourite the Duke of Buckingham may be taken; The Arts and Subtleties of Spain, of the Conde Gondomar, and the English-Spanish Party are discovered; the Journey into Spain, breach of the Spanish, overtures for the French Match, for the renning Leagues with the enemies of the Spanish



## The Preface.

*Spanish Pride and Universality; the carriage of the Imperialists, French, Netherlanders, and other Concurrents of those Reigns, are exactly Related : with the Practises of our home-Roman Catholicks, and growth of those who were here called Puritans then; the Secrets of the Court and State; without any false glosse to writhe, or streighten, to deprave or extenuate, with more truth and sincerity, then all the Annals can show; where Passion and Interest sway oftentimes too much, and the cleanest hand makes blots and stains, carried away with Love or Hatred, to the side or man. Here are no snares set to catch or inveagle any mans judgment, all things are left clearly to their own worth and Reputation.*

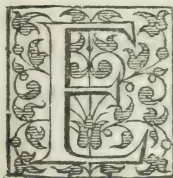
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*E. of Sommerfet to K. JAMES.*

**B**Y this Gentleman your Majesties Lieutenant, I understand of some halt you made, and the Cause of it, at such time as he offered to your Majestie my Letters. But soon after, your Majestie could resolve your self and behold me nothing so diffident of you, but in humble language petitioning your favour; for I am in hope, that my condition is not capable of so much more misery, as that I need to make my self a passage to you by such way of intercession. This which followes after, I offer your Majestie, though not as to your self, for upon lesse motive you can find favour for me: Now I need onely move, not plead, before your Majestie, as my Case doth stand, for what I seek to have done, followes upon what you have already done, as a Consequence and succeeding growth of your own act. But to the effect, that your Majestie may see that there is enough to answer those (if any such there be) as do go about to pervert the exercise of your Power, and to turn it from its own clear excellency, for to minister unto their passions: I have presumed to this end to awake your Majesties own Concept upon this subject, which can gather to it self better, and more able defences in my behalf upon this view; for though the acts of your mercy which are not communicable, nor the Causes of them with others, as derived from those secret motives, which are only sensible and privie to your own heart, and admit of no search or discovery to any general satisfaction, and that under this protection I might guard my particular sufficiently; yet my Case needs not hide it self, but attend the dispute with any,

B

that

that would put upon it a monſtrous and heavy ſhape. For though that I muſt acknowledge, that both life and eſtate are forfeit to you by Law, yet ſo forfeited, as the ſame Law gives you the ſame power to preſerve, as it doth to puniſh, whereby your Maſteſties higher prerogative doth not wreſtle with it, nor do you infringe thoſe grounds by which you have ever governed; ſo as the reſiſtance is not great that your Maſteſtie hath, for to give life, and which is leſſe, in the gift of eſtate, for that the Law caſts wholly upon your ſelf, and yields it as fit matter for the exerciſe of your goodneſſe. Once it was your Maſteſties gift to me, ſo it may be better not taken then a ſecond time given; for it is common to all men for to avoid to take that which hath been once their own. And I may ſay farther, that Law hath not been ſo ſevere upon the ruine of innocent poſterity, nor yet Cancelled, nor cut off the merits of Anceſtors, before the politique hand of State had contrived it into thoſe ſeveral forms, as ſitted to their ends and government. To this I may adde, that that whereupon I was judged, even the Crime it ſelf might have been none, if your Maſteſties hand had not once touched upon it, by which all acceſſe unto your favour was quite taken from me. Yet as it did at length appear, I fell, rather for want of well defending, then by the violence or force of any proofes: for I ſo far forſook my ſelf, and my Cauſe, as that it may be a queſtion whether I was more Condemned for that, or for the matter it ſelf which was the ſubject of that dayes Controverſie. Then thus far nothing hath appeared, wherein your Maſteſtie hath extended for me your power beyond the reaſonable bound, neither doth any thing ſtand ſo in the way of your future proceedings, but rather make eaſie the acceſſe of your Maſteſties favour to my relief.

What may then be the cauſe, that Malice can pitch upon, wherefore your Maſteſtie ſhould not proceed for to accompliſh your own work? Aſperſions are taken away by your Maſteſties letting me become ſubject to the utmoſt power of Law, with the lives of ſo many of the offendours, which yieldeth the world ſubject of ſorrow rather then appetite to more bloud, but truth and innocency protect themſelves in poor men, much more in Kings. Neither ever was there ſuch aſperſion (God knowes) in any poſſibility towards your Maſteſtie, but amongſt thoſe who would create thoſe pretences to miſlead your Maſteſtie, and thereby make me miſerable. If not this (whereof the virtue, and uſe, was in the former time and now determined) there is not any but your pleaſure. It is true, I am forfeited to your Maſteſtie, but not againſt you by any reaſonable or unfaith-  
ful



ful act. Beſides, there is to be yielded a diſtinction of men as in faults; in which I am of both under the neereſt degrees of exception; yet your Maſteſtie hath pardoned life and eſtate to Traytors, and to ſtrangers, ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other; Nay to ſome concerned in this buſineſſe wherein I ſuffer, you have pardoned more unto, then I deſire; who as (it is reported) if they had come to the teſt, had proved Copper, and ſhould have drunk of the bitter Cup as well as others. But I do not by this envy your favours to any perſon, nor ſeek I to draw them in the yoke with my ſelf, but applaud your Maſteſties goodneſſe, being in that reſpect in a neerer poſſibility to come at me. Beſides this, to *Elviſh* your Maſteſtie hath given eſtate, which is a greater gift then life, becauſe it extends to poſterity, who was the worſt deſerver in this buſineſſe; an unoffended inſtrument might have prevented all after-miſchief, who for his own ends ſuffered it, and by the like arts afterwards bewrayed it. To this I may adde *Treſham* in the Powder Treason, upon whoſe ſucceſſours I do not caſt any of his infamy, yet he preſerved himſelf to poſterity, ſo as what he, or others ſuch as he, have defrauded by the arts of Law, and whom their own unfaithfulneſſe made ſafe, I have much adoe to hold by ingenuity, and Confidence. How may it be that becauſe I diſtrusted not your Maſteſtie, or becauſe it returned in your power from whom I had it, it is in danger to be broken or diſmembred. Let me hope that there is nothing which by favour may be excuſed, or by induſtry might have been avoided, that will fail me, where your Maſteſtie is to determine. It is not I who thus put your Maſteſtie in mind importunely: It is he that was your Creature, it is *Sommerſet*, with all your honours, and envious greatneſſe, that is now in queſtion. Kings themſelves are protected from the breach of Law by being Favorites and Gods anointed, which gives your Maſteſtie the like priviledge over yours; As I took from Dr. *Dunne* in his Sermon, that the goodneſſe of God is not ſo much acknowledged by us in being our Creator, as in being our Redeemer; nor in that he hath choſen us, as that nothing can take us out of his hands, which in your Maſteſties remembrance let me challenge, and hope for: For the firſt acceſſes of favour, they may be aſcribed to ones own pleaſing themſelves, but that appears to be for our ſakes and for our good, when the ſame forſakes not our civil deſerts. This redemption I crave, not as to my own perſon, but with your benefits once given; nor do I aſſume them very deep, for I have voluntarily departed from the hopes of penſion, place, office; I only cleave to that which is ſo little, as that it will ſuffer no pairing, or diminution.

m.  
Sir W. Elviſh.

Sir Lewis  
Treſham.

Dr. Dunne.

And as in my former Letters, ſo by this I humbly crave of your Maſtie not to let the praſtiſes of Court work upon your Son the Prince, not fearing your ſufferance of my loſſe in that particular ſo much, ( for I cannot loſe it, but willingly all with it ) as for to take off the Stage, that which in the attempt may prove inconvenient. And conſider I pray your Maſtie, that my hope in deſiring to paſſe theſe bad times, was to be reſtored to my fortunes ; others are made unhappy by me, if otherwiſe, and then I loſe my end. I ſpeak of impairing, of changing, or ſupplying, as of any other way, all ſuch alterations, and ruine, are alike, without I be worthy of your gift, and that I can be worthy of all, that Law can permit you to give, or caſt upon your Maſtie by a more neerer title, as it doth by this ; I ſhall account them equal evils, that leave nothing, or a patched and proportioned one, changed or tranſlated from one thing to another.

But if your Maſtie have any reſpects to move you to ſuſpend your good towards me ; let that which is mine reſt in your own hands, till that you find all oppoſite humours conformed to your purpoſe. I have done wrong to my ſelf, thus to entertain ſuch a doubt of your Maſty ; but the unrelenting of adverſaries, which when you will have them, will ſooner alter ; and that all this while I have received nothing of preſent notice for direction, or to comfort me, from your Maſty, hath made me to expoſtulate with my ſelf thus hardly. For God is my judge Sir, I can never be worthy to be ; if I have theſe marks put upon me of a Traytor, as that tumbling and diſordering of that eſtate would declare the divorce from your preſence, laies too much upon me, and this would upon both.

I will ſay no farther, neither in that which your Maſty doubted my aptneſſe to fall into, for my Cauſe, nor my Confidence is not in that diſtreſſe as for to uſe that mean of interceſſion, nor of any thing beſides, but to remember your Maſtie, that I am the Workmanſhip of your hands, and bear your ſtamp deeply imprinted in all the characters of favour ; that I was the firſt plant ingrafted by your Maſties hand in this place, therefore not to be unrooted by the ſame hand, leſt it ſhould taint all the ſame kind, with the touch of that fatalneſſe ; And that I was even the Son of a Father, whoſe ſervices are regiſtred in the firſt honours and impreſſions I took of your Maſties favour, and laid there as a foundation ſtone of that building ; Theſe and your Maſties goodneſſe for to receive

receive them, is that I rely upon: So praying for your Majesties prosperity, I am in all humbleness

*Your Majesties loyal servant, and  
Creature,*

R. Sommerfett.

---

*The Lo. Chancellor Bacon to the Lords.*

*If it may please your Lordships,*

I shall humbly crave at your Lordships hands a benigne interpretation of that which I shall now write; for words that come from wasted spirits, and an oppressed mind, are more safe in being deposited in a noble Construction, then in being Circled with any reserved Caution. Having made this as a protection to all, which I shall say, I will go on, but with a very strange entrance (as may seem to your Lordships at the first) for in the midst of a state of as great affliction, as I think a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life) I shall begin with the professing gladnesse in some things.

The first is, that hereafter the greatnesse of a Judge or Magistrates, shall be no Sanctuary, or protection to him against guiltinesse, which in few words is the beginning of a golden world.

The next, that after this example, it is like that Judges will flie from any thing in the likenesse of Corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a Serpent, which tendeth to the purging of the Courts of Justice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour. And in these two points God is my witness (though it be my fortune to be the anvil upon which these good effects are beaten and wrought) I take no small comfort. But to passe from the motions of my heart, whereof God is onely Judge, to the merits of my Cause, whereof your Lordships are onely Judges, under God, and his Lievtenant; I do understand, there hath been expected from me heretofore some justification, and therefore I have chosen one onely justification instead of all others, out of the justification of *Job*, for after the clear submission and Confession, which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope I may say, and justifie with *Job* in these words, *I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosome.* This is the only justification I will use. It resteth there-  
fore



fore that without fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confesse and acknowledge, that having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the house, but enough to inform my Conscience and memory, I find matter both sufficient and full, to move me to desert the defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your Lordships by singling out particulars, which I think may fall off. *Quid te exempta juvat spinis de millibus una?* Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the proofes, where they come not home, or the scruples touching the Credit of the Witnesses: Neither will I present unto your Lordships, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time, or manner of the gift, or the like circumstances, but onely leave these things to spring out of your own noble thoughts, and observations of the evidence, and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God shall put in your minds, and so submit my self wholly to your piety and grace.

And now that I have spoken to your Lordships, as Judges, I shall say a few words unto you. as Peers, and Prelates, humbly commending my Cause to your noble Minds, and magnanimous affections.

Your Lordships are not onely Judges, but Parliamentary Judges, you have a farther extent of arbitrary power, then other Courts: and if you be not tied to the ordinary course of Courts, or presidents, in point of strictnesse and severity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation. And yet if any thing I should move might be contrary to your honourable and worthy ends to introduce a reformation, I should not seek it. But herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to tell you a story. *Titus Manlius* took his sons life for giving battail against the prohibition of his General. Not many years after the like severity was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the Dictator against *Quintus Maximus*, who being upon the point to be sentenced, was by the intercession of some principal persons of the Senate spared; whereupon *Livie* maketh this grave and gracious observation, *Neque minus firmata est disciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi, quam mirabili supplicio Titi Manlii*. The discipline of War was no lesse established by the questioning onely of *Quintus Maximus*, then by the punishment of *Titus Manlius*. And the same reason is of the reformation of Justice; for the questioning of men of eminent place hath the same terrour, though not the same rigour with the punishment. But my Case stayeth not there, for my humble desire is, that his Majestie would take the Seal into his hands, which

which is a great downfal, and may serve I hope in it self for an expiation of my faults.

Therefore if mercy and mitigation be in your Lordships power, and do no wayes crosse your ends, why should I not hope of your favours and Commiserations? Your Lordships may be pleased to behold your chief Pattern the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable Clemencie, and whose heart is instructable for wisdom and goodnesse. You well remember, that there sate not these hundred years before in your House a Prince (and never such a Prince) whose presence deserveth to be made memorable by records, and acts, mixt of mercy and justice. Your selves are either Nobles (and Compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble blood,) or Reverend Prelates, who are the servants of him, that would *not break the bruised reed, nor quench smoking flaxe.*

You all sit upon a high Stage, and therefore cannot but be more sensible of the changes of humane Condition, and of the fall of *any* from high places. Neither will your Lordships forget that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*, and that the beginning of reformation, hath a contrary power to the pool of *Bethesda*; for that had strength onely to cure him, that was first cast in, and this hath strength to hurt him onely, that is first Cast in; and for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

Lastly, I assure my self, your Lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body; and one, that in this very Session, had some taste of your loving affection, which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace which now in the Conclusion will more appear. And therefore my humble suit to your Lordships is, that my voluntary Confession be my sentence, and the losse of the Seal my punishment, and that your Lordships will spare any farther sentence, but recommend me to his Majesties grace and pardon for all that is past. And so, &c.

Your Lordships, &c.

Francis St. Alban Cam.

Five Letters more of my Lord *Bacons*.*Bacon to the King, July 31. 1617.*

Lord Kee-  
per *Bacon*  
to his Ma-  
jestic.

I Dare not presume any more to reply upon your Majestie, but reserve my Defence till I attend your Majestie at your happy return, when I hope verily to approve my self not onely a true servant to your Majestie, but a true friend to my Lord of *Buckingham*, and for the times also I hope to give your Majestie a good account, though distance of place may obscure them. But there is one part of your Majesties Letter, that I could be sorry to take time to answer; which is that your Majestie conceives, that whereas I wrote, That the height of my Lords Fortune might make him secure; I mean that he was turned proud, or unknowing of himself. Surely the opinion I have ever had of my Lord (whereof your Majestie is best witnesse) is far from that: But my meaning was plain and simple; that his Lordship might through his great fortune, be the lesse apt to Cast, and foresee, the unfaithfulnesse of friends, and the malignity of enemies, and accidents of times. Which is a judgment (your Majestie knoweth better then I) that the best Authors make of the best, and best tempered spirits, *Ut sunt res humana*; Infomuch as *Guicciardine* maketh the same judgment (not of a particular person) but of the wisest state of *Europe*, the Senate of *Venice*, when he sayeth their prosperity had made them secure, and under-weighers of perils. Therefore I beseech your Majesty, to deliver me, in this, from any the least imputation to my dear and Noble Lord and friend. And so expecting, that that Sun, which when it went from us, left us cold weather, and now it is returned towards us, hath brought with it a blessed harvest, will when it cometh to us dispel and disperse all mists, and mistakings.

I am, &amp;c.

*Lord*



# Lord Chancellour to his Majestie,

2. Jan. 1618.

*It may please your most excellent Majestie,*

**I** Do many times with gladnesse, and for a remedy of my other labours, revolve in my mind the great happinesse which God (of his singular goodnesse) hath accumulated upon your Majesty every way, and how Compleat the same would be, if the state of your meanes were once rectified, and well ordered, your people militarie, and obedient, fit for war, used to peace, your Church illightened with good Preachers, as an heaven of Stars, your Judges learned, and learning from you, just, and just by your example, your Nobility in a right distance between Crown and People, no oppressors of the people, no overshadowers of the Crown, your Councel full of tributes of Care, faith, and freedom, your Gentlemen, and Justices of Peace, willing to apply your Royal Mandates to the nature of their severall Counties, but ready to obey, your servants in awe of your wisdom, in hope of your goodnesse; The fields growing every day by the improvement and recovery of grounds, from the desert, to the garden; The City grown from wood to brick, your Sea-walls or *Pomerium* of your Island surveyed, and in edifying; your Merchants imbracing the whole compasse of the World, East, West, North, and South; The times give you Peace, and yet offer you opportunities of action abroad: And lastly, your excellent Royal Issue entayleth these blessings and favours of God, to descend to all posterity. It resteth therefore, that God having done so great things for your Majestie, and you for others; You would do so much for your self as to go through (according to your good beginnings) with the rectifying and settling of your estate and means, which onely is wanting. *Hoc rebus desuit unum.* I therefore whom onely love, and duty to your Majestie, and your royal line, hath made a *Financier*, do intend to present unto your Majestie a perfect book of your estate, like a perspective glasse to draw your estate neer to your sight; beseeching your Majestie to conceive, that if I have not attained to do that, that I would do in this which is not proper for me, nor in my element, I shall make your Majestie amends in some other thing in which I am better bred.

*God ever preserve, &c.*

C

The

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*The Lord Chancellour to the Marquesse of Buckingham,*  
25. March, 1620.

*My very good Lord,*

**Y**esterday I know was no day ; Now I hope I shall hear from your Lordship, who are my anchor in these floods. Mean while to ease my heart, I have written to his Majestie the inclosed, which I pray your Lordship to read advisedly, and to deliver it, or not to deliver it, as you think Good. God ever prosper your Lordship.

*Yours ever What I am*

*Fr. St. Alban. Canc.*

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*The Lord Chancellour to the King. March 25. 1620.*

*It may please your most excellent Majestie,*

**T**ime hath been, when I have brought unto you *Gemitum Columba* from others, now I bring it from my self. I flie unto your Majestie with the wings of a Dove, which once within these seven daies, I thought would have carried me a higher flight. When I enter into my self, I find not the materials of such a tempest as is come upon me. I have been, as your Majestie knoweth best ( never authour of any immoderate Counsell, but alwaies desired to have things carried *suavibus modis*. I have been no avaritious oppressor of the people. I have been no haughty, or intolerable, or hateful man in my conversation, or carriage. I have inherited no hatred from my father, but am a good Patriot born. Whence should this be ? for these are the things that use to raise dislikes abroad.

For the house of Commons, I began my Credit there, and now it must be the place of the Sepulture thereof. And yet this Parliament upon the Message touching Religion, the old love revived, and they said I was the same man still, onely honesty was turned into honour.

For the Upper House, even within these daies, before these troubles, they seemed as to take me into their arms, finding in me ingenuity,

nity, which they took to be the true streight line of noblenesse without Crooks or angles.

And for the briberies and guifts wherewith I am charged; when the books of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert Justice, howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the Times.

And therefore I am resolved, when I come to my answer, not to trick my innocency (as I writ to the Lords) by Cavillations, or voidances, but to speak to them the language, that my heart speaketh to me, in excusing, extenuating, or ingenuous confessing; praying God to give me the grace to see to the bottom of my faults, and that no hardnesse of heart do steal upon me, under shew of more neatnesse of Conscience, then is Cause.

But not to trouble your Majestie any longer, craving pardon for this long mourning Letter; that which I thirst after, as the Hart after the streams, is, that I may know by my matchlesse friend that presenteth to you this letter, your Majesties heart (which is an *abyssus* of goodnesse, as I am an *abyssus* of mercy) towards me. I have been ever your man, and counted my self but as an usufructuary of my self, the property being yours. And now making my self an oblation to do with me as may best conduce to the honour of your Justice, the honour of your Mercy, and the use of your Service, resting

as

Clay in your Majesties gracious hands,

*Fr. St. Alban. Canc.*

### Magdibeg to his Majestie.

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

**I** Make bold after a long silence, to prostrate my self before your Majestie, and being the Ambassadour of a great King, that counteth it an honour to stile himself your friend, I do beseech you to afford me that justice, which I am sure you will not refuse to the meanest of your Subjects.

At my first arrival into this your happy Kingdome, I was informed by the general relation of all that had recourse unto me, that one here (who had the title of Ambassadour from my Master) did

vainly brag that he had married the King of *Persia's* Neece, which kindled in me such a vehement desire to vindicate my Masters honor, from so unworthy and false a report, that at my first interview with him, my hand being guided by my dutie, I endeavoured to fasten upon him a Condigne disgrace to such an imposture. But the caution that I ought to have of my own justification, when I return home, biddeth me the more strictly to examine the truth of that which was told me (whereon my action with *Sir Robert Shirley* was grounded) and to have it averred in the particulars, as well as by a general voice. Therefore I humbly beseech your Majestie, that out of your Princely goodnesse you will be pleased to give such order, that this point may be fully cleared. Wherein for the manner of proceeding, I wholly and humbly remit my self to your Majestie: And this being done, I shall return home with some measure of joy to ballance the grief which I have, for having done ought, that may have clouded your Majesties favour to me. And so committing your Majestie to the protection of the greatest God, whose shadowes, and elect instruments, Kings are on earth, I humbly take my leave, and rest, &c.

*The Copy of a Letter written by his Majestie to the Lord Keeper, the Bishops of London, Wynton, Rochester, St. Davids, and Excester, Sir Henry Hubbert, Mr. Justice Dodderidge, Sir Henry Martin, and Dr. Steward, or any six of them, whereof the Lord Keeper, the Bishops of London, Wynton, and St. Davids to be four.*

IT is not unknown unto you, what happened the last Summer to our trusty and welbeloved Councillour, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who shooting at a Deer with a Crossebowe in *Bramzil* Park, did with that shoot, casually give the Keeper a wound, whereof he dyed. Which accident (though it might have happened to any other man) yet because his eminent rank and function in the Church hath (as we are informed) ministred occasion of some doubt, as making the Cause different in his person, in respect of the scandal (as is supposed,) we being desirous (as it is fit we should) to be satisfied therein, and reposing especial trust in your learnings, and judgments, have made choice of you to inform Us concerning the nature of this Cause, and do therefore require you to take presently into your Considerations, the Scandal that may arise thereupon, and to certifie Us what



what in your Judgements the same may amount unto, either to an irregularity, or otherwise. And lastly, what means may be found for the redresse thereof (if need be) of all which points, we shall expect to have your Reports, with what diligence and expedition you may. Dated at *Theobalds*, Octob. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1621.

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*The Archbishop of York to King James.*

*May it please your Majestie,*

I Have been too long silent, and am afraid that by silence, I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majestie to place me in. But now I humbly beseech, that I may discharge my Conscience towards God, and my dutie towards your Majestie. And therefore I beseech you Sir, to give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let it please your Majestie to do with me as you please.

Your Majestie hath propounded a Toleration of Religion, I beseech you to take into your Consideration, what your Act is, and what the Consequence may be. By your act, you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon*. How hateful will it be to God, and grievous to your Subjects (the true professors of the Gospel) that your Majestie who hath often defended, and learnedly written against those wicked heresies, should now shew your self a Patron of those doctrines which your Pen hath told the world, and your Conscience tells your self are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable: Also what you have done in sending the Prince without Consent of your Councel, and the privitie and approbation of your People: For although Sir, you have a large interest in the Prince, as the Son of your flesh, yet have your People a greater as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majestie) are their eyes fixed, and their Welfare defends. And so slenderly is his going apprehended, that believe Sir, how ever his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him unto that action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not passe away unquestioned, and unpunished.

Besides, this Toleration you endeavour to set up by your Proclamation, it cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your Majestie will let your Subjects see, that you now take unto your self a libertie to throw down the Lawes of the Land, at your pleasure. What dread-  
ful

*The Copy of a Letter sent from Spain,*

ful Consequence these things may draw after, I beseech your Majestie to Consider.

And above all, lest by this Tolleration, and discountenance of the true profession of the Gospel (wherewith God hath blessed us) and under which this Kingdome hath flourished these many years) your Majestie doth draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your self in particular, Gods heavy wrath and indignation.

Thus in discharge of my dutie to your Majestie, and the place of my Calling, I have taken the humble boldnesse to deliver my Conscience. And now Sir, Do with me what you please.

~~Next of all, in order,~~ follow the Letters that passed between the King and his Agents, about the *Spanish* Transactions.

The first Letter written, *per anonymum*, brings newes of the Princes arrival.

*The Copy of a Letter sent from Spain, concerning the  
Princes arrival there, &c.*

**I** Presume his Highnesse being now returned, you may by Conference have such choice, and free relations of his proceedings in *Spain*, that I may well hold my Pen, (it being not priviledged with that freedom that the tongue is) yet to comply with that constant obligation I purpose still to owe you, I will write something, and point at some passages, where others perhaps may not so punctually inform you.

The Prince's coming hither seemed not so strange, as acceptable, and pleasing unto all. The Common sort expressed it by extraordinary shouts, and acclamations of joy, offering, and marrying the *Infanta* (as it were) presently, by publique voice, as having wonne and truly deserved her, by so brave an adventure. The King and State studied how to do him all the honour that might be: The first decree that the Councel of State made, was, that at all occasions of meetings, he should have the precedencie of the King. That he should make entrie into the Palace in the form of State, as the Kings of *Spain* do in the first day of their Coronation. That he should have one of the chief Quarters of the Kings House for his lodgings, one hundred of the Guard to attend him, all the Councel to obey him, as the Kings own person. All prisoners were released, the new  
Proclamation

Proclamation against excesse in apparel revoked, and sundry other arguments of joy. But a wonder lasteth not but for nine daies.

This universal joy was groundd upon hopes, that the Prince came not onely to fetch a wife, but also to make himself a *Catholique*. The Pope incited him hereunto by Letters, which his Nuntio delivered. He sent a charge to the inquisitor general, to use all possible diligence herein. Many processions, and shewes were made to stirre him. But they soon saw how *improbable* it was to win him, how amongst all his servants there was not one *Catholique* about him: what slight esteem they made of the Churches, and Religion here; some committing irreverent, and scandalous actions in the Kings own Chappel, so that they began to behold the English with an ill aspect, to inveigh against the *Conde de Gundomar*, that he should inform the King and State, that the Prince had a disposition easie to be wrought upon to be made a *Catholique*. Adde hereunto the ill offices that the *Irish* do, who to preserve themselves in the *Spanisb* pension did prejudice the businesse, by casting aspersions upon the *English*, the mis-information of the persecution in their Country, and in *England* notwithstanding being here, and the abuse of the Ambassadors servants in *London*.

Say you so?  
For which  
God be  
thanked.

When the Prince came, there wanted nothing for the final consummation of all things but the dispensation, which came two moneths after. And whereas it was expected to come absolute, and full; it came infringed with Cautions and limitations, viz. That the *Infanta* should not be married till matters in *England* were in perfect execution; that in case the King of *England* could not give sufficient security, the King of *Spain* himself should swear, and underrake the oath for him. Hereupon a *Junto* of Divines was appointed to determine hereof, Whether the King might do this with a safe Conscience or no. These Divines went gravely and tediously to work; which put the Prince upon that impatiency, that he was upon point of departure. When at last the businesse came to a resolution, and so the Match was publicly declared. The Prince had then often (though publicly) access to the *Infanta*, the King being still himself present, and in hearing. After this a Ratification was sent for from *Rome*, but the Pope dying in the interim, and the new Pope falling suddenly sick, it could not be speedily procured. For want of this Ratification there was no Contract made, and the Prince himself seemed not to desire it. A little before his departure, the King and the Council of State, with the Patriarch of the *Indies*, the Prince-Prelate, after the Bishop of *Toledo*, (who is under age) swore to all the Capitulations, so that the Prince seemed to depart well satisfied.

The



The King brought him to the *Escorial*, and a little before his departure, the King and he went into a close Coach, and had a large discourse together, (my Lord of *Bristol* being in another Coach hard by to interpret some hard words, when he was called.) And so they parted with many tender demonstrations of love. A Trophy of Marble is erected in the place where they parted. Many rich Presents were given on both sides. The Prince bestowed upon the Queen the biggest Crown Pearl in the world between two Diamonds. He gave the *Infanta* a rope of Pearl, and an anchor of great Diamonds, with many other Jewels. He hath been very bountiful to every one of the Kings house, and all the Guard. Never Prince parted with such an universal love of all. He left every mouth filled with his Commendations; every one reporting him to be a truly Noble, discreet, and well deserving Prince. I write what I hear, and know, and that without passion, for all he is the Prince of my Country.

My Lord of *Buckingham* at first, was much esteemed, but it lasted little; his *French* garb, with his stout hastinesse in negotiating, and over-familiarity with the Prince, was not liked. Moreover, the Council of *Spain* took it ill, that a green head, should come with such a superintendent power to treat of an affair of such Consequence, among so many grave Ministers of State, to the prejudice of so able and well-deserving a Minister as my Lord of *Bristol*, who laid the first stone of this building. Hereupon his power was called in question, and found imperfect in regard it was not confirmed by the Council. Thus the businesse began to gather ill blood between *Olivarez*, and him, and grew so far out of square, that unlesse there had been good heads to pece them together again, all might have fallen quite off the hinges. He did not take his leave of the Countesse of *Olivarez*, and the farewell he took of the *Conde* himself was harsh; for he told him, he would be an everlasting servant to the King of *Spain*, the Queen, and the *Infanta*, and would endeavour to do the best offices he could, for the concluding of this businesse, and strengthening the amity between the two Kingdomes; but for himself, he had so far disoblged him, that he could make no profession of friendship to him at all. The *Conde* turned about, and said he accepted of what he had spoken, and so parted.

Since his Highnesse departure, my Lord of *Bristol* negotiates closely, he is daily at the Palace to attend the *Infanta*, and he treats by means of the Countesse of *Olivarez*.

There is a new *Junto* appointed for the disposing of the *Infanta's* affairs,



affairs, and we hope here, that all things will be ripe against the next Spring to bring her over. And so I rest, &c.

*From Madrid. 30. Septemb. 1623.*

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*His Majesties to the Earl of Bristol,*

*Jan. 21. 1625.*

**W**EE have read your Letter address'd to us by *Buckingham*, and We cannot but wonder that you should through forgetfulnesse make such a request to us of favour, as if you stood evenly capable of it, when you know what your behaviour in *Spain* deserved of Us, which you are to examine by the observations We made, and know you will remember, how at our first coming into *Spain*, taking upon you to be so wise as to foresee our intentions to change our Religion, you were so far from dissuading us, that you offer'd your service, and secrecie to concur in it, and in many other open Conferences pressing to shew how convenient it was for us to be a *Roman Catholique*, it being impossible in your opinion, to do any great action otherwise; how much wrong, disadvantage, and disservice you did to the Treaty, and to the right and interest of our dear Brother, and Sister, and their Children; what disadvantage, inconvenience, and hazard you intangled us in by your artifices, putting off, and delaying our return home. The great estimation you made of that State, and the vile price you set this Kingdome at, still maintaining, that we under colour of friendship to *Spain*, did what was in our power against them, which (you said) they knew very well. And last of all, your approving of those Conditions, that our Nephew should be brought up in the Emperours Court, to which *Sir Walter Aston* then said, he durst not give his Consent for fear of his head; you replying to him, that without some such great action, neither marriage nor peace could be had, &c.

D

Lord

*Lord Conway to the Earl of Bristol.*

March 21. 1625.

*My Lord,*

I Received a Letter from your Lordship dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of this month, written in answer to a former, which I directed to your Lordship by his Majesties Commandment. This last Letter (according to my duty) I have shewed unto his Majestie; who hath perused it, and hath commanded me to write back this unto you again. That he finds himself nothing satisfied therewith; the question propounded to your Lordship from his Majestie was plain and clear, Whether you did rather choose to sit still without being question'd for any errors past in your negotiation in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious pardon granted in Parliament, whereof you may have the benefit; or whether for the clearing of your innocency (whereof your self, your friends, and your followers are so confident) you will be contented to wave the advantage of that pardon, and put your self into a legal way of examination for the tryal thereof? His Majesties purpose hereby is not to prevent you of any favours the Law hath given: but if your assurance be such as your words and letter import, he conceiveth it stands not with that publique and resolute profession of your integrity, to decline your tryal. His Majestie leaves the choyce to your self, and requires from you a direct answer, without Circumlocution, or bargaining with him for future favours before hand.

But if you have a desire to make use of that pardon which cannot be denied to you, nor is it any way desired to be taken from you; His Majestie expects, that you should at least forbear to magnifie your service, and out of the opinion of your own innocency cast an aspersion upon his Majesties Justice, in not affording you that present fullnesse of liberty and favour which cannot be drawn from him, but in his own good time, and according to his own good pleasure. Thus much I have in command to write unto your Lordship, and to require your answer cleerly and plainly by this Messenger sent on purpose for it. And so, &c.

*The*

*My Lord,*

I Received your Letter of the 25. of *February*, and therein a Commandment from his Majestie, and in his Majesties name to make a cleer and plain answer, Whether I desire or rest in the security I am now in, and to acknowledge the gracious favour of his late Majestie, and of his which now is, who have been pleased not to question my actions, &c. Hereunto I have laboured exactly to obey, but find that a plain and clear answer cannot possibly be made, untill there be a cleer understanding of the thing propounded; so that I may crave pardon if my answer be not so cleer as I could wish it: for I must freely acknowledge, that I no way understand what is meant by the security I am now in, whether it be by the present estate I am now in, or not: If it be so, I conceive a man cannot be under a harder Condition; for your Lordship knoweth, that by order my person is restrained, and you were pleased lately to send me word, that you would not advise me to make use of the liberty which his late Majestie had given me of coming to *London*, although that were onely to follow my private affairs, and for the recovery of my decayed health. I stand likewise prohibited to come to the Court, or to the Kings presence, (I passe by my being removed from all my places, and offices, and wholly depending upon his Majesties royal pleasure.) But being a Peer of this Realm, I have not onely by Commandment, been formerly stayed from the Parliament, but of late, my writ hath been detained, as though my honour were forfeited. And this is truly the Condition I am now in, but I cannot imagine that this is the security intended I should rest in; but am in hope, that the security intended is, that I may for the future enjoy the liberty of a free Subject, and the priviledges of a Peer of the Kingdom. Which being so, I shall with all humility acknowledge his Majesties grace and favour, and be ready to serve him with all fidelity even to the laying down of my life, not thinking it to stand with the duty of a Subject to presse his being questioned, since such being the pleasure of his Sovereign, it were not in the power of any subject to avoid it. But in case his Majestie shall be pleased to bring me to any legal tryal, I shall most willingly and dutifully submit my self thereunto, and doubt not but my innocency in the end will be my best Mediatour for his Majesties future favour. And in that Case I am a suitor that my Writ of Parliament as a Peer of this Realm may be sent unto me, and that my present re-

pair

pair to *London* may not displease his Majestie; As for the pardon of the 21. Reg. *Jacobi*, which you mention, I should renounce, but that I know that the justest and most cautious man living, may through ignorance or omission offend the Lawes, so that as a Subject I shall not disclaim any benefit which cometh in the general as it doth usually to all other Subjects in the Kingdom: But as for any Crime in particular, that may trench upon my employments in point of Loyalty, fidelity, or want of affection to the King or State, I know my innocency to be such, that I am confident I shall not need that pardon. I shall conclude with a most humble suit unto your Lordship, that out of your noblenesse, and that friendship that hath been betwixt us, you will use your best endeavours both with his Majestie and the Duke, that this unfortunate businesse may be past over, by the renewing whereof I can see little use that can be made but the adding to a mans misfortunes already sufficiently humbled; For I am ready to do all that a man of honour and honestie may do; but rather then to do any thing that may be prejudicial to me in that kind, to suffer whatsoever it shall please God to send. And so with the remembrance of my humble service unto your Lordship, I recommend you unto Gods holy protection, And rest

*Sherborn Lodge,*  
*&c.*

*Your Lordships humble servant,*

*Bristol.*

Here next follow the Letters of my Lord of *Bristol* concerning the businesse of the Match.

*The E. of Bristol to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln,*

Aug. 20. 1623.

*My very Worthy Lord,*

I Give you many thanks for your Letter of the 23<sup>d</sup>. of *July*, by which I understand your great care of me, by seconding a former motion it pleased your Lordship to make, of having me reconciled to my Lord Dukes favour, (A thing which I have infinitely desired) and have esteemed the good offices you have been pleased to do therein, as a very high obligation your Lordship puts upon me. But I conceive your Lordship will find that any motion you have made in that kind



kind unto his Grace hath been despised, rather then received with any thankfulness, or that he hath returned you any answer of his inclination thereunto. For the truth is, my Lord doth look down upon my poor Condition with that scorn and contempt, that I conjecture the very moving of any such thing, especially under the term of reconciliation, hath not been pleasing unto his Lordship. But thereof your Lordship can make the best judgment by the answer you received from him. I do but guesse thereat, by what I have heard he hath been pleased to say, and the manner wherewith he hath used me. Which hath been such, that the *Spaniards* themselves (which most afflicted me) have out of compassion pitied me. Yet I may with much truth assure your Lordship, that I have not omitted towards him either any respect or service that was fit for me to perform, either towards his person, or the high place he holdeth in my Masters favour, or unto his present imployment; well knowing how undecent and scandalous a thing it is for the Ministers of a Prince to run different wayes in a strange Court, but have attended him in all his publique audience, and used in all kinds that respect and observance towards him, that I think malice her self cannot charge me with an omission. And my Lord, this is the truth, whatsoever may be said or written to the contrary: It is true, that some four moneths since in a businesse that no lesse concerned his Majestie and the Prince's service, then abruptly to have broken off all our Treaty, I was far differing from my Lords opinion; And thereupon happened betwixt us some dispute in debate of the businesse, but without any thing that was personal, and there was no creature living at it but the Prince; to whose Censure I shall willingly refer my self. In me I protest it unto your Lordship, it made no alteration, but within half an hour I came to him with the same reverence and respect that I was wont to do, the which I have continued ever since, so that I have much wondered how it cometh to be so much spoken of in *England*, that my Lord Duke and my self should live here at too much distance. And I cannot find any other reason for it, but that every body hath taken so much notice of my ill, and contemptible usage, that they think it impossible for any Gentleman, but to be sensible of it. But if any one disrespect, or omission from me towards my Lord Duke can be truly instanced in by any man, I will be contented to incur his Majesties high displeasure, and your Lordships Censure.

For the present Newes here, it is, that the ninth of this Moneth, the Prince intendeth (God willing) to begin his journey for *England*. And the day before, I conceive the Contract will be. The *Infanta* is

*The E. of Bristol to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.*

to follow in the Spring, and the Prince hath commanded my stay here. I know not how things may be reconciled here before my Lord Dukes departure, but at present, they are in all extremity ill, betwixt this King, and his Ministers, and the Duke, and they stick not to professe, that they will rather put the *Infanta* headlong into a Well, then into his hands. I write unto your Lordship you see with much freeness, and I intreat you let it remain with you. And so in much haste I onely intreat your Lordship to believe, that you have not living an honest, nor a true hearted friend, and servant, then

Your Lordships ever to be commanded,

*Bristol.*

*The E of Bristol to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln,*

24. of Septemb. 1623.

*My singular Lord,*

**I** Have dispatched this Bearer my servant *Greissie* with the draught of the temporal Articles, which I hope will be to the King and Prince his satisfaction, and he will let your Lordship have a sight of them.

Since the departure of the Prince, there have every day passed Letters of extraordinary affection between the King, and the Prince; and the love that is here generally born unto the Prince is such, as cannot be well believed by those that daily hear not, what passeth both from the King and his chief Ministers. And to say the truth, his Highness hath well deserved it; for in the whole time of his being here, he hath carried himself with the greatest affability, patience, and constancie, and at his departure with the greatest bountie, and liberality, that I think hath been known in any Prince in our times. And I protest unto your Lordship as a Christian, that I never heard in all the time of his being here, nor since any one exception taken against him, unlesse it were for being supposed to be too much guided by my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, who is indeed very little beholding to the *Spaniards* for their good opinion of him, and departed from hence with so little satisfaction; that the *Spaniards* are in doubt, that he will endeavour all that shall be possible to crosse the Marriage: Wherein certainly they are very much mistaken; For my

*Lord*

Lord cannot but be obliged a servant for any particular distastes of his own to crosse the advancement of his Majestie, and the Prince's service, especially in a businesse of so high Consequence as this.

It may be your Lordship will hear many Complaints, and that the Match never was, nor yet is intended; I beseech your Lordship to give little belief in that kind, and the effects will now speedily declare the truth, if the fault be not on our side. It is true that the *Spaniards* have committed many errors in their proceedings with the Prince; but the businesse is now by the Prince overcome, if we our selves draw not back: For which I confesse I should be heartily sorry, and so I conceive would most honest men; for if this match, and the alliance with *Spain* hath been so long desired by his Majestie, and that for it he hath been pleased to do so much, and the Prince to take so hazardous a voyage, if all the same reasons are yet on foot, which have ever moved the King and Prince to wish the match; if to this may be added, that his Majestie hath overcome all the difficulties on his part, and that both he, and the Prince do stand ingaged for the performance of it, as far as Princes can be, God forbid, that any particular distastes, or misunderstandings (which God knoweth have little relation to the businesse) should be of power to disturb it, especially now, when the Match is past all danger of miscarrying, the portion, and all temporal Articles settled, and I hope to the Kings Content, and all other good effects that could be expected by this alluance in a very fair way, I hope there will be no cause of doubt in this kind; if there should be, I am sure that your Lordship would put to a helping hand to keep the businesse from being overthrown, since you have done so much for the overcoming of former difficulties, and the bringing it to the passe 'tis now in. If there be no cause of writing this, I beseech your Lordship to impute it to my zeal to the businesse, and my freeness with your Lordship, upon whose true love and friendship I so much rely, as I shall not forbear to tell you, any of my fears. I hope within 3. daies Sir *Francis Cottington* will be able to begin his journey towards your Lordship. He will tell you many truths, being on my knowledge, as hearty a servant and friend as 'tis possible for your Lordship to have. He hath told me how much I am bound to your Lordship for your love, and favour, and truly I will deserve it the best I can, and that I think will be onely by loving you, for otherwise I conceive I am like to have little means of meriting at any bodies hands, yet at your Lordships it may be I may, by being a man of honesty, and honour; And such an one I will labour



bour to be, and your affectionate friend and servant. And so I kisse your Lordships hands.

*Madrid, &c.*

*The E. of Briftols Letter to the Prince, touching the delivery of his Proxie to the King of Spain.*

*May it please your Highnesse,*

**I**N this Letter I shall onely speak unto your Highnesse concerning that particular whereof you were pleased to write unto me after your departure from St. *Lorenzo*, and have presumed to set down exactly the case as it stands. In what sort a woman betrothed, and *post Matrimonium ratum*, may before the Consummation of marriage betake her self unto a religious life; I have likewise set down unto your Highnesse all sorts of security, that may be taken before the betrothing for the preventing of any such course in the parties, that are to be betrothed. To this your Highnesse may adde any other you can think of, for that the King, and his Sister, and all the Ministers professe so really the punctual and present performance of all that is capitulated with your Highnesse; That they will refuse no kind of security, that in reason can be demanded in this behalf: so that your Highnesse may set down, whatsoever you think this King and his Sister may do with decencie, and honour, and they will be ready to perform it.

I must now crave leave to speak unto your Highnesse like a faithful plain servant, which is, if your Highnesse pleasure be to have use made of the Powers you have left in my hands; I no way doubt, but in this particular such satisfaction will be given, as will appear reasonable to all the world. But if your Highnesse desire, that these Powers should not be used, they may be detained upon other just reasons which will arise in the treatie of the temporal articles. And I doubt not but the *Deposorio's* may be deferred for some few daies upon other fair pretexts. But these inconveniencies I conceive will follow. First it will be of great discomfort to the *Infanta*, who until the *Deposorio's* are past, is not her own woman, but must be governed by the pleasure of the *Junto*, which I think she is very wearie of, neither till then may she declare her self to be yours, nor Comply with your



your Highnesse in answering of your Letters, and Messages, and giving you those respects, and Comforts, which I know she would be glad to do. But if she should any way judge, that the delay of the *Deposorios* should arise from your Highnesse part, I conceive she would take it most heavily. Secondly, it will certainly raise great jealousies in this King, and his Ministers, and retard the resolutions, that are fit to be taken with speed for the putting in execution that which is capitulated. I therefore offer it unto your Highnesse wisdom, whether upon the satisfaction, which they will give in this particular, which will be whatsoever you can desire; and upon the agreement of the temporal articles your Highnesse would upon the coming of the Popes approbation make any farther scruple in the delivering of your Highnesse powers; If I shall, I am confident they will not presse it, as not decent for the womans part to urge the hastening of the Marriage. But I conceive it will cast such a cloud of Jealousie and distrust upon the businesse, that besides the discontent and affliction, which I know it will give the Infanta (which most worketh upon me,) it will so disorder the businesse, that it will make a stand in your whole proceedings, and preparations, wherein they now go on chearfully, and confidently, and I conceive will punctually perform all that they have capitulated with your Highnesse. I dare not so much as give my self leave once to question your Highnesse intentions of proceeding to the real effecting of the match, which makes me desirous that all things may be executed, that may any way retard or disturb it. Only I shall like a faithful poor servant presume to say thus much to your Highnesse; That for divers years past, I know the King your father, and your self, have held this the fittest Match in the World, and by a desire of effecting it, your Highnesse was induced to undertake that hazardous journey of coming to this Court in person. In the time of your being here, (admitting that their proceedings have been in many things unworthy of you.) And that divers distastes have grown by intervenient accidents; Now things are reduced to those terms, that the Match it self is sure, the portion, and the temporal Articles settled (I hope to the Kings liking and yours) And all other good effects that could be hoped for by this alliance, are in a fair way. If to these reasons may be added, That on his Majestie and your Highnesse part, you have already passed by, and overcome the main difficulties; and your Highnesse by your journey hath satisfied your self of the person of the *Infanta*, God forbid, that either any personal distastes of Ministers, or any indiscreet, or passionate carriage of businesses should hazard that, which his Majestie and your

Highnesse have done so much to obtain, and whereby doubtlesse so much good, and peace is to accrew to Christendom by the effecting of it; and contrariwise so much trouble and mischief by the miscarrying of it. Besides the individual happinesse of your Highnesse in such a Wife, which the World supposeth you infinitely esteem for her person. And for her Birth and Portion is no where to be matched; And questionlesse for her vertue, and settled affection to your Highnesse deserveth you better then any woman in the World. I humbly crave pardon for writing unto your Highnesse in this manner, which I hope your Highnesse well enough knowes, neither the benefits I have received from *Spain*, nor their grateful usage of me upon occasions (nor I protest unto your Highnesse any other earthly respect) moveth me unto it, but the zeal, and love I bear to your service, for which I shall ever undervalue any thing, that may concern my self. And therefore I shall conclude by intreating your Highnesse, that if you would have things go well, that a Post may instantly be dispatched back unto me, authorizing me to deliver the said power upon the arrival of the dispensation, and having taken fitting securitie in this particular point. And this I earnestly beseech your Highnesse may be done with all possible speed and secrecie; and that the *Spanish* Ambassadors may not know that ever there was any suspension made of the delivery of the powers. In the interim I will find means if the dispensation come for 20, or 24 daies to alledge some other fair pretexts for the deferring of the *Deposorios*; But herein I desire I may know your Highnesse resolution with all possible speed, &c. And so with, &c.

*Bristol.*

*Madrid.*

*The E. of Bristol to the Prince his Highnesse,*

Septemb. 24. 1623.

**V**Hen your Highnesse shall remember, that your Highnesse being here in person, it was not possible in lesse then a moneth, to get that dispatch which you were promised Mr. Secretary *Cottington* should have carried with him, if your Highnesse would have but stayed him 24 hours; I hope you will pardon your servants although they sometimes mistake in the time, which they limit for the procuring of the dispatch of businesse, especially if they depend upon

upon the dispatches, that are to be procured from them. I have these 10. daies had *Greisly* in a readinesse to depart, having every day expected a resolution from the *Junto*. First in point of the portion, and since in the daies of payment, and at last I have received their answer in them both, in such sort as your Highnesse will see in the paper inclosed, which is an extract of the heads of the temporal Articles that we have agreed, although I have onely consented unto them *de bene esse*, until I shall receive his Majesties approbation and yours: In the point of the portion, I have had a rough and a knotty piece of work, by reason that not onely the *Conde de Olivarez*, but all the *Junto* were absolutely ignorant of what had passed in the late Kings time, which I foresaw, and that was the cause that I moved so earnestly at the *Escorial*, to have the *Conde de Gondomar* remain here. They made many presidents to be searched, and found that the *two millions* demanded was four times as much as ever was given with any daughter of *Spain* in money. They alledged that it would be said, that the King of *Spain* was faine to purchase the friendship and alliance of *England*; that this would be such a president, as that *Spain* hereafter must marrie no more daughters. I onely insisted that it was a thing, by the last King settled, and agreed with me, that this King had by severall answers in writing to me undertaken to pursue the businesse as it was left by his father, and to make good whatsoever he had promised. And thereupon desired that the original Papers, and *Consultos* of the last King might be seen, which very honestly by the Secretary *Cirica* were produced, and appeared to be such, that I dare say, there was not a man that saw them, that doubteth of the last Kings real intention of making the Match. And questionlesse this had been the usefullest occasion to have disavowed former proceedings, and I was resolved to put them to it. But both the King and his Council upon the sight of what had been promised by his father, presently took resolution to make good the two millions, onely to remonstrate unto his Majestie the vastnesse of the Portion, and to desire him to consider how far the King had stretched himself in this particular for his satisfaction. And therefore, that he would have Consideration of it in such things for the future, as might be treated of betwixt them, and their Kingdoms. As for the daies of payment, I insisted to have had half a million upon the *Deposorios*, half a million to be carried along with the *Infanta*, and the other million at their Fleets the two next years after by equal portions. But I have now received the Kings answer in this particular, which your Highnesse will see in the enclosed paper; as likewise what I have done therein



*The Earl of Bristol to the Duke of Buckingham.*

therein by the Copie of the dispatch, which I now write about it to Mr. Secretary. So not having any thing more to add concerning this particular, I recommend your highnesse to Gods holy protection, &c.

*Madrid.*

*The E of Bristol to the Duke of Buckingham,  
Decemb. 6. 1623.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**He present estate of the Kings affairs requireth the concurrencie of all his servants, and the Co-operation of all his Ministers, which maketh me desirous to make unto your Grace this tender of my service, that if there have happened any errours, or misunderstandings your Grace would for that regard passe them over: and for any thing that may personally concern my particular, I shall labour to give you that satisfaction as may deserve your friendship. And if that shall not serve the turn, I shall not be found unarmed with patience against any thing that can happen unto me. And so wishing, that this humble offer of my service may find that acceptation as I humbly desire, I rest

Your Graces most humble  
servant,

*Madrid.*

*Bristol.*

*The E. of Bristol to Secretary Cottington,  
Apr. 15. 1623.*

*Good Mr. Secretary Cottington,*

**T**Here is no man living knoweth better then your self, how zealous I have been unto the Prince's service, and whilest I thought he desired the Match, I was for it against all the World. Now the Treatie is ended, the world shall see I never had, nor will have any affections of my own, but will wholly follow my Masters, as I have written  
unto

unto you in my former Letters, and have not these four moneths spoken a word in the marriage. If his Majestie and the Prince will have a war, I will spend my life and fortunes in it, without so much as replying in what quarrel soever it be. And of thus much I intreat you let his Highnesse be informed by you. And I intreat you let me know his directions, what he will have me do, and how to behave my self, for I absolutely cast my self at his feet, which I desire to do the first thing after my landing, to the end that understanding his pleasure, I may commit no errour. I beseech you to dispatch this bearer back unto me withal possible speed, though it be with not one word more, but what the Prince will have me do, wherewith I shall come *my Consolado*. I understand that I have been much bound to the Prince for the procuring the 4000 l. to be payed, and for my Pension.

I pray present unto him my most humble thanks: and I confesse I have been much more comforted with that demonstration of his favour, then I can be with the money. I doubt not but at this time I shall have the effects of a real friendship from you in this particular. And so desiring to have my service remembered to my Lady Cottington, I rest

Poitiers.

Yours, &c.

Bristol.

*Postscript.*

**I** Pray move the Prince, that one of the Kings Ships may be presently appointed to waite me over; For I have a great charge of the Princes with me.

*W. Greisly* met me within 10. posts of *Burdeaux*, and is passed on to *Madrid*, I think he shall find the *Blandones* for his Highnesse in a readinesse, for *Mr. Stone* taketh care of them, and hath the money in his hand.

The

*The E. of Bristol to his Majestie 27 July, 1624.*

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

**I** Hope your Majestie will not be displeased that I continue unto you that most humble and just suit, which I have often made unto your Majestie, and your Majestie hath been often graciously pleased to promise, which was that I should be no waies lessened, or diminished in your Majesties favour, and good opinion, until you should be first pleased graciously to hear me, and my Cause. And although your Majestie for just respects, hath not been pleased hitherto to admit me into your presence, which I esteem an infinite misfortune to me: Yet I hope that time will no way confirm those impressions of displeasure, which I do no way doubt, but will be fully cleared, whensoever I shall be so happy as by your Majestie to be heard. For I take God to record, that I have faithfully and honestly served you, and exactly pursued your ends to the best of my understanding, and abilities. And I do no way doubt but your Majestie will in the end protect so faithful a servant as I have been, and shall appear to be to your Majestie. And in the interim my most humble suit unto your Majestie is, that since I am neither admitted my self, nor any man else will speak any word in my defence, or justification, your Majestie according to your Justice, will let nothing that may be said of me redound to my prejudice in your gracious opinion: For it shall be found, that I will in all things wholly conform my self unto your Majesties will and pleasure. So wishing unto your Majestie a happy journey, and a safe return with the increase of all hapinesse. I humbly, &c.

Your Majesties, &c.

*London.*

*Bristol.*

Here next of all follow divers Dispatches and Letters from  
*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke.*

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Have received so much comfort by the care which I see in your grace to take all occasions to honour, and favour me, that I should be



be glad (if it were possible) in my affection to your person, and in my desire to serve you, that your grace might see something in me above what you could find in any other servant. What an honest thankfulness can be, I am, and what an honest servant can yield you, shall be ever vigilant in me to serve you. Since the departure of the last post (by whom I wrote lately unto your Grace) my Lord of *Bristol* hath had audience with this King (taking me along with him) to whom his Lordship represented the King our Masters desire concerning the Palatinate in conformity to what his Majesty hath commanded by his late letters, we are now soliciting to hasten this Kings answer, which we hope we shall shortly send unto his Majesty, and there is no diligence omitted by my Lord of *Bristol*, nor my self (that we can think on) to negotiate such an answer, as may be to his Majesties good liking. The Dispatches from *Rome* are not yet come, but by letters which they have lately received from the Duke of *Pastrana*; it is advertized, that all things are concluded, and that he would send them away within a few dayes. By my Lord of *Bristols* Letter to his Majesty, your grace will understand the resolution, which his Lordship hath taken concerning his proceedings upon the arrival of of the dispatches from *Rome*: his Lordships hath communicated with me his Majesties Letter, and desired my opinion concerning the resolution, which he had taken, wherein I have concurred with his Lordship, not understanding it any way to be differing in substance from his Majesties directions; the altering of the day mentioned in his Majesties letters being onely the changing it from a time when the powers are of no force, to a time when they may be of use: the putting of any thing in execution in the one time, or in the other, depending upon his Majesties and his Highnesses further directions. I have hitherto understood, that his Majesty and his highnesse have really affected this match, and have laboured faithfully to second their desires with my utmost endeavours. There is none I am sure a better witness then my self of the affection which your Grace hath born unto it, which I have seen remain constant through many tryals. And therefore until I understand the contrary from your self, I must believe that your desires are the same, which I have seen them. I must ever speak my heart freely unto your Grace, and confess that upon the letter which I received from his Highnesse, and upon the sight of his Majesties to my Lord of *Bristol*, I have been jealous of his Majesties heart and his Highnesse, that they are not that to the match which they have been; but these are but distrusts of my own, and not foundation sufficient to slacken or cool those diligences which I daily per-

form

form in conformity to his Majesties, and his Highnesse Commands, and to what remains apparent of their desires. I shall therefore humbly desire your Lordship to open mine eyes, and if I am out of the way to set me straight, for I have no affections of mine own, but what agrees with my Masters, and will ever submit with all humility my self, and my judgment unto his Majesties wisdom, and faithfully labour to serve him accordingly to what I shall understand to be his will and pleasure. But untill I know by your Graces favour by what Compasse to guide my Course, I can onely follow his Majesties revealed will; and will once take the boldnesse to represent unto your Grace in discharge of what I owe you these Considerations, which my desire to serve you, forceth from me. I do look upon your Grace as a person infinitely provoked to be an enemy to this match, and believe, that you have had represented unto you many reasons, shewing how much it concerns you to seek to break it, with all the force you have: But I can neither believe, that the error of one man can make you an enemy to that, which brings along with it so much happinesse and content unto his Majestie, and his Highnesse: nor that your Graces judgment can be led by those arguments, that under the colour of safety, would bring you into a dangerous labyrinth. Your Grace hath given noble testimonie, how little you have valued your own safety in respect of his Majesties service, and therefore I assure my self you would contemn all Considerations concerning your self, that might hinder the advancement of his Majesties ends. In the proceeding to this Match, there is the same convenience to his Majestie, that ever hath been, there is the same Lady, the same portion, the same friendship desired, they professing here an exact complying with what is capitulated, and a resolution to give his Majestie satisfaction in whatsoever is in their power. From your Grace none can take away the honour of having been the principal means by which this great businesse hath been brought to a Conclusion. And whatsoever others may suggest against your Grace, the *Infanta* truly informed, cannot but understand you the person to whom she owes most in this businesse. Your Grace, and the *Conde Olivarez*, have fallen upon different waies, that which concerns the honour of the King our Master, being different to that, which he understood concerned most his Master, your ends were both one for the effecting of the Match, and with the Conclusion of it, he cannot but better understand you. Would your Grace would commit it to my charge to inform the *Infanta* what you have merited, and to accommodate all other mistakes here concerning the proceeding. If  
your

your Grace would reconcile your heart, I would not doubt, but with the Conclusion of the Match to compose all things to your good satisfaction, and to bring them to a truer understanding of you, and of their obligation unto you. In what a Sea of Confusions the breaking of this alliance would ingage his Majestie, I will leave to your Lordships wisdom to consider of, it being too large a discourse for a Letter.

I will therefore onely desire your Lordship to consider, that even the most prosperous War hath misfortune enough in it to make the Authour of it unhappie: of which how innocent soever your Lordship is, the occasions that have been given you, will ever make you liable to the aspersions of it. This I write not unto your Grace as thinking to divert you from what you are falling into; for I am confident your heart runs a more peaceable way: but I am willing, that you should see, that howsoever others should be inclined to carrie you into this tempest, it concerns you, in your care of their happinesse, and your own, to divert them from it. I humbly desire your Grace to pardon this errour of mine (if it be one) which I can excuse with the affection, and infinite desire, which I have to see you ever happie and flourish.

Concerning my self, your Grace knowes my wants, and I doubt not but your Care is what I could wish. I should be glad when you have done with *Peter Wych* to see him dispatched away with some supplies unto me, which I shall be in extream want of by *Christmasse*, my debts besides in *England* being clamorous upon me for some satisfaction. I leave all to your Graces care and favour, Ever resting

*Your Graces humblest and most bound  
servant,*

Wa: Aston.

*Postscript.*

**T**He *Condesse* of *Olivarez* bids me tell you, that she kisses your Graces hands, and doth every day recommend you particularly by name in her prayers to God.



*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 15. Novemb. 1623.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**M**Y Lord of *Bristol* intended to have dispatched away a Post unto his Majestie this night with the advice of the arrival of the dispensation, which came to this Town the 12<sup>th</sup>. of this moneth, hoping that he should have been likewise able to have given to his Majestie, and his Highnesse a clear account of all things concerning it. But the deliverie of the Queen this morning (who is brought to bed of a daughter) hath stopped all negotiation, and I believe it will be these two daies before he can be ready to send him away. There is no noveltie (as I yet understand) that is come with the dispensation; there will be something desired for better explanation of his Majesties, and his Highnesse intentions, and some omisions there are which as they understand was his Highnesse intention should have been in the Capitulation, they being promised by his Highnesse. But I do not find that these will be any stop to the businesse. For they do presse my Lord of *Bristol* very much to proceed presently to the *Deposorios*. Your Grace shall understand all things more particularly by the next Post. I do now make the more haste, forbearing to trouble you with other occurrences, lest my Letters come short of the departure of the Post, as they did of his who was last dispatched from hence.

I do most humbly desire your Grace to continue the doing me those offices that may continue me in his Majesties and his Highnesse good opinion, and I doubt not but I shall be ever able to let your Grace see that you have not a more faithful servant, then he which your Grace hath most bound to be so, and that shall ever remain

*Yours, &c.*

W. A.

*The Lord Duke of Buckingham to Sir Walter Aston.*

**I**N your Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup>. of December, you desire me to give you my opinion, my ancient acquaintance, long custome of loving you, with constancie of friendship invites me to do you this office of good will, and to serve you according to your request. And for your  
more

*The Lord Duke of Buckingham to Sir Walter Aston.*

more intire satisfaction, I will deliver the things in the past and present. You in all the beginning of the treaty won to your self a good estimation, while you were onely at large in the treaty, and had communication of the passages from the Lord of *Bristol*, as by courtesy: and in his absence handled no farther in the treaty of marriage then by direction from him. When the *Prince* was there, your carriage gave his Highnesse and my self all satisfaction. Now you must give me leave to put you in mind of the freedom used with you whilest we were at *Madrid*, and of the explanation, the *Prince* made of himself to you by his Letters from *St. Anderas*. From which you might observe, the resentment the *Prince* had of their proceedings with him. And by his Highnesse declaration to you from thence, you might see both his care and resolution not to ingage himself into the marriage without good conditions for the Pallatinate, and Conservation of his honour every way. My care and my intentions were to move increase of honour to you, and to recompence by a good understanding to be layed in his Majestie towards you, which I pursued so soon, as I came to the Kings presence. And the *Princes* confidence was so great in you, as he joyned you in the Commission, besides he declared himself to you by his Letters, not leaving you thereby to guesse at his Majesties directions to the E. of *Bristol*, which he was to communicate to you. Now you may think how strange it was to the *Prince*, and how much I was troubled (not being able to make your excuse) when your joynt Letters made known, how you had concurred with the *Earle of Bristol*, to ingage his Highnesse by prefixing a day for the *Deposorios*, without making certain the restitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral dignity, the portion and temporal articles. Which proceeding of yours with the *Earl of Bristol* was so understood by the Lords of the Committee, as they took resolution once, to advise his Majestie to revoke both the Lord of *Bristol*, and you, upon those grounds, which you will understand by his Majesties own Letters, and Secretarie *Conwayes* Letters written to you with this dispatch. I was not able at first by any endeavour to oppose the resolution of your revocation, so far had you cast your self into misconstruction, and given stop to the progresse of your own advancement. But with constant industry and time, I have won this point, of qualifying all ill opinion of you, and sufferance of your continuing there. So as it will be now in your power (by your Carriage) to come off without reproof. And I shall hope to overcome the rest with time, to bring you again to the condition of honour and recompence. Being confident that since you see your own error, and acknowledge it,

*The D. of Buckingham to Sir Walter Aston.*

you will be careful by a stiff and judicious carriage to warrant all your present and succeeding actions. If you think at first sight I presse you a little hard upon this point, you may be pleased to interpret it to be a faithful way of satisfying your request, and expression of my affection to have you to do all things suitable to your wisdom, virtue and honour, and according to the wishes of

Yours, &c.

*G. Buckingham.*

*The Duke of Buckingham to Sir Wa. Aston.*

I Had not leisure in my former dispatch, being hastie to write the reason why I wondered at the error you committed in the last dispatch of my Lord of *Bristols* and yours; for the matter is, that his Majestie having plainly written unto you both in his former dispatch, that he desired to be assured of the restitution of the Palatinate, before the *Depositorium* was made, seeing he would be sorrie to welcome home one Daughter with a smiling cheer, and leave his own onely Daughter at the same time weeping and disconsolate. And the *Prince* having also written unto you, that he never meant to match there, and be frustrated of the restitution of the Palatinate so often promised, that notwithstanding this clear Language, you should have joyned with my Lord of *Bristol* in a resolution of so hastie a delivery of the *Prince's Proxie*, before you had received his Majesties answer to your former dispatch, wherein my Lord of *Bristol* urged of his Majestie a harsh answer and direction, and his Majestie cannot but take it for a kind of Scorn, that within 4. dayes after ye had urged his Majesties answer, ye should in the mean time take resolutions of your own heads. You may do well, because there is no leisure in this hastie dispatch for his Majestie to answer my Lord of *Bristols* last Letter (which wil be done by the next duplicate of this same dispatch) to acquaint him in the mean time with this Letter, which his Majestie himself hath dictated unto me. And so in haste I bid you farewell.

Yours, &c.

*G. B.*

*Sir*



*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke of Buckingham,*  
Decemb. 22. 1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Have comitted to the trust and secrecie of this bearer Mr. *Clark* (whom I find your Graces faithfull servant) certain advertisements to be delivered by him unto you ; which as one that shall (God willing) in all things shew himself your passionate servant, I could no way conceale from you. And howsoever your Grace may have many advertisements from hence (the relations that come from England giving occasion to many discourses censuring the Prince, and your Grace) yet I hope to be so vigilant, that there shall hardly be any resolution taken by these Ministers which may have any reflexion on your Person, that I shall not one way or other get notice of, and advertize unto you.

I have in all things with so much affection desired to serve your Grace every way to your satisfaction, that it hath infinitely afflicted me, that I should have done any thing, whereby I might lessen your favourable opinions towards me, but I hope your Grace hath by this time set me straight both with his Majestie, and his Highnesse, and restored me to the same place in your affection, which I have formerly had. Which I am the rather confident of, since I cannot accuse any action, or thought of mine, that hath not born towards your Grace all possible respect and love. I found by experience here, that the favour which by your Graces meanes I received from his Highnesse, and that which you were pleased likewise to honour me withal, had raised me many enemies ; And I have reason to feare upon this occasion, there may be some, that well be busie to do me ill offices with you ; but I trust so much upon my own sinceritie, that as I never made any second weanes unto your Grace, but have ever singly depended upon the constancie of your goodnesse to me, finding my self the same that I have ever been, I make no meanes to resist such injuries as others may offer to do me, but continue depending wholly upon that goodnesse, and justnesse, which I know in your Grace, and which I assure my self will never fail me. I have not been so carelesse a Servant of your Graces, as not to have debated over, and over with my self, how far the proceedings or breaking of the present treaty here might concern your Grace, which I have discoursed largely to Mr. *Clark*, thinking them of too large a body to be contained in a Letter, but I shall in all things submit my self to your better wisdom ; And when you shall please to impart unto  
me,

*The Copy of a Memorial given to the King of Spain.*

me, wherein his Majestie, and his Highnesse shall be best served, your Grace shall find in all my actions, that my affections with all obedience shal run the same way, and that my proceedings, shall have those respects in them towards your Grace, as you may expect from your faithful Servant. And so, &c.

Your G. &c.

*W. A.*

*The Copy of a Memorial given to the King of Spain,  
19. Jan. 1623. Stil. Vet. Translated.*

S I R,

S I R *Walter Aston* Embassadour of the King of great *Brittain* saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to represent unto your Majestie, that having received so many promises from hence to procure the intire restitution of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral dignitie to the Prince his Son in Law, He commanded his Embassadour to presse your Majestie with all diligence, that the said promises might take effect, not as a condition of the marriage, but desiring infinitely to see settled together with the marriage, the peace and quiet of his Son in Law, his Daughter, and Grandchildren; and having understood that this his desire hath received an interpretation far differing from his intention, hath commanded him anew for the greater demonstration of the desire which he hath to preserve the good Correspondence with your Majestie, to declare unto you, that he hath not propounded the said restitutions as a condition of the marriage, but according to that which he understood was most Conformable with the intention of your Majestie, declared by the *Conde de Olivarez* for the surest, and most effectual means to make the amitie, which is betwixt your Majesties firm and indissoluble, and that there might not remain any doubt or matter hereafter, that should cause dispute, he hath required that every thing might be settled under your Majesties hand, desiring it likewise for the greater comfort of his onely Daughter, and for to make the coming of that most excellent Princeesse of more esteeme unto his Subjects, bringing with her (besides the glory of her own vertue, and worth) the securitie of a perpetual peace, and amitie, and an everlasting pawn to his Kingdomes of the constancie, and real performance of your Majesties promises,

with

with such satisfaction to his hopes grounded the said promises, not as a Condition, but as the fruit and blessing of the alliance. Moreover he saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to make this Declaration unto your Majestie, that you may know the truth and the sound intentions of his proceedings, with the good end to which it aimes, having renewed the powers, and deferred the delivery of them onely to give time for the accomplishing, and settling that which hath been promised for the satisfying his expectations, and assuring the amitie betwixt your Majesties Persons, and Crowns; the King his Master hoping that your Majestie will likewise lay hold of this occasion, which you now have in your hand to give him full satisfaction in that, which with so much reason he desires, and therewithal a reciprocal, and everlasting blessing to both your Majesties Crownes.

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 22. of Jan. 1623.*  
 Stil. Vet.

*May it please your Grace,*

**H**owsoever upon the arrival of Mr. Greisley, I took the occasion of the ordinary, the day following to acknowledge unto your Grace the Comfort which I had received by your Letters; understanding by them the favour which you had done me, in diverting from me his Majesties, and his Highnesse displeasure: I shall notwithstanding intreat here leave by the same means by which I received so much happinesse to renew my humble, and most thankful acknowledgment unto your Grace. I most earnestly intreat your Grace to look upon me here as a servant that loves you in his heart, and that shall faithfully in all things Comply with what you can expect from such an one, and that therefore you will be pleased to preserve me still in the way, how I may serve his Majestie, and his Highnesse to their Content, and perform towards your Grace those offices of a servant, which may be most to your satisfaction. For I am now here in a dangerous time, in the greatest businesses, that have been treated of many years, and the bitterest storms threatening betwixt these Crowns, that have been these many ages. I have therefore no hope to save my self without I be guided by his Highnesse, and your Graces trusts and care of me.

The Marquesse of Yncisa hath lately advertised hither, That he hath



hath several times desired to have private audience with his Majestie, and hath not been able to procure any but what your Grace assists at. It is likewise advertised unto this King and his Ministers, that your Grace hath many meetings with the Sea Captains, and that your Counsels are how the War is to be made against *Spain*. For the avoiding of unnecessary repetitions, I do here inclosed send your Grace a Copie of my Letter to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, wherein you will find a relation of all things that are come to my hands at this present, that may any way have reflection unto his Majesties service. And this is the course which I intend, and conceive most convenient to hold hereafter with your Grace, without you command me the contrary. In the said Copie your Grace will find a discourse of what hath lately passed betwixt my Lord of *Bristol*, and the Conde of *Olivarez* in the *Pardo*. Now that I may more fully discharge my dutie, I have thought fit here to acquaint your Grace, that since the putting off of the *Deposorios* at a meeting that my Lord and my self had with the Conde, he did make a solemn protestation, that if the Treatie of the Match did ever come on again with effect, it should onely be by his Lordships hands, and no other. I then understood it, and still do, but for a frothy protestation, yet have held it my dutie to advertise it, having passed in my hearing; the truth is, that my Lords answer was in Conformitie to his last in the *Pardo*, every way rejecting it, saying, That he had rather be confined to any Town in *Afrigue*, then that his person should be any hinderance to the Match. Thus forbearing to trouble your Grace any farther, with my hearty prayers unto God for the continuance of his blessings unto you. I rest

*Your Graces, &c.*

W. A.

*Sir Walter Aston to Secretary Conway, 22. Jan. 1623.*

*Right Honourable,*

BY the return of this Bearer Mr. *Greisley*, you will understand of the safe coming to my hands of your dispatch of the 30<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth, with his Majesties Letters therein inclosed. I do now herewithal send an account unto his Majestie of my proceedings upon his Commands, which I do intreat your Honour to be pleased

to present unto him, as also farther to acquaint his Majestie, that I have already spoken with divers of these Ministers, and given them such a declaration of his Majesties good intentions in the pressing at this season for the restitutions of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral dignity unto the Prince his Son in Law, as I have order to do by the said Letter, but do find they are here so possessed with the ill relations they receive out of *England*, that I with much difficultie can scarce give them any kind of satisfaction. I have acquainted the *Conde Olivarez* with the answer, which your honour, and Mr. Secretarie *Calvert* had received from their Embassadours touching their audiences, the *Conde* himself having formerly acquainted me with their Complaint. His answer now was, That he understood they had acknowledged unto your Honours to have received from his Majestie in that point all kind of satisfaction, but that after you were gone the Marquesse of *Tnoisa* wrote a Letter to Secretarie *Calvert*, telling him, that he did not well remember himself, of what had passed at his being there, but had since called to mind, that he had procured some audiences with the Prince with much difficultie. To which I answered the *Conde*, That it seemed the Marquesse was very light of his advertisements, to give such informations as might breed ill understandings betwixt Princes, and esteem them of no more Consequence, then to forget what he had advertised with so much ease. Concerning that malicious report here raised of the Prince's treating a marriage in *France*. I desire your Honour to let his Majestie know, that it is advertised hither out of *England* as a thing so certain, that there is not a Minister of State (excepting the *Conde of Gondomar*) that hath not given some credit unto it. I have therefore according to his Majesties directions given such declarations touching the author and believers of it, as your Honour in his Majesties name hath commanded me: I have likewise received by Mr. *Greisly* your Letter of the 31. of the last: In answer of which, all that I shall need to say here unto your Honour is, that my Lord of *Bristol* hath received your former Letter, acquainting him with his Majesties pleasure concerning the same businesse, from whom his Majestie will receive an account thereof. This is all that I have to say to your Honour at this present touching those particulars mentioned in your Letter; I shall now here further acquaint you with such advertisements, as I conceive may any waies have reference unto his Majesties service. My Lord of *Bristol*, and my self repairing some few daies since unto the *Pardo*, having conference with the *Conde of Olivarez*, his Lordship acquainted the *Conde* with the Letters of revocation, which he had received

from his Majestie, and withal desired that he would procure him licence to take his leave of the King. The *Conde* answered his Lordship, That he had much to say unto him by order from his Majestie, the substance of his speech was ; That they had received large advertisements out of *England*, by which they understood the hard measure that he was there likely to suffer by the power of his enemies, and that the onely crime, which they could impute unto him, was for labouring to effect the marriage, which his Master could not but take much to heart, and held himself obliged to publish to the world the good service that my Lord had done unto the King of great *Brittain*; and therefore for the better encouragement likewise of his own and all other Ministers that should truly serve their Masters, he was to offer him a blank paper signed by the King, wherein his Lordship might set down his own Conditions, and demands ; which he said he did not propound to corrupt any servant of his Majesties, but for a publique declaration of what was due unto his Lordships proceedings. He said further, that in that offer, he laid before him the Lands, and Dignities, that were in his Masters power to dispose of ; out of which he left it at his pleasure to choose what estate, or honour, he should think good, adding thereunto some other extravagant and disproportionable offers. My Lords answer was, That he was very sorry to hear this language used unto him, telling the *Conde*, that his Catholique Majestie did owe him nothing, but that what he had done was upon the King his Masters Commands, and without any intention to serve *Spain*. And that howsoever he might have reason to fear the power of his enemies, yet he trusted much upon the innocency of his own Cause, and the Justice of the King, and that he could not understand himself in any danger : but were he sure to lose his head at his arrival there, he would go to throw down himself at his Majesties feet and mercy, and rather there die upon a Scaffold, then be Duke of *Infantada* in *Spain*. On the 16<sup>th</sup>. of this moneth, there was declared here in Councel a resolution of this King, to make a journey to his frontier Towns in *Andaluzia*, with an intention to begin his journey upon the 29. of this moneth *Stil. Vet.* And as I am informed his Majestie will there entertain himself the greatest part of these three moneths following ; so that his return hither will not be until the beginning of *May*. My Lord of *Bristol* hath sent divers to the *Conde* for leave to dispeed himself of the King, but in respect of his Majesties being at the *Pardo*, he hath been hitherto delayed, and hath yet no certain day appointed for it : But I conceive it will be sometime this week. The Cause of the delaying of his



his Lordships admittance to the King, as I understand is, that the same day that his Lordship shall declare his revocation to the King, they will here in Council declare the revocation of the Marquesse of *Ynoisa*. Howsoever in respect of the Kings departure, (at which time they use here to embarge all the mules, and means of carriage in this Town) I believe his Lordship will not begin his journey so soon as he intended.

All the relations which are lately come out of *England* do wish them to entertain themselves here with no farther hopes, that there is any intention to proceed to the Match; and this advice comes accompanied with such a report of the state of all things there, that hath much irritated all these Ministers, and let loose the tongues of the people against the proceedings of his Majestie, and Highnesse. I labour as much as I can, and as far as my directions will give me latitude, to give them better understandings of the real intentions of his Majestie and Highnesse: but divers of them clearly tell me, That I professe one thing, and the actions of his Majestie and Highnesse (upon the which they must ground their belief) are differing from it. I shall therefore here in discharge of my duty advertize your Honour, that they do here expect nothing but a War, about which they have already held divers Councils, and go seriously to work, preparing themselves for what may happen. Which I desire your Honour to advertize his Majestie, being high time, as far as I am able to judge, that am here upon the place, that his Majestie do either resolve upon some course for the allaying of these storms; or that he go in hand with equal preparations. Having observed in former times, the strange rumours that have run in *England* upon small foundations; I have thought it fit to prevent the credit which may be given to idle relations by advertizing your Honour that I cannot conceive how any great attempt can be made from hence this year; howsoever busineses should go. The Squadron of the Kings Fleet (under the Command of *Don Fadrique de Toledo*) is come into *Cadiz*, and joyned with that which *Don Juan Taxardo* is Captain of. And as I am credibly informed, this King will have by the end of *April* between 50. and 60. Gallions at Sea. It is true that other years the number commonly falls short of what is expected, and their setting forth to Sea some moneths later then the time appointed, but there is extraordinary care taken this year, that there be no default in neither.

The chief end (that I can understand) of this Kings journey being to see the Fleet of Plate come in, to take view of his Armado, and see them



*Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway.*

them put to Sea. That which I understand is onely left alive of the Marriage here is, that the Jewels, which the Prince left with this King for the Infanta and her Ladies, are not yet returned, but it is intimated unto me, that if the Letters which they shall receive out of England upon the answer they have given to his Majestie about the businesse of the *Palatinate* be no better, then such as they have lately received, they will return the Jewels, and declare the businesse of the Match for broken. I shall therefore intreat your Honour to know his Majesties pleasure how I shall carry my self, if they be offered unto me, being resolved in the mean time untill I shall know his Majesties pleasure, if any such thing happen, absolutely to refuse them. The Princeesse some few daies since fell sick of a *Calentura*, of which she remaineth still in her bed, though it be said she is now somewhat better. I will conclude with many thanks for your friendly advertizements concerning my own particular, which (God willing) as far as I can, I will observe, and do earnestly intreat you, that you will please to continue the like favours unto me, which I shall highly esteem of. And so with a grateful acknowledgment of my obligations, I rest

Your Honours, &c.

*W. A.*

*Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway.*

*Right Honourable,*

I Have advertized by former dispatches, that the Parliament here had granted unto this King 60 millions of Duckats to be paid in 12 years, which with 12 millions which remain yet unpaid of what was given the King at the last Session, this King was to receive 72 millions in the 12 years next following. I shall now acquaint your Honour, that there are only 19. Cities that have voice in this Parliament, and that each of them do send hither two *Provadores*, (as they call them here) but these have no power finally to conclude any thing, but what is agreed on by them is to be approved of by the said Cities or the greatest number of them before it have the force of an Act of Parliament, and that therefore there hath been all possible art used to procure the Cities to confirm what hath been granted by their *Procuradores* touching the 60. millions; and it is here thought that

that one of the motives of this Kings journey was, hoping by the authority of his presence to procure the consent unto the said gift of the 4. Cities which he is to passe by in this journey, namely *Cordova*, *Sivel*, *Joen*, and *Granado*, it being here doubted, that the said Cities might make great opposition to the said grant, notwithstanding his Majestie hath not had such successe as was expected. But *Cordova* which was the first City with which his Majestie began, hath absolutely refused to give their Consent, letting his Majestie understand, though in as fair and respectful terms as they could expresse themselves, That it was a demand impossible for them to Comply withal. What the successe of this may be is doubtful, *Cordova* having given but an ill example to the other Cities, and yet it is rather believed here, that the greatest number of them being under the Command of such as are either this Kings servants, or absolutely under his dispose, that his Majestie will be able to overcome the businesse, and they are now busie how to settle the manner of the leavie of the said sum by yearly and equal portions.

They having found here divers inconveniences in their new Government of *Portugal* by way of Governours, are resolved to place Vice-Kings again there. And for to gratifie the Emperour have elected for that charge his third Brother *Don Carlos*, who is presently to make his repair thither. On the 27<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth, my Lord of *Bristol* took his leave of the Queen and the Infanta, and on the Sunday following being the 29. of the said moneth, his Lordship delivered unto me the Powers which his Highnesse left with him, and those which have been since sent hither. His Lordship is preparing for his journey, and saith that he is already in such a forwardnesse, as upon the arrival here of Mr. *Greisley*, or any other from *England*, whereby he shall receive means for the taking up of moneys here, he will presently put himself upon the way. The Queen here some few daies since fell suddenly ill, and swooned two or three times, but her indisposition lasted not above two or three dayes; Her Majestie is now (thanks be to God) very well again. The King having received advice thereof intended (as it is said) to come presently post hither, but upon better news, his Majestie proceeds in his journey, and for any thing that I can understand, it will be *May* before his return to this Town.

There are lately thrown abroad in this Town divers Copies of a Proclamation pretended to be published in *Ireland* bearing date the 27. of January last. It hath made a great noise here, and divers of their Ministers have spoken with me about it, they conceiving it to be

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be contrary to what hath been lately Capitulated. For my part, I have been able to give them no answer, not having yet understood from your Honour, nor any of his Majesties Ministers, of any such Proclamation. I have seen the Proclamation as it came printed from thence, and do here inclosed send your Honour a Copy thereof, desiring you that you will acquaint his Majestie therewithal, that he may be pleased to Command therein what to his wisdom shall seem fit. To those that have spoken with me about this Proclamation (having first disclaimed the having had knowledge of any such thing) I have used discourses of mine own touching the abuses of those which are called titular Archbishops, Bishops, &c. letting them understand here, that if those kind of people have been busie there to plant secretly their Government, they have far exceeded the favour which was promised them, and given his Majestie just cause to give order for the reformation.

My last to your Honour was of the 7<sup>th</sup>. of February last by *Albert Rivas*, whom I dispatched with all diligence to you, since when I have received nothing from your Honour. I shall therefore, &c.

Your Honours, &c.

*W. A. Aston:*

*Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway,*  
5<sup>th</sup>. June. 1624.

*Right Honourable,*

**I**N a former Dispatch which I lately made unto your Honour, I sent unto you the Copy of a Letter, which I then had newly received from the Secretarie *Don Andreas de Prada*, by which he advertised me, That the King his Master (according to what I had requested by memorial) had commanded, that all English Commodities and Manufactures (which I have long since advertized were prohibited by *Prematicas* published here for the reformation of abuses) should enter into these Kingdoms. I have long since performed divers diligences my self, both with the Secretary, and President of *Castile*, for the procuring a declaration of the said order, being careful to prevent such inconveniences as the King our Masters Subjects might fall into for want thereof. But having been tossed up and down between the  
Secretarie,



Secretarie, and the President with several delays, the one remitting me to the other. I repaired to the *Conde of Olivarez* (suspecting some novelty in the businesse) and acquainted him, that upon the receipt of a Letter sent me from the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*, concerning the free entrance of English Commodities, I had given notice by a Copy of the said Letter unto the King my Master of what was therein Commanded, and had likewise advertised the Merchants that reside in these Kingdomes of the said Order. I also gave him account of the several diligences which I had performed with the President, and the Secretary, for the procuring a declaration thereof, and desired that he would presently command that there might be such course taken, that there should be no further delays used therein, since I should be loath to see the King my Masters Subjects encouraged by the said Order to repair hither with their Merchandizes, and fall into inconveniencies for want of notice given thereof unto their Ministers in the Ports. The *Conde* fell into discourses far from my expectation, asking mewhether it was not free for any King, in his own Kingdom, to Command his own Subjects to wear what he pleased, saying further, that the English were not prohibited to bring in their Commodities, but that the King his Master might command his Subjects to spend the Bayes, and other Commodities of his own Kingdoms, and not to make use of those that came from forraign parts, as to his wisdom for the good of his Kingdoms should seem best. That there should be a suspension of the execution of the said *Pramatica's* until *St. James-tide*, and no longer. To which I answered, That I made no doubt of the power, that every King had over his own Subjects; notwithstanding where it was articulated betwixt two Kings, that there should be a free admittance of each others Commodities unto their several Kingdomes, and after a Command should be given prohibiting either of them unto their Subjects the making use thereof, it could not but be understood a defrauding and deluding of the Articles, and the true intention of them: but I told him I came not to dispute this now, for the Secretaries Letter had desired me to take notice of another resolution, therefore I desired, that there might be a speedy and publique declaration made of what was therein signified unto me: or if there were any new resolution, that I might understand it. To which he answered (pretending that he spake it as a freedom which he used with me) but came out with it in such a manner, as I saw he was full of it) That the truth was, that they would proceed here, as they were proceeded withal in England. That the King my Master had lately gi-



ven leave to the *Hollanders* to transport Artillery out of England, and had denied the like to their Embassadours having required it; which was (as he said) directly against the articles of peace, wherein it was Capitulated, That neither should assist with any kind of armes the enemy of the other. He said farther, That the English had taken *Ormuh*, and there was no satisfaction given concerning that businesse, nor appearance of any intention to do it, and concluded, That when the Articles of Peace should be observed to them, they would do the like. I told the *Conde* I had not understood any thing of those particulars which he mentioned, and therefore could say nothing unto him; neither thought I fit to give him any further answer, being loath in a businesse of this importance, where the Articles of Peace between these Kingdoms are in question, to do any thing at guesse, but to advertise it to the King my Master, and to proceed according to such order as he shall please to give me. I do therefore intreat your Honour, that you will be pleased to acquaint his Majestie with what hath passed, wherein I doubt not but his Majestie will observe the distraction, and inconstancy of their proceedings here at present, in Commanding, what his Majestie will have found by this Secretaries Letter, and taking presently after new resolutions. After this language which the *Conde* hath used unto me, I cannot expect any reason or justice here, and the Merchants have many suites depending wherein they have received great injuries, whereof I have not hitherto complained, because I was in continual hope of procuring redresse, and their suites proceeded on, I cannot say as I would have wished, but according to the stile here, and in such manner as they have done in former times. I doubt not but his Majestie will therefore likewise please to consider what a stop there is likely to be here of all businesses concerning the Commerce, and either proceed as occasion shall there be offered, in the like manner, or take such a Course for settling things in better order, as to his wisdom shall seem best. I have since had some overtures made unto me, that the said declaration shall presently come out, in the mean time I would not wish, that the Merchants should adventure anything trusting to their courtesie here. By my last unto your Honour which was of the 20<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, I advertised the advice which was given hither, That the Galeons, that bring the Plate, were upon the way for these parts; Since when there is newes of their arrival at *St. Lucar*, excepting two of them which perished in their journey hitherward, the one sprung a leak in a calm day, and sunk so fast, that there were onely saved 52 men, the rest, which were about 200. persons, were all drowned, neither was any

of her freight saved. The other was their *Admirante*, which corresponds with our Vice-Admiral, which likewise sprung a leak, but all the men aboard were saved, and a good part of her silver. There is lost upon Register in these two Ships three millions, and it is thought that there perished in them above a million in silver, and goods unregistred.

Upon order that was lately sent unto the *Assistente* of *Sevil*, for the perfecting the Grant of the Millions to the King by the said City, there being doubt made whether it was a lawful Concession, or no; The *Assistente* called together those, that had voices in the said grant of the said Millions, and made a speech unto them, wishing a general Conformity to what his Majestie had desired of them; but the proposition was very distastful unto the greater number, who little expected to have heard that businesse revived again. And the people having gotten notice upon the breaking up of that meeting of what had been there propounded, in a tumultuous manner ran after the *Assistente*, who was returning to his house, and hearing such a clamour behind him, thought that the people had been disquieted by some accident, and stayed to have appeased them, but by the curses which he heard, and the blowes he received by the stones which were thrown at him, he quickly found against whom the fury of the people was bent, and so made all the haste he could to his own house, which at length he recovered sore wounded, and with much hazard of his life.

The *Irish* Priests, and others of that Kingdome which reside in this Court, begin to grow very busie here, and do promise great matters unto this King in the assistance which his Majestie shall find in *Ireland*, whensoever he shall please to attempt any thing against that Kingdome; but for any thing I can learn, there hath been as yet so little ear given unto them, that they have not descended to make any particular offer. But they are treated here with much Courtesie, *Tyr-Connel* being made a Page to the Queen, and the rest receiving good satisfaction. I will be as vigilant as I can to trace out their steps, and I hope I shall be able to give seasonable advertizement of their proceedings. Howsoever since secret Councils may be held, and resolutions taken, which I may misse of; I doubt not but the King our Master considering the present jealousies, and distastes betwixt these Crowns, will be vigilant to secure that Kingdom, that there may be nothing neglected upon which they may here take any sudden advantage. By the English Merchants that reside in *Malaga* I have received advice, that 3. *Scottish* Masters of Ships have lately had

*Sir Walter Aston to the Lord Conway.*

a sentence pronounced against them by the D. of *Medina Sidona*, wherein their Ships and all their goods are confiscated, for having brought *Holland* Commodities to that Port, and their persons condemned to the Gallies; which notwithstanding their apellation unto the Council of War here, (which ought to have been admitted them) was presently put into execution. The same day that I received the advice, I gave in a Memorial to the Council of State, representing the rigorous and unjust proceeding against the said Scottish Masters, and desired that they would send their order, that the Apellation might be admitted, and that their persons might be presently returned off of the Gallies. I likewise repaired to the Conde of *Olivarez*, acquainting him with the proceedings of the Duke, and was able to give him some examples of divers *Hollanders* that had been treated in the like occasion with far lesse rigour. Whereupon there is Command given according to what I have desired; and whatsoever shall become of their goods, I have a promise from the Conde of *Olivarez*, that their persons shall be treated with all Courtesie. It is published by the Ladies of the Palace, that the Queen is with Child, which hath filled this Court with much joy, and her Majestie hath so much better health now upon her being new with Child, then she hath had of the rest, that they are already here full of hopes that she will bring them a Prince, &c.

*Your Honours, &c.*

Wa. Aston.

*The Abstract of a Letter from Sir Walter Aston to the  
Lord Conway, 17. July, 1624.*

**H**E acknowledgeth the receipt of his Majesties Letters of the 27. of June by Mr. *Wych*, and is busie in preparing to put those Directions in execution, and that being done, will give a speedy and full account. The Marquesse *Ynoisa* dispatched away a Post to *Spain* from *Calice*, and by him gave as malicious an account of his usage at his departure from *England*, and also of all other late passages there, as malice it self could have dictated. He omits no libels or infamous songs, nor spares his own inventions where they may serve to incense. The Credit they are like to give to their Embassadour,  
the



the height of discontent they are now in, the assurance given them of the weak and mean estate of all things in England may tempt them to offer the giving us a blow, where we are weakest. And therefore no necessary preparations for defence to be neglected on our part. None of their Armado stirres yet, but only 4. Gallions appointed to accompany for some daies the *Nova Espagna* Fleet that put to Sea the fourth of this present.

Sir *Walter Aston* doubts, that the light he hath received of the present state of things in England, and the Arguments to answer their Objections will hardly be applied to give any satisfaction. (things being in so much distemper there) And where the best answers on both sides are recriminations, he conceives little is to be expected but a direct falling out. The cause of their retarding *Mendoza's* coming for England hath been their desire to see the issue of the proceedings with their Embassadour. All the Grandees, and principal persons of Spain are summoned to give their attendance with their armes, which is done by three Letters. 1. *Admonitoria*. 2. *Apercibitoria*. 3. *Executoria*. The two first are already set forth. And there is order likewise given for the *Battalon* to be in a readinesse, which is the same as the Trained Bands in England. This is an ancient practise there upon suspicion of forraign invasion, or domestique Commotion. There are leavies new making according to custome, for supplying of Garrisons; and though these Leavies are greater then usually, yet not much worthy of note. An Embassadour arrived there for *Denmark*; his coming being given out to be to negotiate the businesse of the Palatinate, and to make overtures for a Peace with Holland: but if nothing be heard of this in England, it is not like to be true. A Request presented unto the King by a *Consulta* from the Inquisiter general, &c. to procure a *Jubile* from *Rome* for expiation of the late great Contempt done by a Frenchman to the Sacrament. The King promiseth to do it, and he, the Queen, and the whole household will endeavour to deserve it by fasting, and other duties. In his answer to the *Consulta* there is a passage, that intimates his intention of looking abroad with his armes. The Frenchman was condemned, burnt publicquely, and dyed a Roman Catholique. There have been divers processions in expression of the general grief for that action. The King, Queen, his Brothers and Sister, with the Grandees, and the Councel went in procession about the two square Courts of the Palace, where there were 4. Altars built, one by the Kings care, the rest by the Queen, the Infanta, Cardinal, *Don Carlos*, and *Dona Maria*, who joyned in the care of one of them. The



greatest riches of Diamonds and Pearls that were in the Churches thereabouts, and in the Kings store were presented on those Altars, and were at ten millions. They intend to dispatch one *Jaqueſſe Brones* Secretary of the Councel of *Flanders*, by poſt into England to bring *Don Carlos* warrant to come away, and to ſtay Agent in England until the arrival of another Embaſſadour, which will not be long. They ſtay the giving out of the order for the free admittance of Engliſh Merchandizes, until they ſee what will be done with their Ships in the Downs, &c.

*Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 20. of*  
Octob. 1624.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

**I** Affure my ſelf that your Grace is very confident, that I have not only purſued the Complaint which I here made againſt the Marqueſſe of *Tnoisſa* with the duty of a Miniſter in obedience to the King my Maſters Command, but as paſſionately intereſted againſt his perſon, who maliciously attempted to ſtain (if it had been poſſible) the honour of the Prince his Highneſſe and your Graces my nobleſt friend. And certainly my Lord, I ſhould be infinitely afflicted in not having brought this buſineſſe to that iſſue which I thiſted after, could I accuſe my ſelf of having omitted any thing, that might have ſharpened them here againſt him: But the *Conde of Olivarez* with a ſtrong and violent hand hath delivered the Marqueſſe from any exemplary puniſhment, which would certainly have been inflicted upon him, had he been left to the Councel of State, and without care either of the King his Maſters honour or engagement, hath ſaved the Marqueſſe, and left the envy of it upon his Maſteſtie, if the King our Maſter will ſo pleaſe to underſtand it.

In my laſt unto your Grace which was of the 24<sup>th</sup>. of the laſt moneth, I humbly intreated you to procure me his Maſteſties leave to return into England for ſome few moneths, which ſuit I do here again renew unto your Grace. Howſoever in reſpect of this novelty in the Marqueſſe his buſineſſe, I will forbear putting my ſelf upon the way until I hear of the receipt of this diſpatch: ſince if his Maſteſtie ſhall pleaſe to give any demonſtrations here of his ſence of their unworthy proceedings, I would be loath that thoſe Commands ſhould

should find me out of the way: with the remembrance of my duty,  
I rest

Your Graces, &c.

W<sup>a</sup>. Aston.

Sir Walter Aston to the Duke the 10<sup>th</sup>. of  
Decemb. 1625.

*May it please your Grace,*

THE Portugal Armado put to Sea on the 12<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth  
*Stil. Vet.* It consists of 22. Ships of War, 4. Victuallers, and  
two small Pinnaces of Advice: There goeth in it neer upon 4000.  
Land Souldiers. From Cadiz I have now fresh advice, That *Don*  
*Frederique* is still in the Port, with the Fleet which he Commands, but  
himself and his men all embarked. That Armado consisteth of some  
35. Ships of War, and about 8000. Souldiers, and both the Fleets are  
victualled for 8. moneths. That of Portugal had first order to ex-  
pect *Don Frederique* at the *Cape St. Vincent*, but hath since received  
command to proceed on the journey. It being now 27. dayes since  
the Fleet departed, and this remaining still in the Harbour, doth give  
me much cause of jealousy: especially understanding, that they have  
here advice, (which they give credit to) that the Troops lately de-  
livered to Count *Mansfelt* are sent to succour *Breda*, fearing (if it be  
so) that they laying hold of it as a breach of the Peace (which inter-  
pretation I meet with in every discourse) should presently fall with  
this Armado upon some part of Ireland. I have no farther ground  
for this distrust, then what I have here represented, which your Grace  
weighing with the importancy of their enterprize in hand for the re-  
covering the *Baya*, and the occasions that will be given them from  
England, do best know what rigid judgment to make. Sithence I  
wrote my other Letter unto your Grace, (which accompanies this)  
I understand the *French* Embassadour by order from the King his  
Master, hath given account unto this King of the Conclusion of the  
Match betwixt the Prince his Highnesse, and Madam *Christiene* his  
Masters Sister. Whereupon this King, and the whole Court put on  
*Galas*: I conceive (howsoever I have not heard any thing thereof  
by any Letter unto me) that this is ground enough to. Congratulate  
with your Grace this good beginning which I shall affectionately  
wish.

*Dr. Williams to the Duke.*

wish may in the successe in all times prove a happines to his Highnes and a particular blessing to your Grace. The *Conde of Gondomar* hath newly received a Command from the King his Master (signified unto him by the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*) to put himself presently upon the way for England, which he hath answered he will obey, howsoever I believe he will keep his *Christmasse* here. Mr. *Butler* whom your Grace left here placed with this King meets often with such discourses in the Palace, that as a faithful servant to your Grace, he hath no patience to bear, which he hath reason to believe will in a short time throw him out of this Court, which he would be glad to prevent, if he might have your Graces command to return, being infinitely desirous that your Grace would dispose otherwise of him. I will conclude with the same suit for my self, there being none that hath more need of comfort from your Grace. I best know, that I have no way deserved any change or decay in your Graces favour towards me, having not been slow in upbraiding this Nation with their obligations to your Grace, and their shameful ungratefulnesse, nor without a constant, and passionate desire to serve your Grace every way to your content, if your Graces Commands would but direct me what to do, I do therefore rest confident of your care and goodnesse towards me. And so with my prayers to God to continue his blessings upon you, I rest

Your Graces, &c.

*W. Aston.*

*Dr. Williams to the Duke.*

*My most noble Lord,*

**I**T hath pleased God to call for the Bishop of *London*. I am so conscious of mine own weaknesse and undeservings, that, as I never was, so now I dare not be a suiter for so great a charge. But if his Majestie by your Honours mediation, shall resolve to call me to perform him the best service I can in that place, I humbly beseech your Honour to admit me a suiter in these three circumstances.

First, that whereas my Lord of *London* hath survived our Lady day, and received all the profits, that should maintain a Bishop until *Michaelmasse*, I may by his Majesties favour retain all my own means until the next day after *Michaelmas day*; this is a Petition which I shall

shall be necessitated to make unto his Majestie (if his Majestie by your favour shall advance me to this place) and injureth no man else in the world.

Secondly, that whereas the Commissioners challenge from the Bishops revenues a matter of 200. l. *per annum*, (this Bishoprick being already very meanly endowed in regard of the continual charge, and exhaustments of the place) it would please his Majestie to leave in my hands (by way of *Commendam*) one Benefice of mine, which falls into his Majesties dispose upon my remove, until it be determined by the said Commissioners, whether any part of the Bishops means be due unto the Fabrique. My humble suit is for *Walgrave*, a Benefice with Cure in *North-hamptonshire*, where I have laid out all my estate in temporal Lands.

Lastly, that if it be found, that the Bishop is to joyn with the Residentiaries of *Pauls* in the repair of the Church, his Majestie would qualifie me by a *commendam* to hold one of my own Prebends, when it shall fall to be a Residentiarie also; that if I be charged with the burthen of Residentiarie, I might enjoy the profits of a Residentiarie.

These three requests do (I confesse) adde unto me, but do not prejudice any one else whatsoever. I submit them and my self to your Honours wisdom, &c.

The names of such Ecclesiastical promotions as I now retain, and will fall to be disposed of by the King, if I should be removed.

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|--|--|
| 1. Deanery of <i>Westminster</i> .     | 6. Chaunter of <i>Lincoln</i> .        |
| 2. Rectorie of <i>Dinam</i> .          | 7. Prebendary of <i>Asgarbie</i> .     |
| 3. Rectorie of <i>Walgrave</i> .       | 8. Prebendary of <i>Nonnington</i> .   |
| 4. Rectorie of <i>Grafton</i> .        | 9. Residentiaries place of <i>Lin-</i> |
| 5. Prebendary of <i>Peterborough</i> . | <i>coln</i> .                          |

Lord Keeper to the Duke, 27. July, 1621.

My most noble Lord,

AN unfortunate occasion of my Lords Grace his killing of a man casually (as it is here constantly reported) is the cause of my seconding of my yesterdaies Letter unto your Lordship. His Grace (upon this accident) is by the Common Law of England to forfeite all his estate unto his Majestie, and by the Canon Law (which is in force)



force with us) irregular, *ipso facto*, and so suspended from all Ecclesiastical function, until he be again restored by his Superiour, which (I take it) is the Kings Majestie in this rank, and order of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction. If you send for Dr. Lamb he will acquaint your Lordship with the distinct penalties in this kind. I wish with all my heart, his Majestie would be as merciful, as ever he was in all his life; but yet I held it my duty to let his Majestie know by your Lordship, that his Majestie is fallen upon a matter of great advice, and deliberation. To adde affliction to the afflicted (as no doubt he is in mind) is against the Kings nature; to leave *virum Sanguinum*, or a man of blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old Councils, and Canons of the Church. The Papists will not spare to descant upon the one and the other. I leave the knot to his Majesties deep wisdom to advise and resolve upon. A rheume false into mine eye (together with the rumour I last wrote unto your Lordship about) hath fastened me unto my bed. which makes this Letter the more unhandsome. But I will take nothing to heart, that proceeds from his Majestie, or from that King, who hath raised me from the dust, to all that I am. If the truth were set down, 1. That my self was the first mover for a temporary Keeper. 2. That his Majestie hath promised me upon the relinquishing of the Seal (or before) one of the best places in this Church, as most graciously he did. 3. The year and a halfe probation left out, which is to no purpose, but to scare away my men, and to put a disgrace upon me. 4. That my assisting Judges were desired, and named by my self, which your Lordship knowes to be most true: Such a declaration would neither shame me, nor blemish his Majesties service in my person. And it were fitter a great deal, the penning thereof were referred to my self, then to Mr. Secretarie, or the Lord Treasurer, who (if he had his demerit) deserves not to hold his staffe half a year. I do verily believe, they will hasten to finish this act, before I shall hear from your Lordship, which if they do, God send me patience and as much care to serve him, as I have, and ever had to serve my Master; And then all must needs be well. I send your Lordship a Copy of that speech I have thought upon, to deliver at London upon Munday next at the Commission of the Subsidies: If his Majestie have leisure to cast his eye thereupon, and to give direction to have any thing else delivered, or any point of this suppressed, I would be directed by your Lordship whom I recommend in prayers to Gods good guiding and protection. And do rest, &c.

*My Lord,*

I Have found your Lordship already so favourable, and affectionate unto me, that I shall be still hereafter desirous to acquaint you with what concerns me, and bold to ask your advice, and counsel; which makes me to send this bearer to give your Lordship an account of my answer from Court, which I cannot better do, then by sending unto you the answer it self, which you shall receive here enclosed. Wherein you may see what is expected from me, that I may not onely magnifie his Majesties Gracious dealing with me, but cause all my friends to do the like, and restrain them from making any extenuation of my errours, which if they be disposed to do, or not to do is impossible for me to alter, that am not likely for a good time to see any other then mine own family. For my self, I shall ever be ready (as is fit) to acknowledg his Majesties favour to me, but can hardly perswade my self, that any error by me committed, deserved more punishment then I have had, and hope that his Majestie will not expect, that I should not confesse my self to have been subject to a Star-chamber sentence, which God forbid I should ever do. I have, and shall do according to that Part of my Lord of *Buckingham*s advice to speak of it as little as I can, and so shall I do in other things to meddle as little as I can. I purpose (God willing) to go to morrow to *Tychfield* (the place of mine confinement) there to stay as long as the King shall please.

*Sir William Parkhurst* must go with me, who hoped to have been discharged at the return of my Messenger from Court, and seemes much troubled, that he is not, pretending that it is extream inconvenient for him, in regard of his own occasions. He is fearful he should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lordship writes to the Court, you would but put my Lord of *Buckingham* in remembrance of it, you shall (I think) do him a favour. For my part it is so little trouble to me, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returns, I beseech you return by him this inclosed Letter, and beleive that whatsoever I am I will ever be, Your Lordships most assured friend to do you service.

*H. Southampton, &c.*

*The Lord Keepers answer to the E. of Southhamptons*  
*Letter. 2. August, 1621.*

*My Lord,*

I Have perused your Lordships Letter, and that enclosed I return back again. And doubt nothing of my Lord Admirals remembering of you upon the first opportunity. Great works (as I hope this will be a perfect reconciling of his Majesties affections to you, of your best studies, and endeavours to the service of his Majestie) do require some time: They are but poore actions, and of no continuance that are Slubbered up in an instance. I know (my Lord) mens tongues are their own, nor lieth it in your power to prescribe what shall be spoken for you, or against you. But to avoid that *Complacencia* (as the Divines call it) that itching, and inviting of any interpretation, which shall so add to your innocencie, as it shall derogate from the Kings mercie, which (I speak as I would do before God) had a great cloud of jealousies, and suspicions to break through, before it came to shine upon you. This (I take it) is the effect of my Lords exhortation, and I know it ever hath been your Lordships resolution. How far you could be questioned in the Star-Chamber, is an unseasonable time to resolve. The King hath waved off all judgment, and left nothing for your meditation, but love and favour, and the increasing of both these. Yet I know (upon my late occasions to peruse Presidents in that Court) that small offences have been in that Court (in former times) deeply censured. In the sixteenth of *Edward* the second (for the Court is of great antiquity) *Henry Lord Beaumont*, running a way of his own about the invading of *Scotland*, and dissenting from the rest of the Kings Councel, because of his absenting himself from the Councel Table was fined and imprisoned: though otherwies a most worthy and deserving Noble man. But God be thanked your Lordship hath no cause to trouble your head about these meditations. For (if I have any judgment) you are in a way to demean your self as you may expect rather more new additions, then suspect the least diminution from his Gracious Majestie. For mine own part, assure your self, I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue, as long as you make good your professions to this Noble Lord. Of whose extraordinary goodnesse, your Lordship, and my self are remarkable reflections. The one of his sweetnesse in forgetting of wrongs, the other of his forwardnesse in conferring of courtesies.

With my best respect to your Lordship and my Noble Lady, and

my



my Commendations to Sir *William Parkhurst*, I recommend your Lordship, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the E. of  
South-hampton. 2. Aug. 1621.*

*My most noble Lord,*

I Humbly crave your pardon for often troubling your Honour with my idle Lines, and beseech you to remember, that amongst many miseries my sudden greatnesse comes accompanied with, this is not the least, that I can no otherwaies enjoy the happinesse of your presence. God is my witnesse, the Lord Keeper hath often (not without grief of heart) envied the fortunes of a poor Scholar, one Dr. *Williams*, late Dean of *Westminster*, who was so much blessed in the free access in that kind, as his Lordship (without a great quantity of goodnesse in your self) may scarce hope for. This inclosed will let your Lordship understand, that somewhat is to be finished in that excellent piece of mercy, which his Majestie (your hand guiding the Pencil) is about to expresse in the E. of *Southampton*. It is full time his Attendant were revoked in my poor opinion, and himself left to the Custody of his own good Angel. There is no readier way to stop the mouthes of idle men, nor to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of Justice, to behold nothing but goodnesse and mercy. And the more breathing time you shall carve out between this total enlargement and the next accessse of the Parliament, the better it will be for his Majesties service. Onely remember this, that now you are left to be your own Remembrancer. Of all actions forget not those of mercy, and Goodnesse, wherein men draw nighest to God himself: Nor of all Persons, prisoners and afflicted *Josephs*: Celerity doth redouble an act of mercy. But why do I turn a Preacher of goodnesse unto him, who (in my own particular) hath shewed himself to be composed of nothing else? Remember your Noble Self, and forget the aggravations of malice, and envy, and then forget if you can the E. of *Southampton*. God blesse you, and your royal Guest, and bring you both, after many years yet most happily run over here upon earth, to be his blessed guests in the Kingdom of Heaven.



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning the Lord of  
St. Albons, October 27<sup>th</sup>. 1621.*

*My most noble Lord,*

I Have received your Lordships expression concerning the Pause I made upon the two Patents. The Proclamation of writing to the Kings hand, and my Lord of St. *Albons* pardon. The former I have sealed this morning in duty, and obedience to your Lordships intimation. The latter I have not yet sealed, but do represent (in all lowlinesse and humility) these few Considerations by your Lordship to his sacred Majestie, wherein let your Lordship make no question, but I have advised with the best Lawyers in the Kingdom. And after this representation, I will perform whatsoever your Lordship shall direct.

1. His Majestie and your Lordship do conceive, that my Lord of St. *Albons* pardon and grant of his fine came both together to my hands, and so your Lordship directs me to passe the one and the other. But his Lordship was too cunning for me. He passed his fine (whereby he hath deceived his Creditors) ten dayes before he presented his pardon to the Seal. So as now in his pardon, I find his Parliament fine excepted, which he hath before the sealing of the same obtained and procured. And whether the house of Parliament will not hold themselves mocked and derided with such an exception, I leave to your Lordships wisdom. These two Grants are opposite and contradictory (in this point) the one to the other.

2. The King pardons in particular words, All sums of money and rewards taken for false judgments or decrees. And therefore the exception of the Parliamentary Censure (being inflicted but for the same taking of moneys and rewards) coming a good way after falleth too late in Law, and is of no force to satisfie the Lords (as I am informed) and I believe this clause was never seen in any other pardon.

3. The King pardoneth in my Lord of St. *Albon*, the stealing away, altering, rasing, and interlining of his Majesties Rowles, Records, Briefs, &c. which are more in a Lord Chancellors pardon, then the imbezeling of his Majesties jewels in a Lord Chamberlains. And yet the Lord Chancellour *Elsmore* could not indure that clause in my Lord of *Sommersets* Pardon, unlesse he would name the jewels in particular.

4. I will not meddle or touch upon those mistakings which may fall between the Parliament and his Majestie, or the mis-interpretation that enemies may make hereof to your Lordships prejudice, because

I see (in his Majesties great wisdom) these are not regarded. Onely I could have wished, the Pardon had been referred to the Council board, and so passed. I have now discharged my self of those poor scruples, which (in respect onely to his Majesties service, and your Lordships honour) have wrought this short stay of my Lord of *Str. Albans* Pardon. Whatsoever your Lordship shall now direct, I will most readily (craving pardon for this not undutiful boldnesse) put in execution. Because some speech may fall of this dayes speech, which I had occasion to make in the Common Pleas, where a Bishop was never seen sitting there these 70. years, I have presumed to inclose a Copy thereof, because it was a very short one.

Your Lordship shall not need to take that great pains (which your Lordship to my unexpressible comfort hath so often done) in writing: What Command soever your Lordship shall impose upon me as touching this pardon, your Lordships expression to Mr. *Packer* or the bearer shall deliver it sufficiently. God from heaven continue the showing and heaping of his blessings upon your Lordship, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 22. July, 1621.*

*My noble Lord,*

**V**With my truest affections, and thankfulnesse premised. I do not doubt but his Majestie and your Lordship do now enjoy the general applause of your goodnesse to the Earl of *Southampton*. Saturday last he came, and dined with me, and I find him more cordially affected to the service of the King, and your Lordships love and friendship, then ever he was, when he lay a prisoner in my house. Yet the Sunshine of his Majesties favour, though most bright upon others (more open offenders) is noted to be somewhat eclipsed towards him. What directions soever his Majestie gave, the order is somewhat tart upon the Earl. The word of Confinement, spread about the City (though I observed not one syllable so quick to fall from his Majestie) his Keeper much wondred at. The act of the Council published in our names, who were neither presents thereat, or heard one word of the same: yet upon my credit the Earl takes all things patiently, and thankfully, though others wonder at the same.

Mr. Secretary signed a Petition of one *Rookwood* a Papist, and prisoner in the Fleet upon five several executions, that I should grant him.

him his liberty. The Kings name is used, and the mediation of the Spanishe Embassadour. If I breaking rules so foully in favour of a Papist, (which I am resolved to keep straight against all men whatsoever) I shall infame my self in the very beginning. If his Majestie will have any special indulgence in this kind, I expect intimation immediately from the King, or your Lordship, and no third Person. Your Lordship will not expect from me any account of Council businessse, nor the setting at liberty of the late prisoners. Mr. Secretary is secret enough for imparting any thing unto me, so as I must remain in a necessary ignorance.

There is a Country man of mine one *Griffith*, a suiter unto the Court for the reversion of an Auditors place, recommended thereunto by his Master the Lord Treasurer. The place is of great Consequence for the disposing of his Majesties revenewes. The man is unfit for this, as presumptuous and daring for any place. Sir *Robert Pye* saith, he hath already written to your Lordship, and I doubt not of your care thereof. Doctour *Lamb* (the bearer) is a very sufficient, and (for ought I ever heard of him) an honest man. The King hath employed him in discovery of counterfeit Witchcrafts, in reforming of no counterfeit, but hearty Puritanes, and he hath done good service therein. If his Majestie (now in our pure ayr of *Northamptonshire*) do not shew him some favor, or grace, either by Knighting, or by using him courteously, The Brethren (having gotten out their *Telverton* again) will neglect and molest him too unsufferably. God from Heaven bleesse you. Remember your Deanerie, and Dean of *Westminster*, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the Earl Marshals place, 1. Septemb. 1621.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Beseech your Lordship to interpret this Letter well, and fairly, which no malice (though never so provoked) but my duty to his Majestie, and love to your Lordship hath drawn from me: both which respects as long as I keep inviolably, I will not omit for the fear of any man, or the losse of any thing in this world, to do any act, which my Conscience shall inform me to belong unto that place, wherein the King by your favour hath intrusted me. I received this morning two Commands from his Majestie, the one about a Pension of 2000 l. yearly, and the other concerning the office of the Earle *Marshall*, both



both conferred on the Right Honourable the Earle of *Arundel*. For the former, although this is a very unseasonable time to receive such large Pensions from so bountiful a King, and that the Parliament so soon approaching is very like to take notice thereof, and that this pension might (under the correction of your better judgment) have been conveniently deferred until that Assembly had been over. Yet who am I that should question the wisdom, and bounty of my Master? I have therefore sealed the same, praying secretly unto God to make his Majestie as abounding in wealth as he is in goodnesse. But the latter I dare not seale (my good Lord) until I heare your Lordships resolution to these few Questions.

Whether his Majestie by expressing himself in the delivery of the staffe to my Lord of *Arundel*, that he was moved thereunto for the easing of the rest of the Comissioners, who had, before, the execution of that office, did not imply, that his Majestie intended to impart unto my Lord no greater power, then was formerly granted to the Lords Comissioners. If it were so, this Pattent should not have exceeded theit Pattent, whereas it doth inlarge it self beyond that by many dimensions.

Whether it is his Majesties meaning, that the Pattent leaping over the powers of the three last Earles, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Sommerset*, should refer onely to my Lords own Ancestors, *Howards*, and *Mowbrayes* Dukes of Norfolk, who clamed this place by a way of inheritance. The usual reference of Pattents being unto the last, and immediate predecessour, and not unto the remote, whose powers (in those unsettled and troublesome times are vage, uncertain, and impossible to be limited.

Whether it is his Majesties meaning, that this great Lord should bestow those offices, settled of a long time in the Crown, Sir *Edward Zouch* his in the Court, Sir *George Reinel's* in the Kings Bench, and divers others. All which this new Pattent doth sweep away, being places of great worth and dignity.

Whether that his Majesties meaning, and your Lordships, that my Lord *Stewards* place shall be (for all his power of Judicature in the *Verge*,) either altogether extinguished, or at leastwise subordinated unto this new Office? A point considerable, because of the greatnesse of that person, and his neernesse in blood to his Majestie, and the Prince his Highnesse.

Lastly, Whether it be intended, that the offices of the Earl Marshal of England, and the Marshal of the Kings house, which seem in former times to have been distinct offices, shall be now united in this great



great Lord? A power limited by no Law, or Record, but to be searcht out from Chronicles, Antiquaries, Heralds, and such obsolete Monuments, and thereupon held these 60 years, (for my Lord of *Essex* his power was clearly bounded, and limited) unfit to be revived by the policy of this State.

These Questions, if his Majestie intended onely the renewing of this Commission of the Earl Marshals in my Lord of *Arundel* are material and to the purpose. But if his Majestie aymed withal, at the reviving of this old office, *Ala ventura*, whose face is unknown to the people of this age; upon the least intimation from your Lordship, I will seal the Patent. And I beseech your Lordship to pardon my discretion in this doubt, and irresolution. It is my place to be wary what innovation passeth the Seal. I may offend that great Lord in this small stay, but your Lordship cannot but know, how little I lose, when I lose but him, whom without the least cause in the world, I have irreconcilably lost already. All that I desire is, that you may know what is done, and I will ever do what your Lordship (being once informed) shall direct as becometh, &c.

That there is a difference betwixt the Earl Marshal, and the Marshall of the Kings house; See *Lamberts Archiron*: or of the High Courts of Justice in England

*Circa Medium.*

The Marshal of England, and the Constable are united in a Court, which handleth onely Duels out of the Realm, matters within the Realm, as Combats, Blazon, Armorie, &c. but it may meddle with nothing tryable by the Lawes of the Land.

The Marshal of the Kings Household is united in a Court with the Seneschal or Steward, which holds plea of Trespasses, Contracts, and Covenants made within the Verge, and that according to the Lawes of the Land, *Vid. Artic. Super Cart. C. 3.4.5*:

We do all of us conceive the King intended the first place only for this great Lord, and the second to remain in the Lord Stewards managing. But this new Patent hath comprehended them both. This was fit to be presented to your Lordship.

*Most Noble Lord,*

I Have seen many expressions of your love in other mens Letters (where it doth most naturally and purely declare it self) since I received any of mine own. It is much your Lordship should spare me those thoughts, which pour out themselves in my occasions: But to have me and my affaires in a kind of affectionate remembrance, when your Lordship is saluting of other Noble men, is more then ever I shall be able otherwaies to requite then with true prayers and best wishes. I received this afternoon (by Sir *John Brook*) a most loving Letter from your Lordship, but dated the 26<sup>th</sup>. of *Novemb.* imparting your care over me for the committing of one *Beefton* for breach of a Decree. My Noble Lord, Decrees once made must be put in execution, or else, I will confesse this Court to be the greatest imposture, and Grievance in this Kingdom. The damned in Hell do never cease repining at the Justice of God, nor the prisoners in the Fleet, at the Decrees in Chancery; of the which hell of prisoners this one, for antiquity and obstinacy may passe for a Lucifer. I neither know him, nor his cause, but as long as he stands in Contempt, he is not like to have any more liberty.

His Majesties last Letter, though never so full of honey (as I find by passages reported out of the same, being as yet, not so happy as to have a sight thereof) hath notwithstanding afforded those Spiders which infest that noble House of Commons, some poyson, and ill constructions to feed upon, and to induce a new diversion, or plain Cessation of weightier busineses. His Majestie infers, (and that most truly, for where were the Commons before *Henry* the first gave them authority to meet in Parliaments?) that their priviledges are but Graces and favours of former Kings, which they claim to be their inheritance, and natural birthrights. Both these assertions (if men were peaceably disposed, and affected the dispatch of the common busineses) might be easily reconciled.

These priviledges were originally the favours of Princes, and are now inherent in their persons: Nor doth his Majestie go about to impair or diminish them. If his Majestie will be pleased to qualifie that passage with some mild and noble exposition, and require them strictly to prepare things for a Session, and to leave this needlesse dispute, his Majestie shall thereby make it appear to all wise and just men, that these persons are opposite to those common ends, whereof

they vaunt themselves the onely Patrons. But do his Maieftie what he please, I am afraid (although herein the Lord Treasurer and others do differ from me) they do not affect a Sessions, nor intend to give at this time any Subsidie at all.

Will the King be pleased therefore to add in this Letter (which must be here necessarily upon Munday morning) that if they will not prepare bills for a Session, his Majesty will break up this Parliament without any longer Prorogation, and acquainting the Kingdom with their undutifulnesse and obstinacy, supply the present wants by some other meanes. Or will his Majesty (upon their refusal) presently rejourne the the Assembly until the appointed 8<sup>th</sup>. of Februrary. This course is fittest for further advice, but the other to expresse a just indignation. I dare advise nothing in so high a point, but humbly beseech almighty God to illuminate his Majesties understanding to insist upon that course, which shall be most behoveful for the advancement of his service. In our house his Majesties servants are very strong, and increase every day, nor is there the least fear of any Malignant opposition. God reward all your Lordships goodnesse and affection towards. &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about Mr. Thomas Murrayes  
Dispensation, &c. 23. Febr. 1621.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Should fail very much of my duty to his Majestie, if before the sealing of Mr. *Thomas Murrayes* Dispensation, I should not acquaint his Majestie expliciteley, and freely, with the nature of this act, far differing from any dispensation in this kind, ever granted by his Majestie, since his happie coming to the Crown of England. For (to say nothing of the right of the election of this Provost, which being originally not in the King, but in the fellowes, and now by their neglect devolved unto me, shall be fully and absolutely at his Majesties command) the place is a living with cure of souls, and I am to institute and admit him to the cure of souls of the Parish of Eaton by the expresse Letter of the Statute; without admission, it is impossible he should receive any real or rightful possession of the same. Now that his Majestie or any of his Predecessors, did ever dispence with a Lay-man to hold cure of souls, I think will be hard for any man to shew by any warrantable president, or record whatsoever. And I know his Majestie to be as much averse from giving any such president,

sident, as any *Prince* in *Christendome* living this day. This is altogether differing a *Deanery*, or an *Hospital*, which being livings without cure, have been, and may be justly conferred by his Majesty upon Lay-men with dispensations *de non promovendo*. If Sir Henry Savil's example be objected, I answer, (besides that the Queen made Clayme to the gift of the place by *lapse*, occasioned through the promotion of the Provost to the Bishoprick of *Chichester*, whereas his Majesty hath no such Clayme thereunto at this time) That Savil never durst take true possession of the place, but was onely slipt in by the Bishop, (who for fear of the Earl of *Essex* made bold with the conscience) *Ad Curam et regimen Collegii*, that is, to the care and government of the Colledge. Whereas by the expresse words of the foundation, he is to be admitted, *Ad Curam animarum Parochianorū Ecclesiæ Eatonianæ*, to the Cure of the souls of all the people of the Parish of Eaton. Secondly, I hold it no Disparagement to Mr. Murray (nor do find him all together averse from the same) to enter into orders in the reign of a King so favourable to our Coat, as (Gods name be praised for it) reigns now over us. This will give satisfaction to all the Church, bring him into this place according to statute, and the foundation of that dead King, prevent such a dangerous president for a Lay-man to possesse cure of souls in the Eye, and Center of all the Realm, and by an everlasting testimony of his Majesties Piety to the Church of England. Thirdly, what opinion this Gentleman hath of our Church government is better known to his Majesty, then to me. If he should be averse thereunto, it were such a blow unto the Church (the number of the Fellowes and Students there considered) as the like were never given by publique authority these 50 Years. Fourthly, howsoever his Majesty, and the Prince his Highnesse shall resolve thereof (at whose feet I lie to be wholly disposed) I hope it is neither of their royal intendments to transfer the Bishopprick of *Lincolne* upon the Fellowes of that house, who have rashly usurped a Power of admitting their Provost by any example seen before. Whereas all Provosts as well the Churchmen, who come in by Election, as the Lay-men recommended by the late Queen, were (as the foundation exactly requires it) admitted by the Bishop of *Lincolne* their Diocessand and Visitor. I hope it was Mr. *Murrayes* inexperience, rather then neglect (never deserved by me) that directed them to this strange course; subscription, and other conformities, to be acted in the presence of the Visitor, are essentially to be required before he can be admitted Provost of Eaton. Lastly, Mr. *Murraye* hath hicherto mistaken all his course. He must be first



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

dispensed withal (If his Majestie in his wisdom shall hold it fit) and then Elected first Fellow, and then Provost of the Colledg (if he will come in regularly, and safely) whereas now contrary to *Savils* president, he is first Elected, and then goes on with his dispensation.

All this I most humbly intreat your Lordship to make known to the Prince his Highnesse, and as much as your Lordship thinks fit thereof, to his Majestie. I will only adde one note, and so end. It will be no more disparagement for Mr. *Murray* his Highnesse Schoolmaster to enter into orders, then it was for *Coxe* King *Edwards* Schoolmaster, a Master of Requests, and Privie Counsellour, to do the like, who afterwards became a worthy Prelate of this Church. I have discharged my duty to the King, Prince, and the Church of England. It remains now, that I should (as I will) religiously obey whatsoever I shall be directed in the sequel of this businesse. And so I rest, &c.

*Postscript.*

MY Lord, Mr. *Murray* since came unto me, to whom I shewed this Letter, and told him I would send it unto you to be shewed unto the King, and the Prince. I find him willing to run all courses, Priesthood onely excepted. If the King will dispence with him, my Letter notwithstanding, I humbly beseech his Majestie, to write a Letter unto me, as a warrant to admit him only *Ad Curam et Regimen Collegii*, instead of the other words, *Ad Curam animarum*. I schooled him soundly against Puritanisme, which he disavowes, though somewhat faintly; I hope his Highnesse and the King will second it.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about the Liberties of  
Westminster, 6. May. 1621.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Humbly beseech your Lordship to be a little sensible of those injurious affronts, offered without any shew of equity unto this poor Liberty of *Westminster*. And for Gods sake let me not want that protection, which not your Lordship only, but the two *Cicils*, and the

the Earl of *Sommerſet*, who neither regarded the Church, Learning, nor Honour in any meaſure as you do, have ever afforded every Dean of this Church. When I had (to my thinking) given the Knight Maſhal full, and too much ſatisfaction, this day a Letter was offered to the Table (in my preſence) violently purſued by the Lord Steward, and the Earl Maſhal, to command this liberty, (which had ſtood unqueſtioned theſe 700 years) to ſhew reaſon to Mr. Attourney, and Mr. Solliciter, why they preſcribe againſt the Knight Maſhal. A Courſe (as my Lord Preſident ſaid openly) not to be offered to any ſubject of England. It is our Charter, and freehold of inheritance, to be ſhewed only in a Court of Juſtice, and at the Kings Bench, which we are very ready to do. And we may as well be queſtioned by a Letter from the Councel, for all the Land we have, as for this. My Lord, the juriſdiction of this place brings not a penny to my purſe, but it hath brought much ſorrow to my heart, and now teares to my eyes, that I ſhould be that unfortunate Contemptible man, who for all the King, and your Lordſhips favour, and the true pains I take in answer thereunto, muſt be trampled down above all the Deans that lived in this place. Nor would it ever grieve me, if I had deſerved it from theſe Lords by the leaſt diſreſpect in all the world. I beſeech you for the Churches ſake, and your Honours ſake to be ſenſible hereof, and to know of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Dureſme*, Mr. *Packer*, or Sir *Robert Pye*, whether ever any queſtion hath been made to this liberty in this kind. If a Letter had been recorded to queſtion the ſame, when the Lord Admiral was Steward, and the Lord Keeper Dean thereof, judge you in your Wiſdom what would become thereof in future poſterity, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. Aug. 23. 1622.*

*My moſt noble Lord,*

Y Eſterday upon the receipt of your Lordſhips Letters of the 19<sup>th</sup>. of this inſtant concerning the haſtning of the buſineſſe of the original Writs, I ſent preſently for Mr. Attourney, and Mr. Solliciter, who were altogether unprovided for their parts of the diſpatch, and are caſually forced ſo to be, becauſe three ſeveral Officers, in whoſe records they are to ſearch, are now out of Town, and do not return yet theſe 7. daies. But your Lordſhip ſhall not fail to have

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

have all things concluded 3. weeks before the Term, and I will (of purpose) put off all general sealing until it be effected.

In the mean time (your Lordships Letter notwithstanding) it will be nothing for your Lordships ease to have Sir *George Chamworth* any way interested in this office of the originals; but I hold it fitter to leave it (as it is in Law and Equity) forfeited for non-payment of rent in his Majesties hands; for upon that issue I do not doubt but my Lord of *St. Albons*, and Sir *George* will be content to hear reason.

I have received extraordinary respects, and expressions from my Noble Lord the Lord Marquess *Hamilton*, which doth exceedingly comfort and encourage me to go on, with some more alacrity through the difficulties of this restless place. I beseech your Lordship (who is *Causa Causarum*, the first Cause, that sets all these other Causes of my Comforts in Going) to take notice of the same, and to undertake this favour to be placed upon a poor honest hearted man, who would (if he were any way able) requite it. Gods blessings, and the prayers of a poor Bishop ever attend your Lordship, &c.

*Postscript.*

THE *Spanish* Embassadour took the alarm very speedily of the titular Romish Bishop, and before my departure from his house at *Islington*, (whither I went privately to him) did write both to *Rome* and *Spain* to prevent it. But I am afraid, that *Tobie* will prove but an Apocryphal, and no Canonical intelligencer, acquainting the State with this project, for the Jesuites rather than for Jesus sake.

Sir *Tobie*  
*Mathewes*.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about the Lord Treasurer,*  
Septemb. 9<sup>th</sup>. 1622.

*My most Noble Lord,*

THAT I neither wrote unto your Lordship, nor waited upon your Lordship sithence my intolerable scandalizing by the Lord Treasurer, this is the true and only cause: I was so moved to have all my diligent service, pains, and unspotted justice thus rewarded by a Lord, who is reputed wise, that I have neither slept, read, written, or eaten any thing since that time; until the last night, that the Ladies sent for

for me (I believe of purpose) to *VVallingford* house, and put me out of my humour. I have lost the love, and affection of my men, by seizing upon their Papers, perusing all their answers to Petitions, casting up their moneys, received by way of fees, (even to half Crowns, and two shillings) and finding them all to be poor honest Gentlemen, that have maintained themselves in my service by the greatnesse of my pains, and not the greatnesse of their fees. They are most of them landed men, that do not serve me for gain, but for experience, and reputation. And desire to be brought to the Test to shew their severall books, and to be confronted by any one man with whom they contracted, or from whom they demanded any Fee at all; The greatest summe in their books is five pounds, and those very few, and sent unto them from Earls, and Barons. All the rest are some 20 s. 10 s. 5 s. 2 s. 6 d. and 2 s. And this is the oppression in my house, that the Kingdom (of the Common Lawyers peradventure, who have lost I confesse hereby 20000 l. at the least, saved in the purses of the Subjects) doth now groan under.

Now I humbly beseech your Lordship to peruse this paper here inclosed, and the issue I do joyn with the Lord Treasurer, and to acquaint (at the least) the King, and the Prince, how unworthily I am used by this Lord; who (in my soul and conscience I believe it) either invents these things out of his own head, and ignorance of this Court, or hath taken them up from base, unworthy, and most unexperienced people. Lastly, because no act of mine (who am so much indebted for all my frugality) could in the thoughts of a devil incarnate breed any suspicion, that I gained by this office, excepting the purchase of my Grandfathers Lands, whereunto my Lord Chamberlains noblenesse, and your Lordships encouragement, gave the invitation. I do make your Lordship (as your Lordship hath been often pleased to honour me) my faithful Confessor in that businesse, and do send your Lordship a note enclosed what money I paid, what I borrowed, and what is still owing for the purchase.

I beseech your Lordship to cast your eye upon the paper, and lay it aside that it be not lost. And having now poured out my soul, and sorrow unto your Lordships breast, I find my heart much eased, and humbly beseech your Lordship to compassionate the wrongs of

Your most humble and honest  
servant,

*J. L. C. S.*

*The*



*The Fair and Familiar Conference which the Lord Treasurer  
had with the Lord Keeper after some Expostulations of  
his own, and the issue joyned thereupon, at  
White-Hall, Septemb. 7. 1622.*

*Object. 1.* **T**Here is taken 40000 l. for Petitions in your house this year.  
*Sol.* Not much above the fortieth part of the money for all the dispatches of the Chancery, Star-Chamber, Councel-Table, Parliament, the great Diocesse of *Lincoln*, the jurisdiction of *Westminster* and *St. Martins le Graund*; All which have resort to my house by Petitions.

*Ob. 2.* You have your self a share in the money.  
*Sol.* Then let me have no share in Gods Kingdom; it is such a baseness as never came within the compasse of my thoughts.

*Ob. 3.* It is commonly reported you pay to my Lord Admiral 1000 l. *per menssem.*

*Sol.* As true as the other. The means of my place will reach to no more then two moneths.

*Ob. 4.* You never receive any Petitions with your own hands, but turn them to your Secretaries, who take double Fees, one for receiving, and the other for delivering.

*Sol.* Let the Cloysters at *Westminster* answer for me. I never to this day received any Petition from my Secretaries, which I had formerly delivered unto them with my own hands. This is a new fashion which my Lord hath found in some other Courts.

*Ob. 5.* You sell dayes of hearing at higher rates then ever they were at.

*Sol.* I never disposed of any since I came to this place, but leave them wholly to the Six Clerks, and Registers, to be set down in their Antiquity. Unlesse his Lordship means hearing of motions in the paper of Peremptories, which I seldom deny upon any Petition, and which are worth no money at all.

*Ob. 6.* You usually reverse Decrees upon Petitions.

*Sol.* I have never reversed, altered, explained, or endured a motion, or Petition, that touched upon a decree once pronounced: but have sometimes made orders in pursuance of the same.

*Ob. 7.* You have 3. Door-keepers, and are so locked up, that no man can have access unto you.

*Sol.* I have no such officer in all my house, unlesse his Lordship meanes the Colledge Porters; nor no locks at all, but his Majesties businesse, which

which I must respect above Ceremonies and Complements.

You are cryed out against over all the Kingdom for an unsufferable oppression and grievance. *Obje<sup>t</sup>. 8.*

His Lordship (if he have any friends) may hear of such a Cry, and yet be pleased to mistake the person cryed out against. *Sol.*

All the Lords of the Councel cry out upon you, and you are a wretched and a friendlesse man, if no man acquaints you with it. *Ob. 9.*

I am a wretched man indeed if it be so. And your Lordship (at the least) a very bold man if it be otherwise. *Sol.*

I will produce particular witnesses, and make all these Charges good. *Ob. 10.*

I know your Lordship cannot, and I do call upon you to do it, as suspecting all to be but your Lordships envie and malice to that service of the Kings, and ease of his Subjects, which God hath enabled me to accomplish, and perform in this troublesome Office. *Sol.*

*? L. C. S.*

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 21. of September, 1622.*

*My most noble Lord,*

**M**Y Lord *Brook* diswarning me (from his Majestie) from coming to *Theobalds* this day, I was enforced to trouble your Lordship with these few lines. My most humble thanks for your Lordships most free, and most loving Letter, I do willingly confesse my errour, yet still of the mind, that your Lordship only, who justly taxed it, hath made it to be an errour. If your love to me had not exceeded all reason, and desert of mine, my complaints were not effects of melancholy, but of a real suffering, and misery. I do confesse (and rest satisfied withal) that his Majesties Justice, and your Lordships love are anchors strong enough, for a mind more tossed then mine is, to ride at. Yet pardon me, my Noble Lord, upon this Consideration, if I exceeded a little in passion, the natural effect of honesty, and innocency. A Church-man, and a woman, have no greater Idol under heaven, then their good name. And yet they cannot fight at all. Nor with credit, scold, and least of all recriminate, to protect and defend the same. Their onely revenge left them, is to grieve, and complain.

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My misery I took to be this. I am one of those that labour in his Majesties Cole-mines under the earth, and out of sight. My pains from five a clock in the morning to 10. or 12. at night are restless, and endlesse, but under earth, and out of his Majesties sight. What other men do (or but seem to do,) it is ever before the Kings face, and if his Majestie will not look on it, if he hath eares about him, he shall be told of it so often by the parties themselves, that he must hear of it whether he will or no.

And as my service (by this remotenesse is hidden from the King, so is it liable to be traduced to the King, and my relief (as in dispatching the motions of poor men by Petitions allowable to my orders,) made to be a Grievance to the Common Wealth. But in all these fourteen dayes (wherein by the voice of the City, I have remained a prisoner in my house,) where is that one party grieved, that hath troubled his Majestie with Complaints against me? Only my Lord Marshal hath dealt with my noble Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, my Lord of *Carlisle*, my Lord Treasurer (as your Lordship may soon know by asking the question) to make a faction to disgrace the poor Lord Keeper, who never dreamt thereof.

Sir *Gilbert Haughton* hath complained to my Lord Treasurer of my men for taking, (*Hugh Holland* was by and heard him;) If your Lordship do but ask him his reason, I think it will appear how well grounded their complaints be. Upon those two former Anchors I will therefore rest, and that so far from Cowardinesse, that I will either challenge them before his Majestie to make good their suggestions, or else (which I hold the greater valour of all, and which I confesse I wanted before this check of your Lordships) go on in my Course, and scorn all these base, and unworthy scandals as your Lordship shall direct me.

I have sent a Copy of a Letter of mine to my Lord *Anan*, which his Majestie hath seen, and given his assent it should not be kept private; yet I would humbly crave your Lordships opinion thereof (by *Mr. Packer*) before any Copy goeth from me.

I am ever, &c.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Will speak with the Jesuit to morrow, and deliver him his admission from the King, but do send your Lordship here inclosed a Copie of the Conference which I procured from him without his privy, onely to make his Majestie, and your Lordship merrie. I have also received a Letter concerning the French Embassador which I will be ready to put in execution as your Lordships servant, and Deputy but not otherwise. Yet your Lordship will give me out of that freedom (which was wont to be well interpreted by your Lordship) to let your Lordship understand, that I find all busineses of restitution of ships, and goods thus taken, to have been handled before the Councel in Star-chamber all the reigns of Henry 7<sup>th</sup>. and H. 8<sup>th</sup>. without any contradiction of the Lord Admiral for the time being. But this to your Lordship in secret. I will be very careful of the Earl of *Desmond*, that neither his cause, nor your Lordships reputation shall suffer thereby. And this is the account I can yet give of your Lordships Letter, save that I humbly expect that answer, which your Lordships own Luckie hand hath promised in the post-script of one of them. I would ease your Lordship in this place, but to prevent complaint that (peradventure) may be first invented, and then presented. Your Lordship shall heare of a long narrative of our Councel Table dispatches. That passage of our letter, which (as it now goeth) doth hope that his Majestie will spare to confer any suites of moment in Ireland until the return of the Irish Committee, was a blunt request to the King, to grant no suites there without our advice. Against this (concluded in my absence the first day of the Tearn) I spake first to the Prince privately (who allowed of my reasons) then (when the President would not mend it) at the Table openly, that I did utterly dislike we should tutour his Majesty, how to grant suits especially in Letters, that are to remain upon record. My Lord of Cantuar. and the, Earle Marshal said, they had many Presidents in that kind. I answered, I knew they had none but in the Kings time, and that I wished them (as I do) all torn out of the book and cast into the fire. I concealed my reasons, which now I will reveal unto your Lordship, because this is the third time, I have expressed unto your Lordship under my hand, my dislike of this kind of Limiting his Majestie otherwise then by word of mouth. First if his Majestie (which we see so often done) shall dispose of these suites otherwise, here are so many records remaining to ma-



litious men to observe his Majesties averfenesse from following the advice of the Councel board.

Secondly, if your Lordship shall procure any suit in this kind here are records also in time to come, that you crosse and thwart the government of the Kingdom. And I pray God this be but mine own jealousie. The passage in the Letter with my Prating, and his Highnesse help was altered, and for fear of misreporting, I make bold to relate the truth hereof to your Lordship.

My Lords proceeded very resolutely in those reformatiōs, which concerned other men. The Commission of fees enables the Committees to call before them all the Judges, as well as their under Officers (which was more then the King exprest at Hampton Court) amongst whom, the Lord Keeper is one, who from the Conquest to this day, was never subjected to the call of any power in the Kingdom, but the King and the Parliament. And although I have not one Pennie of Fee, which hath not continued above one hundred years, yet for the honour of the Prime place in the state (though now disgraced by the contemptibleness of the Officer) I am an humble suiter unto your Lordship, that my Person may be exempted from the command of Sr. *Edwin Sandys*, or indeed any man els, besides the King my Master. Otherwise I shall very patiently endure it, but the King hereafter may dislike it. The Justices of the Peace are also appointed, but (if the Judges and my self be not utterly deceived) to no purpose in the world, nor service to his Majestie. But when their Lordships came to surrender the under Leivtenantships to his Majesties hands, whom the Lord President, and I held fit to be created henceforward by severall Commissions under the Great Seal, it was stiffly opposed, and stood upon, that the King should name them in their Lordships Commissions onely (according to a President in the late Queens time) that is, the King shall have the naming, but they still the appointing of them. And now it was pressed, that his Majestie intended not to disgrace his Lords &c: and your Lordship is to have a Letter from Mr. Secretarie to know his Majesties mind herein. If his Majestie shall not ordain them to be created by severall Pattents, it were better a great deal they should continue as they do. I am very tedious in the manner and (peradventure) in the matter of this Letter I humbly crave pardon &c.

**H**E was very inquisitive if I had already, or intended to impart, what he had told me the night before in secret, to any man, to the which he did adde a desire of secrecie.

Because {  
1. The King had charged him and the Frier to be very secret.  
2. The Embassadors did not know that he had imparted these things unto me.  
3. The Popes were secret instructions which they gave to the Fryer to urge and presse the same points, which himself had done to the King.

He confessed, that the greatest part of the Friers instructions were to do all the worst offices he could against the Duke, and to lay the breach of the marriage, and disturbance of the peace upon him.

He excused the bringing the Copy of that paper unto me, because the Marquesse had it yet in his custody, but said he would procure it with all speed. I desired him to do it, the rather because, besides my approbation of the form, and manner of the writing; I might be, by it, instructed how to apply my self, to do his Majestie service therein, as I found by that Conference, his Majesties bent, and inclination.

He having understood, that there was, though a close, yet an indissoluble friendship betwixt the Duke and my self, desired me to shew some way, how the Duke might be won unto them, and to continue the peace. I answered I would pursue any fair course, that should be proposed that way; but for my self, that I never meddled with matters of State, or of this nature, but was onely employed (before this journey of the Prince's) in matters of mine own Court, and in the Pulpit.

He desired to know if they might rely upon the King, whom onely they found peaceably addicted; otherwise they would cease all mediation, and prepare for War. I answered, That he was a King that never broke his word, and he knew what he had said unto them.

He commended much the courage and resolution of the Lord Treasurer, which I told him we all did, as a probable sign of his innocency.

He said that the Marquesse had dispatched three *Curreos*, and expected large Propositions from Spain to be made unto his Majesty, concerning the present restitution of the Palatinate. And that

if this failed, they were at an end of Treaty, and the Embassadours would forthwith return home.

11<sup>th</sup>. April, 1622.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Received your Graces Letter by Mr. Killegrew, so full of that sweetnesse, as could never issue from any other Fountain, then that one breast so fraught with all goodnesse, and virtue; *Dick Winne* may write freely, (as he talks) but alas! what can my wretched self perform, that should deserve the least acknowledgment from him, to whom I owe so infinitely much more then the sacrificing of my life amounts to? onely my love makes me sometimes write, and many times fear, fondly and foolishly, for the which I hope your Grace will pardon me. I have been frightened more about three weeks since (about quarrels and jarres, which now *Dick Greghams* hath related in part unto the King) then at this present, I am. For Gods sake be not offended with me, if I exhort you to do that, which I know you do, to observe his Highnesse with all lowlinesse, humility, and dutiful obedience, and to piece up any the least seam-rent, that heat, and earnestnesse might, peradventure, seem to produce. I know (by looking into my self) these are the symptomes of good natures. And for Gods sake I beg it, as you regard the prayers of a poor friend, if the great negotiation be well concluded, let all private disagreements be wrapped up in the same, and never accompany your Lordships into England, to the joy and exultation of your enemies, if any such ingrateful Divels are here to be found: I am in good earnest, and your Lordship would believe it, if your Grace saw but the tears, that accompany these lines.

I beseech you, in your Letter to the Marquesse *Hamilton*, intimate unto him your confidence, and reliance upon his watchfulnesse, and fidelity in all turns, which may concern your Grace. I have often lied unto his Lordship, that your Grace hath in many of my Letters expressed as much, and so have pacified him for the time. If we did know, but upon whom to keep a watchful eye for disaffected reports concerning your service, it is all the intelligence he and I do expect. His Majestie (as we conceive) is resolved to take certain oaths, which  
you

you have sent hither, and I pray God afterward no farther difficulties be objected. I have had an hours discourse with his Majestie yesterday morning, and do find him so disposed towards your Lordship as my heart desireth; yet hath been informed of the discontentments both with the *Comde de Olivarez*, and the Earl of *Bristol*. Here is a strange Creation passed of late, of a Vice-Countesship of *Maidenhead*, passed to the Heires Males, who must be called hereafter Vice-Countesse *Fynch*. But my Lady Dutchesse hath the Land, and (as they say) hath already sold it to my Lord Treasurer, or shared it with him. I stayed the Patent until I was assured your Lordship gave way thereunto.

My good Lord, because I have heard, that they have in those parts a conceipt of our church, as that they will not believe we have any Liturgie, or Book of common prayer at all, I have (at mine own cost) caused the Liturgy to be translated into Spanish, and fairely Printed, and do send you by this bearer a Couple of the Books, one for his Highnesse, the other for your Grace. Not sending any more unlesse your Grace will give directions. His Majestie was acquainted therewith, and alloweth of the businesse exceedingly. The Translator is a Dominican, a zealous Protestant, and a good Scholer, and I have secured him to our Church, with a Benefice, and a good Prebend. Because we expect every day the dispatching of Sr. Francis Cottington thitherward, I will not trouble your Grace farther at this time, but do earnestly pray unto God to blesse your Grace both now and ever hereafter with all his favours and blessings spiritual and temporal. And rest &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 30. Aug. 1623.*

*My it please your Grace,*

I Have no businesse of the least Consideration to trouble your Grace withal at this time, but that I would not suffer Mr. *Greyham* to return without an expression of my respect and obligation. I would advertize your Grace at large of the course held with our Recusants, but that I know Mr. Secretary is injoynd to do so, who best can. His Majestie at Salisbury having referred the suit of these Embassadors to the Earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Secretary Conway, sent (by their resolutions) some articles unto us (the Lord Treasurer, Secretary *Calvert*, Sir *Richard Weston* and my self) to this effect.



1. To grant a pardon of all offences past, with a dispensation for those to come to all the Roman Catholiques, obnoxious to any laws made against the Recusants.

2. And then to issue forth two general Commands under the Great Seal, the first to all the Judges, and Justices of the Peace, and the other to all Bishops, Chancellours and Commissaries not to execute any Statute made against them.

Their general pardon we have passed, and sent unto his Majestie (from whence it is not returned) in as full and ample manner as they could desire, and pen it. The other general and vast prohibition, I prevailed with the rest of the Lords to stop as yet, and gave (in three dayes conference) such reasons to the 2. Embassadors, that (although it is no easie matter to satisie the Caprichiousnesse of the Latter of them) yet they were both content it should rest until the Infanta had been six Months in England. My reason, if it may please your Grace, was this. Although this general favour, and connivence, whereof there are 20. of the Prime Councel know nothing as yet, must at last be known to all the Land: yet is there a great difference between the publishing thereof *A Golpe*, at one push, as it were, and that instilling of it into their knowledg by little, and little by reason of favours done to particular Catholiques. The former course might breed a general impression, if not a mutinie. This Letter will but loosen the tongues but of some few particulars, who understand of their neighbours pardon, and having vented their dislikes, when they have not many to Sympathise with them, they grow coole again, so as his majestie afterwards may enlarge these favours without any danger at all.

Secondly, to forbid Iudges (against their oaths) and Justices of the Peace (sworn likewise) to execute the law of the Land, is a thing (unpresidented in this Kingdom *et Durus Sermo* a very harsh and bitter pill to be digested upon a suddain, and without some preparation. But to grant a pardon, even for a thing that is *Malum in se*, and a dispensation with Penal Lawes (in the profit whereof the King onely is interested) is usual and full of presidents, and examples. And yet is this Letter onely tending to the safety, the former but to the glory and insolencie of the Papists, and the magnifying the service of the Embassadors ends too dearly purchased, with the indangering of a tumult in three Kingdomes.

Thirdly and Lastly, his Maiestie useth to speak to his Bishops, Judges and Justices of the peace, by his Chancelour, or Keeper (as your Grace well knoweth) and by his Great Seal; and I can signify his Majesties pleasure unto them, with lesse noise and danger, which

I mean to do hereafter, (if the Embassadors shall presse it,) to this effect, unlesse your Grace shall (from his Highnesse, or your own judgment) direct otherwise.

That whereas his Majestie being at this time to mediate for favour to many Protestants in forraign parts, with Princes of another religion, and to sweeten the entertainment of the Princess into this Kingdom, who is as yet a Roman Catholique, doth hold a mitigation of the rigour of those lawes made against Recusants, to be a necessary inducement to both those purposes, and hath therefore issued forth some pardons of Grace, and favour to such Roman Catholiques, of whose faithfulness and fidelity to the state he rests assured. That therefore you the Lords, Bishops, Judges, and Justices, (each of those to be written unto by themselves) do take notice of this his Majesties pardon, and dispensation, with all such penal Lawes, and demean your selves accordingly, &c.

Thus have I been too tedious and troublesome unto your Grace, and Crave your pardon therefore, and some directions (which you may cause Sir Francis Cottington or some other to write, without your Graces trouble) if there shall appeare any cause of alteration. Doctor Bishop, the new Bishop of Calcedon is come to London privately, and I am much troubled thereabouts, not knowing what to advise his Majestie in this posture, as things stand at this present. If you were shipped (with the Infanta) the onely Councel were to let the Judges proceed with them presently, hang him out of the way, and the King to Blame my Lord of Cantuar : or my self for it. But before you be shipped in such form and manner I dare not assent or Connive at such a course. It is (my gracious Lord) a most insolent Part, and an offence (as I take it) Against our common Law (and not the statutes onely which are dispensed withall,) for an English man to take such a consecration without the Kings consent, and especially to use any Episcopal Jurisdiction in this Kingdom without the royal assent, and Bishops, have been in this State put to their fine, and ransom for doing so three hundred years ago.

I will cease to be further troublesome and pray to Almighty God to blesse your Grace, and in all humbleness take my leave, and rest &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 14<sup>th</sup>. of October,*

1621:

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Humbly thank your Lordship for your most sweet and loving Letter, which (as Sir *George Goring* could not but observe) hath much revived me drooping under the unusual weight of so many busineses. Let God suffer me no longer to be, then I shall be true, plain, faithful and affectionately respectful of your Lordship, as being most bound unto your Lordship for these so many fruits, but far more for the tree that bore them, your love and affection.

If your Lordship shall not think it inconvenient, I do beseech your Lordship to present this Petition inclosed, either by word or writing unto his Majestie, and to procure a speedy dispatch thereof, because we are to meet on Thursday next. Also to acquaint his Majestie, that I stumble at the Proclamation (now coming to the Seal) against any, that shall draw, or present any bill for his Majesties signature, besides those Clerks which usually draw them up, by virtue of their places. It is most prejudicial to my place, the Lord Treasurer, and the Judges *itinerant* who are often occasioned to draw up, and present to his Majestie divers matters, and especially pardons of Course. It is also too strong a tie upon your Lordships hands, being intended by his Majestie against Projectors and Scriveners only. If it shall please his Majestie therefore to make an exception of the Lords of his Council, and Judges of Assize, it may passe to the contentment of all men. Mr. Attourney saith he meant this exception, but I find it not sufficiently expressed in the Proclamation.

Also I humbly beseech your Lordship to meddle with no pardon for the Lord of *St. Albons*, until I shall have the happinesse to confer with your Lordship; the pardoning of his fine is much spoken against, not for the matter, (for no man objects to that) but for the manner, which is full of knavery, and a wicked president. For by this assignation of his fine, he is protected from all his Creditors, which I dare say was neither his Majesties, nor your Lordships meaning.

I have presumed to send your Lordship a true Copy of that speech, which I made at *Westminster Hall* at my entrance upon this office; because somewhat was to be spoken at so great a change, and alteration in so high a Court; And I was never so much troubled in my life, not how, but what to speak. I humbly crave pardon, if I have failed.

failed in points of discretion, which a wiser man (in such a case) might easily do.

With my heartiest prayers unto God to continue all his blessings upon your Lordship, I rest deservedly, &c.

*Postscript.*

**M**Y Lord, I find my Lord Treasurer affectionately touched with removing from the Court of Wards; and do wish with all my heart, he may have contentment in that, or any thing else, but orderly, and in a right method. Let him hold it, but by your Lordships favour, not his own power, or wilfulnesse. And this must be apparent, and visible: Let all our greatnesse depend (as it ought) upon yours, the true original. Let the King be *Pharaoh*, your self *Joseph*, and let us come after as your half-brethren. God blesse you, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir John Michel,*  
8. Aug. 1622.

*My most noble Lord,*

**I**N the cause of Sir *John Michel*, which hath so often wearied this Court, vexed my Lady your Mother, and now flieth (as it seemeth) unto your Lordship, I have made an order the last day of the Term, assisted by the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. *Baron Bromley* in the presence, and with the full consent of Sir *John Michel*, who then objected nothing against the same; but now in a dead vacation, when both the adverse party, and his Council are out of Town, and that I cannot possible hear otherwise then with one ear, he clamours against me, (most uncivilly,) and would have me contrary to all conscience and honesty reverse the same. The substance of the order is not so difficult and intricate, but your Lordship will easily find out the equity or harshnesse thereof.

Sir *Lawrence Hide* makes a motion in behalf of one *Strelley* (a party whose face I never saw,) that whereas Sir *John Michel* had put a bill into this Court against him, and one *Sayers*, five years ago for certain Lands and Woods, (determinable properly at the Common Law) and having upon a certificate betwixt himself, and *Sayers*, without the knowledge of the said *Strelley*, procured an injunction from the last Lord Chancellour for the possession of the same, locks up the said



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*Strelley* with the said injunction, and never proceeds to bring his cause to hearing within five years.

It was moved therefore, that either *Sir Johns* bill might be dismissed to a tryal at the Common Law, or else that he might be ordered to bring it to hearing in this Court, with a direction to save all wastes of Timber trees (in favour of either party, that should prove the true owner) until the cause should receive hearing.

*Sir John* being present in Court, made choice of this last offer, and so it was ordered accordingly. And this is that order, that this strange man hath so often, of late, complained of to your Mother, and now, as it seemeth, to your Lordship. God is my witnesse, I have never denyed either justice, or favour (which was to be justified,) to this man, or any other, that had the least relation to your good and most noble Mother. And I hope your Lordship is perswaded thereof. If your Lordship will give me leave (without your Lordships trouble) to wait upon you, at any time this day, your Lordship shall appoint, I would impart two or three words unto your Lordship, concerning your Lordships own businesse. Remaining ever, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**N**OW that I understand by *Sir John Hipsley* how things stand between your Grace and the Earl of *Bristol*; I have done with that Lord, and will never think of him otherwise, then as your Grace shall direct. Nor did I ever write one syllable to that effect, but in contemplation of performing true service to your Grace.

I was much abused in the Lady *Hennage* her Vice-Countesship, being made to believe, it was your Grace's act, or else I had stayed it finally, (until the Princes return) as I did for a time. If your Grace will give any directions in matters of that nature, I can pursue them. My Lord Treasurers sons Wardship is a thing of no moment at all, and not worthy your Graces thinking of. And in good faith as far as getting, and Covetousnesse will give him leave, I do not see, but that Lord is (since your absence) very respective of your Grace, especially in your own person, and affairs. I never received any answer from your Grace concerning the Provostship of *Eton*, nor was it good manners for me to presse for the same, because in my Letters I did presume to name my self. The place is mine to bestow for this time,

time, and not his Majesties, nor the Colledges. But I do very willingly reserve the Collation of the same, to be disposed as your Grace shall please. Yet this will be a sufficient answer to any former promise, or any reasonable Competitor.

His Majestie (as your Grace best knoweth) promised me at the delivery of the Seal a better Bishoprick, and intended it certainly, if any such had fallen. My Charge is exceeding great, my Bribes are very little, my Bishoprick, Deanery, and other *Commendams* do not clear unto me above one thousand pounds a year at the uppermost. It hath pleased God, that the casualties of my office, (which is all the benefit of the same, and enriched my Lord *Elsmor*;) hath not been worth to me these two years past one shilling. It may mend when it pleaseth God.

I leave all these, and my self, who am your Vassal, at your Lordships feet, and do rest, &c.

Your Graces, &c.

*J. L. C. S.*

*Postscript.*

**M**AY it please your Grace, I troubled his Highnesse with a long relation of the *Consulto* we had about his Majesties taking of the Oath. Which I had written to your Grace, and not to his Highnesse, but that I was frighted by great men, that I had done his Highnesse a displeasure in pressing his Majesties assent unto the same. And I protest I was so poorly accompanied in my opinion, that I was truly afraid I had not done well. And therefore I took occasion to write my reasons at large unto the Prince. Which I heard by Sir *John Hipsley* from your Grace was well taken. I humbly thank your Grace, who I know forwarded the same. And so I perceive by a Letter from his Highnesse so full of sweetnesse, as I am overwhelmed.

*J. L. C. S.*

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 6. January.*

1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

**D**On *Francisco* being with me this night, about a pardon for a poor *Irish* man, whom I reprieved from execution, at the suit of those Gentlemen of *Navarra*, which are here with the *Marquesse*, let fall by a kind of supposition (affirming the matter to be as yet in the womb, and not fully shaped, and digested) words to this effect.

That if the King of Spain should make a double marriage with the second Brother of *France*, and his Sister, and bestow the *Palatinate* as a Dower upon his sister, in what case were we then?

I answered, That we should be then, in no worse case (for ought I knew) then we are now: but that *Germany* might be in a far better case. Peradventure it was but a word let fall to terrifie me withal.

But your Grace may make that use of it, as to understand the language, if your Grace shall hear any mention thereof hereafter. I am very glad, and do give God thanks *par le mejora de su hijuela hermosissima*. And do rest, &c.

Surely the French Embassadour is secret and more suspected then formerly by the People.

Mr. John Packer to the Lord Keeper, 21. January,  
1623.

*May it please your Lordship,*

**S**ince my coming hither, finding my Lord at good opportunity, I have acquainted him in what perplexity I found your Lordship at my coming from *Westminster*, and upon what reason. And though I am sorrie I can make no comfortable relation of his answer, yet because it so much importeth your Lordship to know in what terms you stand, I could not conceal it from you, being agreeable to those reports your Lordship hath already heard, saving that his Grace told me, he doth not seek your ruine (as some others had related) but onely will hereafter cease to study your fortune, as formerly he hath done; and withal added the reason, that your Lordship hath run a course opposite to him, which though he had cause to take ill at your hands,

hands, yet he could have passed it over, if it had been out of conscience, or affection to his Majesties service, or the Publique good, but being both dangerous to your countrie, and prejudicial to the cause of religion (which your Lordship above all other men should have laboured to uphold) he thought, he could not with reason continue that strictnesse of friendship, where your Lordship had made such a separation, especially having divers times out of his love to you, assayed to bring you into the right way, which once you promised to follow; but the two last times you met in Councel, he found, that you took your kue just as other men did, and joyned with them in their opinions, whose aim was to tax his proceedings in the managing of the Princes businesse. But instead of laying it upon him, they did no lesse, then throw dirt in the Princes teeth. For either they would make him a *miner*, or put the refusal of the Ladie upon his Highnesse, and to lay an aspersion upon his carriage there. His Lordships Conclusion with me was, that for any carriage of his, he desired no other favour, but that the greatest Councel in England may be judge of it, and the like he wisheth for other mens actions. Yet I did what I could to perswade his Grace to expostulate the matter with your Lordship, which he told me, he would no more do, having done it already, but found no other satisfaction, but that by your practise you rejected what he had said, and besides, divulged what had passed between you, as he evidently perceived meeting with it among others. Whereby you gained onely thus much, that they esteemed of you, as of a man fit, by reason of your passion, to set all on fire, but held you not worthy of trust, because you, that would not be true to him, would never be so to them.

My Lord, this is a part I would never have chosen, but being imposed by your Lordship, I could do you no better service then faithfully, and plainly to discharge it, leaving the use to your Lordships wisdom, and ever resting

Your Lordships most humbly at  
command,

J. P.



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 2. Feburary, 1623.**May it please your Grace,*

**N**ot presuming to write unto your Grace being so offended at me, but resolved with sorrow, and Patience, to try what I was able to suffer, without the least thought of opposition against your absolute pleasure ; his Highnesse hath encouraged, and commanded the contrary, assuring me (which I cannot repeat again without teares) that upon his credit, your Grace neither did, nor doth conceive any such real distast against me, but did onely suspect I had conceived his Highnesse's mind in that full manner, which his Highnesse himself, is now fully satisfied. I did not. In the which error, and mistake of the Prince his resolution, for want of conference with your Grace, or some other, I did (as I freely confessed) offend his Highnesse, but not your Grace at all. Being ever resolved to stand, or fall (though diversified in opinion) Your Graces most faithful and constant servant. I humbly therefore beseech your Grace first to receive back this enclosed Letter of Mr. *Packers*, and to burn the same, then to receive my soule in gage and pawn.

1. That I never harboured in this breast one thought of opposition to hurt your Grace from the first hour I saw your face.

2. I never consulted (much lesse practised) with any Lord of that Committee to vote on the one or the other side.

3. I do not know that Lord in England, that hath any design against your Grace, and when I shall know any such, whosoever it be, I shall be his enemy as long as he continueth so unto your Grace.

4. I do not know (nor do I believe,) but that your Grace stands as firm in his Majesties favour, and in his Highnesse as ever you did in all your life.

5. I never made the least shew of siding with any opposite Lord unto your Grace, and I defie any man, that shall avow it.

6. I never divulged your Graces, or the secrets of any man.

In the next place, I do most humbly and heartily crave your Graces pardon, for suspecting (that is the utmost of my offence), so true, real, and Noble a friend. Yet that I may not appear a very beast, give me leave once to remember and ever after to forger, the motives, which drew me so to do. And I will do it in the same order they came into my head.

1. Your Graces charge upon me at York house, that I was a man odious to all the world.

2. *Michels*

2. *Michels Voluntary Confession*, that my Lord *Mandevil* shew-  
ed him a Letter from Spain, avowing, that the first action your Grace  
would imbarque your self in, should be to remove me out of this  
place, which the least word of your mouth unto me, is able to  
do.

3. A report of the *Venetian* Embassador, that amongst others, your  
Grace intended to sacrifice me this Parliament to appease the dislike  
of immunities exercised towards the Catholics.

4. Your Graces motion unto my self concerning my place (which  
now I absolutely know proceeded out of love) at White-hall.

5. A most wicked lie, that one told, he heard your Grace move  
his Highnesse to speake unto me to quit my place, after your Graces  
professions of friendship to me.

6. Mr. Secretarie *Conwaies* and my Lord *Carlile's* estrangednesse  
from me, which I suspected could not be (for I ever loved them both)  
but true copies of your Graces displeasure.

I have opened to my truest friend all my former thoughts, and be-  
ing fully satisfied by his Highnesse how false they are in every parti-  
cular, do humbly crave your Graces pardon, that I gave a nights  
lodging to any of them all.

Although they never transported me a jott further, then to look  
about how to defend my self, being resolved (as God shall be my pro-  
tector) to suffer all the obloquie of the world, before I would be  
drawn to the least ingratitude against your Grace. All that I beg is  
an assurance of your Graces former Love, and I will plainly professe  
what I do not in the least beg or desire from your Grace.

1. No Patronage of any corrupt or unjust act which shall be ob-  
jected against me this Parliament.

2. No defence of me, if it shall appear I betrayed my King, or my  
Religion in favour of the Papist, or did them any real respect at all,  
besides ordinary complements.

3. No refuge in any of my causes, or clamours against me (which  
upon a false supposal of your Graces displeasure may be many)  
otherwise then according to justice, and fair proceeding.

And let this paper bear record against me at the great Parliament  
of all, if I be not in my heart, and soul, your Graces most faithful and  
constant poor friend and Servant.

His Highnesse desires your Grace to move his Majestie to accept  
of my Lord *Sayes* commission, and to procure me leave to send for  
him. Also to move his Majestie that my Lord of *Hartford* may be in  
the house, accepting his fathers place, and making his protestation

*The Heads of that Discourse which fell from Don Francisco*

to sue for his Grandfathers, according to his Majesties Lawes, when the King shall give him leave. His Highnesse, and my Lords do hold this a modest and submissive Petition.

His Highnesse upon very deep reasons, doubts whether it be safe to put all upon the Parliament, for fear they should fall to examine particular Dispatches, wherein they cannot but find many Contradictions. And would have the proposition onely to ayd for the recovery of the Palatinate. To draw on an engagement I propound it might be, to advise his Majestie how this recovery shall be effected, by reconquering the same, or by a War of diversion. This will draw on a breach with Spain, without ripping up of private dispatches. His Highnesse seemed to like well hereof, and commanded me to acquaint your Grace therewith, and to receive your opinion. I humbly, crave again two lines of assurance, that I am in your Grace's opinion as I will ever be indeed, &c.

*The Heads of that Discourse which fell from Don Francisco,*  
7. Die Aprilis, 1624. at 11. of the clock at  
night.

*This Relation was sent by the Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

HOW he came to procure his accesss to the King. The Marquesse putting *Don Carlos* upon the Prince and Duke in a discourse, thrust a Letter into the Kings hand, which he desired the King to read in private; The King said he would, thrust it into his pocket, and went on with his discourse, as if he had received none. The effect was, to procure private accesss for *Don Francisco* to come and speak with the King, which his Majestie appointed by my Lord of *Kelley*; and he by his secreisie, who designed for *Don Francisco* time and place.

At his first accesss, he told the King, That his Majestie was a prisoner, or at leastwise besieged, so as no man could be admitted to come at him. And then made a complaint against the Duke, that he aggravated, and pretended accusations against Spain; whereas its onely offence was, that they refused to give unto him equal honour, and observance, as they did unto his Highnesse. And that this was the only cause of his hatred against them.

At the last accessse, which was some 4. dayes ago, he made a long invective, and remonstrance unto the King, which he had put into writing in Spanish, which he read unto me, corrected with the hand of *Don Carlos*, which I do know. It was somewhat general, and very rhetorical, if not tragical for the stile. The heads of what I read were these, *viz.*

1. That the King was no more a freeman at this time, then King *John of France* when he was prisoner in England, or King *Francis* when he was at *Madrid*. Being besieged and closed up with the servants and vassals of *Buckingham*.

2. That the Embassadors knew very well, and were informed 4. mone. hs ago, that his Majestie was to be restrained, and confined to his Country house, and pastimes, and the Government of the State to be assumed and disposed of by others, and that this was not concealed by *Buckingham*s followers.

3. That the Duke had reconciled himself to all the popular men of the State, and drawn them forth out of prisons, restraints, and confinements to alter the Government of the State at this Parliament, as *Oxford*, *South-hampton*, *Say*, and others, whom he met at Suppers and Ordinaries to strengthen his popularity.

4. That the Duke to breed an opinion of his own greatnesse, and to make the King grow lesse, hath oftentimes brag'd openly in Parliament, that he had made the King yield to this and that, which was pleasure unto them. And that he mentioned openly before the Houses his Majesties private oath, which the Embassadors have never spoken of to any creature to this hour.

5. That these Kingdomes are not now governed by a Monarch, but by a *Triumviri*, whereof *Buckingham* was the first and chiefeest, the Prince the second, and the King the last; and that all look towards *Solem Orientem*.

6. That his Majestie should shew himself to be, as he was reputed, the oldest and wisest King in *Europe*, by freeing himself from this Captivity, and eminent danger wherein he was, by cutting off so dangerous and ungrateful an affecter of greatnesse and popularity, as the Duke was.

7. That he desired his Majestie to conceal this his free dealing with him, because it might breed him much peril and danger. And yet if it were any way available for his service, to reveal it to whom he pleased, because he was ready to sacrifice his life to do him acceptable service.



92  
*His offer to the King for the restitution of the Palatinate.*

And this was the effect of so much of the penned speech as I remember was read unto me out of the Spanish Copy.  
His Majestie was much troubled in the time of this speech.

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*His Offer to the King for the restitution of the Palatinate.*

**T**O have a Treaty for three moneths for the restitution, and that money was now given in Spain to satisfie *Bavaria*. That in the mean time because the people were so distrustful of the Spaniard, the King might fortifie himself at home, and assist the Hollanders with men or money at his pleasure. And the King of Spain should not be offended therewith.

*His opinion of our preparing of this Navie.*

**I**T was a design of the Duke, to go to the Ports of *Sevil*, and there to burn all the Ships in the Harbour, which he laught at.

*Speeches which he said fell from his Majestie concerning the Prince.*

1. **T**Hat when he told the King, that his greatnesse with the Duke was such, as might hinder his Majestie from taking a course to repress him. His Majestie replied; He doubted nothing of the Prince, or his own power to sever them two, when he pleased.

2. His Majestie said, That when his Highnesse went to Spain, he was as well affected to that Nation as heart could desire, and as well disposed as any son in Europe; but now he was strangely carried away with rash, and youthful Councels, and followed the humour of *Buckingham*, who had he knew not how many Devils within him since that journey.

*Concerning the Duke.*

3. **T**Hat he could not believe yet, that he affected popularity to his disadvantage. Because he had tryed him of purpose, and commanded him to make disaffecting motions to the houses, which he performed, whereby his Majestie concluded, he was not popular.

2. That

2. That he desired *Don Francisco*, and the Embassadours (and renewed this request unto them by *Padre Maestro* two dayes ago,) to get him any ground to charge him with popular courses, or to increase a suspicion of it, and he would quickly take a course with him.

3. That he had good cause to suspect the Duke of late, but he had no servant of his own, that would charge him with any particular; nor knew he any himself.

*The end (as was conceived) of Don Francisco's desiring  
this Conference.*

**H**E had heard that the Duke had pusht at me in Parliament, and intended to do so again, when he had done with the Treasurer, and therefore shewed, that if I would joyn to set upon him with the King, there was a fit occasion.

I answered, that the Prince and the Duke had preferred me into my place, and kept me in it, and if I found them pursuing I would not keep it an hour. That what favour soever I shewed the Embassadour, or Catholiques, I did it for their sakes, and had thanks of them for it. And that I would deal by way of counsel with the Duke to be temperate, and moderate; but to be in opposition to my friend, and Patron, I knew he (being one that professed so much love unto me) would never expect from an honest man. Upon the which answer he seemed satisfied, and never replied word in that kind.

I made an end of writing these notes about two of the clock in the morning.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir Richard Weston,*  
24. May. 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Hold it my duty to give your Grace a present account of this Patent made for *Sir Richard Weston*. Having put off the sealing of the same as fairly as I could (though not without the clamour of one *Lake*, a servant of *Mr. Chancelours*, who very saucily prest for *Mr. William Lake* a dispatch,) this morning, *Mr. Chancelour* spake with me himself, to whom I made answer, That I would seal his Patent, according to his Majesties Warrant, but would retain it in my hands (as I was directed.)

rected,) until I either spake with the King, or received his farther Command in that behalf. He told me he would write unto your Grace concerning the stay thereof, and the stand of the Kings businesse, until it were delivered, which course (I told him) was very fair. After I acquainted his Highnesse with my sealing and retaining of the Patent, and asked him, if he knew thereof. His Highnesse answered, he did know thereof, but gave no approbation of the course, and (although he durst not speake to crosse it) he hoped I should have directions from the King to pull off the Seals again. Three houres after I went to his Highnesse the second time, and asked him, if he meant really as he spake, or intended onely to make me believe so. I desired to know his mind, lest I might steer my course contrary to his intendment. His Highnesse answered, He meant really, and would endeavour to effectuate all that he spake. Which I thought very fitting for your Grace to know with all speed.

But for the man himself, I must deliver unto your Grace my conscience. For ought I ever saw in him he is a very honest, and a very sufficient man, and such a one, as I never in all my life could observe to be any way false, or unfaithful unto your Grace. He was brought in by your Grace sore against my will, (as your Grace may call to mind, what I said to your Grace at Woodstock to that effect) not that I disliked the Gentleman, but because I was afraid he would be wholly the Treasurers, who began then to out-top me, and appeared to my thoughts, likely enough by his daring and boldnesse, (two virtues very powerful and active upon our Royal Master,) in time to do as much to your Grace. From that time to this, I never observed in *Veston* any unworthinesse, or ingratitude to your Grace. Nay, craving pardon, I will proceed one step farther, I know no fitter man in England for the office, if he come in as a creature of the Prince, and your Grace's; nor unfitter, if he should offer to take it, without your likings. I think your Grace will remember, that this fortnight, this hath been my constant opinion.

Upon the death of one Mr. *Read*, the Secretaries place for the Latine tongue is void. The Dean of Winchester, and I moved the King for *Patrick Young*, the fittest man in England for that place. And the Prince did, and will second the motion. I Beseech your Grace to assist us, or els the immodesty of his Competitor (that *Lake* I spake of in the beginning of this Letter) will bear down this most honest, and bashful creature.

God be thanked for your Graces recovery and still preserve it. And so &c.

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Humbly thank your Grace for your favourable and Gracious remembrance, sent by my Neighbour Sir George Goring. Though I despaire to be able to make any other requital, yet will I never fail to serve your Grace most faithfully, and when I grow unuseful in that kind, to pray for you.

I beseech your Grace, that I may receive from the Prince's Highnesse, and your Grace, some directions how to demean my self to the French Embassador, in matters concerning Recusants, and that Mr. Secretary may either addressse himself to Mr. Atturney General in these causes, or else write unto me plainly what I am to do.

His last letter required of me, and the Judges (who neither are, nor will be in town these six weeks yet,) an account of this their supposed persecution, neither so much as intimating unto me what, or when I should return an answer, and supposeth some directions his Majestie should give me therein, the which (particularly, or dividedly from the Judges) I never received.

I adventured out of mine own head to write that answer, I imagine your Grace hath seen, whether I did well, or ill therein I know not, but conceived his Majestie expected some answer. Yesterday the Embassador sent unto me, to know if I had received any order from his Majestie to stay this (as he termed it) persecution. I assured him, there was no such matter in this state, and that as yet, I had received no order from his Majestie of late, but was in expectation to hear from the Court very shortly. I humbly crave your Graces directions, what I am to say, or do in the premises, being otherwise a meer stranger in all these proceedings. I write to no bodie herein besides your Grace, so as if I receive no direction, (which upon my head, and livelihood I shall burie in all secrecie) I shall be in a pitiful perplexity, if his Majestie shall turn the Embassador upon me, altogether unprovided how to answer. And so with my hartiest prayers for your Graces health, I rest

yours, &c.

*The*



*May it please your Grace,*

I Could not suffer Sir *George Goring* to depart without these few lines, although the greatest matter of their contents must be this, to expresse unto your Grace my sorrow, and affliction, that I have no matter or occasion at all, wherein to shew actuallie my affections and earnest desires to comply with my bounden duty in serving your Grace, and humbly to desire your Grace to believe, that there is no soul living shall do it more sincerely, and faithfully to the utmost of my understanding, then my self will do. I add this Caution the rather, because if ever I have offended your Grace, I take Almighty God to witnesse, it was onely for want of a perfect understanding of those high matters, and the persons bent, whom they concerned, not out of any corruption of affections towards your Grace, or the least staggering in a continued resolution to live, and die, your Graces most constant, and most faithful servant.

This, God in heaven (who seeth what I now write,) and the King, and Prince upon earth, do perfectly know, and I (nothing doubt it) will acknowledg unto your Grace. And thus with my most humble thanks unto your Grace for that assurance I received, that I remain (though unmployed and unprofitably) yet in your Graces good affection, I beseech Almighty God to preserve your health, and to increase your favourday, by day with God, with the King, with the Prince, and with all good men. The daily vowes of &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the Countesse of  
South hampton 17. Novemb. 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Know how few arguments I need to use to perswade your Grace to works of Noblenesse, and charity. Your fashion hath been ever since my happinesse of dependance upon you, to outrun, and prevent all petitions in this kind. Yet pardon my boldnesse to be an humble suitor unto your Grace to go on, as I know you have already begun, in extending your Grace, and goodnesse towards the most distressed widdow, and children of my Lord of *South-hampton*. Your Grace cannot do any work of charity more approved of by God, more acceptable unto men, and that shall more recommend the  
memory

memory of your Noblenesse to future posterity. Sir *William Spencer* (the onely Sollicitor this sorrowful Lady hath now to imploy,) will present some particulars unto your Grace, whom God ever preserve in all health, and happinesse. And so, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 11. Octob. 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**V**ith my most humble and hearty thanks for all your favours extended, and multiplyed daily towards me in sicknesse and health, which are such, and so many, that (although I trust in God I shall never prove so inhumane as to fail in any service, or faithfulnessse to your Grace,) I must for all that ever live, and die ungrateful. I thought fit to return unto your Grace this account of the message received by your Grace's Steward.

I spake with that Lord, and although he seemed to be quite off from the businesse, and had (to my knowledg) disposed of his money for a great, and a fair purchase here in *London*, and was resolved never to touch any more upon *Warr Steward*, (who had touched somewhat of his,) and with whom he had agreed for 4000 l. yet hearing the proposition to come so intirely from me, as proceeding immediately from your Grace, whose good favours this Lord (I protest unto your Grace) hath earnestly desired, and if at any time he hath straggled aside from the Prince's desires, and yours, it was merely and solely because he thought he was not so much relied upon as others of his rank. He promisseth me sometime to morrow a reasonable answer.

*His material Objections were these.*

1. **Q**uantity of the money; so as first and last he is out 16000 l. whereas *Cavendish* his Countryman and neighbour got up from a Gentleman, for 14000. l. I answered, That I observed your Grace never got by any of these bargains, but that in this compasse of a year or two, your favours exceed any gratuity presented.

2. Precedencie before *Wallingford*, and especially *Vane*. I did promise (for your service) to dispute the latter, but could say nothing to the former, because he was a Viscount, and his far ancienter Baron.

3. Your Grace's favour, and reflection upon himself, (bred up in  
O the

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

the experience of war and peace,) and upon his sons, all of them well bred, but most towards the War. I did answer generally, that upon his application of himself towards your Grace, I made little doubt, but he should receive good satisfaction in those expectances.

4. Times of payment. I told him I knew he would demand but a convenient time therein, and that I knew your Grace would never stand upon.

If I have erred in any of these addressees, I pray let your Steward come, and reform me therein; as also to tell me, whether if I find him coming forward, I may not say unto him, That your Lordship upon a former motion of mine, was willing upon the next change of the Commission for the Councel of the War, to adde him unto the number.

I propose this,

1. Because 'tis a new thing.

2. Because he desires some excuse unto the World, by reason of some future services, why his Majestie should receive him unto this honour. I have wearied my self, and by this time (which doth lesse become me) your Grace too. I beseech your Grace to pardon the blottings and extravagancies, my head being yet but meanly settled. I beseech God to blesse your Grace. And so, &c.

*Postscript.*

**M**ay it please your Grace, this Lord hath returned his answer, which in good faith seemeth to be with due respect unto your Grace.

1. That although the place was offered him for 4000 l. yet because the Offer proceeds from your Grace, (which he voweth to esteem as an especial favour as long as he liveth) he will pay to whom you shall assign 5000 l. and account it a real obligation of service to your Grace for ever, if you shall remit him the other thousand pound.

2. That for the time, with humble thanks for your noble favour (which becometh not him to take in appointing the time) he returns it to your Grace to nominate two daies of payment, as your Steward, or the person assigned shall think meet and fit for your Graces occasions, desiring some small respite for the former, but as little as the party please afterwards for the second payment: for his Lordship will send in for his moneys forthwith. And he will give his bonds, or (which I hold superfluous from so sure a Card) his Mortgage in present for both payments.

3. If

3. If your Grace shall make him your servant with this favour so nobly condition'd, he hopes your Grace may proceed on with his Patent thus forward, without any stay for any other Corriual, which notwithstanding he humbly refers.

4. But desires, if his presentment be accepted, he may have leave by me to render his thanks unto your Grace personally sometime to morrow.

And so I leave your Grace for this time in Gods protection. And rest

*Yours, &c.*

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke. 24. December, 1624.*

*My most Gracious Lord,*

**I** Most humbly beseech your Grace for Gods sake, and his Churches, to consider of this motion, which I do make unto your Grace, concerning the Deanerie of *York* now vacant, the Dean being struck dead suddenly, by a Letter, which one Dr. *Scot* procured from his Majestie, to be his Coadjutour.

It is not for any man in particular; but against Doctor *Scot*, that he may not by the importunity of any one upon your Grace be promoted to this place, being the sixth, or seventh place of preferment Ecclesiastical within this Kingdom, but that your Grace would be pleased to remove Doctor *White*, or Doctor *Hall*, or whom your Grace shall please, unto this great Deanery, and bestow the lesser Deanerie (far above his merit) upon him.

For these Reasons.

1. I know that he hath sold away all his Livings which he hath had in this Church, and hath at this day never an one.

2. I am credibly informed, he oweth 5000 l. at the least. A vast summe for a poor Scholar, and too much to be got up in a poor Church: And most of this money in *York*.

3. I know he is a great Gamester, and of no fitting conversation for a Church-man; but of very mean parts, either of Learning, or government.

4. I am certified at this time, that he is a man often overseen in drink; but this I do not know.



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

If therefore your Grace shall be pleased, upon my Lord *Mordant's* importunity to procure him any Deanerie, I do not doubt but his Lordship will be satisfied, and that Church eternally obliged unto you for that Commutation. And I beseech your Grace to believe him, that is no way interested herein, that it concerns your Grace very much in credit, and reputation, that so mean a man (amongst such a choice as the Church of England doth afford,) be not by your favour preferred to so high a dignity. God be merciful to my sins, as I have no end herein but your Honour, and the good of that Church, and therefore I recommend no particular man unto your Grace, but do rest

Yours, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Dr. Scott,*

4. January, 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Humbly beseech you to interpret favourably, what I said unto his Majestie or his Highnesse, as intending to put off Dr. *Scott* from this place. And no way (God be my witnesse) to crosse your Grace, nor to hurt *Scott*, who might have been otherwaies sufficiently provided for.

But I should have written or spoken unto your Grace? so I did in this Letter enclosed, upon *Christmasse* Eve. But I confesse I durst not send it, for fear of offending your Grace, which I do take all possible diligence to avoid.

But, I spake unto the King, and Prince? I did so; but with this caution, (which I know they do remember,) that if your Grace would not upon the motion exchange *Scott* to some other preferment, I did not hold it fit to presse these charges against him, but would do my endeavour to still and quiet those of the Church of *York*, who (I confesse unto your Grace) are the men that have written against him.

But I recommended Dr. *White*, and another to the Prince, and Dr. *Warner* to your Grace: I confesse it, but must distinguish the times, and the manner. I commended Dr. *Warner*, when I was informed Dr. *White* had his answer, and denial, and that your Grace was off from Dr. *Scott*, and did desire to hear from me, what Doctor *Warner* was, whom I recommended onely in general terms upon the

suit,

suit of another. What I said of him, I believe, and know to be true, but he is so far from being any creature of mine, that I protest before the Almighty God, I never spake one word with the man to this very hour in all my life. I did conceive so meanly of Doctor *Scot*, that no worthy man in the Kingdom should have failed of my recommendations in this particular.

Now I know your Grace's resolution, I do alter my opinion, and humbly crave your Grace's pardon for my meddling therein, although I know his Highnesse will bear me witnesse, it was with all dutiful respect unto your Grace. I shall be very careful of giving your Grace the least cause of jealousy in this kind again. And whereas I had put a poor suit in your Grace's hands about the helping of my poor fortunes, I will let that, and all others fall, and desire onely to be accounted

Yours, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 2. March, 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**His heavy, and unexpected accident of my Lord Stewards death, makes me to be troublesome unto your Grace at this time. In safety and discretion, I might very easily spare this labour: but my obligation to your Grace is such, as if that I conceal any thing, which but my self apprehends fit to be represented to your Grace, whilst I affect the title of a reserved, close, and wise, I may lose the other of an honest man, which I more esteem.

Thus much by way of preface.

I represent this office of a Lord Steward, as a place to be either accepted of by your self, or else to be discontinued (as for many years towards the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth*, and the beginning of our Masters reign it was) and in any case, not to be placed upon another, without the deliberation of some few years at the least. Being an office, that none but the Kings Kinsmen, or Favorites, or Counter-favourites (raised up of purpose to ballance the great one) have anciently possessed: I could desire your Grace had it in your own person; for these Reasons.

1. It is an office of fair, and very competent gettings, but that is scarce considerable.

2. It keeps you in all changes and alterations of years near the King,

King, and gives unto you all the opportunities, and accessles, without the envie of a favorite. I beseech your Grace pause well upon this, and call to mind, if the *Duke of Richmond* was not in this case.

3. It Gives you opportunities to gratifie all the Court, great and small, *Virtute Officii* in right of your place. Which is a thing better accepted of, and interpreted, then a courtesie from a favorite. Because in this you are a dispenser of your own; but in the other (say many envious men,) of the Kings goodnesse, which would flow fast enough of it self, but that it is restrained to this Pipe and channel onely.

4. There must be one day an end of this attendance as a Bed-chamber man, but I hope never of being next unto the King, as a great Counciller, and officer, and above all others, which you cannot be, but by this office. The Master of the horse is but a Knights place at the most, and the Admirals (in time of action) either to be employed abroad Personallie, or to live at home in that ignominie, and shame, as your Grace will never endure to do so.

I will trouble your Grace with a tale of *Dante* the first Italian Poet of note. Who being a great, and wealthie man in *Florence*, and his opinion demanded, who should be sent Embassador to the Pope, made this answer, that he knew not who *Si jo vo chista, Si jo sto chi va*. If I go, I know not who shall stay at home; if I stay, I know not who can perform this employment. Yet your Grace staying at home in favour, and greatnesse with his Majestie, may by your designs and directions so dispose of the Admiral, as to injoy the glory, without running the hazard of his personal employment. My Gracious Lord, if any man shall put you in hope, that the Admiralty will fill your Coffers, and make you rich, call upon them to name one Admiral that ever was so. As in time of hostility there is some getting, so are there hungry and insatiable people presently to devour the same. God made man to live upon the land, and necessity onely drives him to Sea. Yet is not my advice absolutely for your relinquishing of this, but in any case for the retaining of the other place though with the losse of the Admiraltie.

5. I beseech your Grace observe the Earl of *Leicester*, (who being the onely favorite in *Queen Elizabeths* time, that was of any continuance) made choice of this place onely, and refused the Admiralty two severall times, as being an occasion, either to withdraw him from the Court, or to leave him there, laden with ignominie. And yet being Lord Steward, wise, and in favour, he wholly commanded the Admiralty, and made it ministerial, and subordnary to his directions.

6. Remember,

6. Remember, that this office is fit for a young, a middle, and an old man to enjoy, and so is not any other that I know about his Majesty. Now God almighty having given you favour at the first, and since a great quantity (I never flattered your Grace, nor do now) of wit, and wise experience, I would humbly recommend unto your Grace this opportunity to be neereſt unto the King in your young, your middle, and your decreaſing age, that is to be on earth, as your piety will one day make you in heaven, an everlaſting favorite. There are many objections, which your Grace may make, but if I find any inclination in your Grace to lay hold upon this propoſition, I dare undertake to answer them all. Your Grace may leave any office you please (if your Grace be more in love with the Admiralty, then I think you have cause,) to avoid envie. But my final conclusion is this, to desire your Grace most humbly to put no other Lord into this office, without just, and mature deliberation. And to pardon this boldness, and haste, which makes me to write so weakly in a theame, that I perswade my self I could maintaine very valiantly; I have no other copie of this Letter, and I pray God your Grace be able to read this. I send your Grace a Letter delivered unto me from *Conde Gondomar*, and dated either at *Madrid*, or (as I observe it was written first,) at London. There is no great matter at whither of the places it was invented. I humbly beseech your Grace to send by this bearer the resolution for the Parliament. And do rest

Yours &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about Sr. Robert Howard.*

11 March 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

Sir *Robert Howard* appeared yesterday, and continues obstinate in this refusal to swear. When we came to examin the commission for our power to fine him for this obstinacie, we found that Sir *Edward Cook*, (foreseeing out of a propheticall, how near it might concern a Grandchild of his own day) hath expunged this clause (by the help of the *Earle of Salisburie*,) out of the commission, and left us nothing but the rustie sword of the church, excommunication, to vindicate the authority of this Court. We have given him day until Saturday next, either to conform, or to be excommunicated. She hath answered



*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

answered wittilie, and cunningly, but yet sufficient for the Conifance of the Court. Confesseth a fame of incontinenzie againſt her, and *Howard*, but ſayeth it was raiſed by her Husbands kindred. I do not doubt but the buſineſſe will go on well, but (peradventure) more ſlowly, if *Howard* continue refractory, for want of this power to fine, and amerce him. I beſeech your Grace, either to procure me the favour to come, or to excuſe my not ſeeing his Maſteſtie in this time of his indiſpoſition, which I hear ſtill continueth. I beſeech Almighty God (as in eternal duty I am bound) preſently to eaſe him, and reſtore him to his perfect health. Mr. *Packers* being away makes me unmannerly. I am humbly to deſire your Grace to be pleaſed to move his Maſteſtie (at your firſt opportunity) to ſign this Commiſſion, for the proroguing of the Parliament, and to read unto his Maſteſtie this paper of names here incloſed, (which his Maſteſtie is not to ſign,) knowing his pleaſure, whether he alloweth of them for Commiſſioners for the laſt ſubſide of the Lords. I have added to the former the Earl of *Montgomerie* according to your Graces direction, whom God almighty ever preſerve. It is the prayer of &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke* 13. March. 1624.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

**F**OR your Brothers buſineſſe, this is all I have to acquaint your Grace with. Sir *Robert Howard* appeared yeſterday at Lambeth, pretended want of Councel, (the Doctors being out of town) deſired reſpite until to morrow, and had it granted by my Lords Grace. Moſt men think he will not take his oath at all; I do incline to the contrary opinion, becauſe (to my knowledge) he hath ſent far, and near for the moſt able Doctors in the Kingdom to be ſeek for him, which were great follie if he intended not to answer. He is extreame-ly commended for his cloſeneſſe and ſecreſie by the major part of our auditors, (the Hee and Shee good fellowes of the town,) and though he refuseth to be a Confessor, yet is ſure to die a Martyr, and moſt of the Ladies in town will offer at his ſhryne. The Lady *Hatton* ſome nine dayes ſince, was at Stoke, with the good Knight her Husband for ſome counſel in this particular. But he reſuſed to meddle therewithal, and diſmiſt her Ladſhip, when ſhe had ſtayed with him very lovingly half a quarter of an hour.

The cauſe of my troubling your Grace is this: The French Embaſſador

bassadour is fired with some complaints of our Recusants, who (I verily believe) work upon him purposely, finding him to be of a combustible disposition. To morrow he is resolved to come upon you, and our Master with Complaints, for lack of performances to the Papists. And because I would furnish your Grace with as much answer, as I am acquainted with, (nothing doubting but your Grace is otherwaies better provided,) I make bold to present your Grace with these particulars.

1. With a Letter from my Lord Archbishop of York in answer to another of mine; which shews how really his Majesties promise hath been in that kind performed. I beseech your Grace to keep it safe in your pocket, until I shall have the honour to wait upon your Grace, when you have made use of the same.

2. If your Grace shall hear him complain of the Judges in their charges, and of their receiving of Indictments; your Grace may answer, That those charges are but orations of Course, opening all the penal Lawes, and the Indictments being presented by the Country, cannot be refused by the Judges. But the Judges are ordered to execute nothing actually against the Recusants, nor will they do it, during the negotiation.

3. Your Grace may put him in mind, that my Lord Keeper doth every day, when his, (the Lord Embassadours) Secretary calls upon him, grant forth Writs to remove all the persons indicted in the Country into the Kings Bench, out of the power and reaches of the Justices of the Peace. And that being there, the King may, and doth release them at his pleasure.

4. That the Spanish Embassadour never had, nor desired more then these favours.

5. That you are informed, that Copies of Letters written from the King to both the Archbishops are spread abroad in *Staffordshire*, to his Majesties disadvantage (for so it is) and that thereby my Lord Embassadour may perceive the bent of the English Catholiques, which is not to procure ease and quietnesse to themselves, but Scandals to their neighbouring Protestants, and discontentments against the King and State.

I humbly crave your Graces pardon for this boldnesse, and tediousnesse, and with my hearty prayers for your health, do rest

yours, &c.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 22. March, 1624.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Send your Grace here inclosed, the Kings Commission, and the Prince's Proxie, not fairly written, (which the Embassadors upon the place may procure in a fresh hand,) but yet legibly, and passably. The Prince's Proxie refers the manner unto the articles, and particularly to the second, third, and fourth Section of those Articles; which gives me occasion to begg of your Grace pardon, to desire your Grace to think seriously upon the third Section, to advise with the Prince, and to give Mr. *Packer* charge to inform your Grace punctually what he knoweth, and may inform himself concerning those particulars. That is, How the *Queen Margaret* of France was married to *Henry* the fourth, and how Madam his sister was married to the Prince of *Lorruin*. For although they are both made alike in the article, yet surely they were not married after the same fashion. For the Dutchesse of *Barr* was married in a closet, without a Masse, by words onely of the Present tense, as I believe, I have read in the Historie of *Thuanus*. A favour, which will hardly be granted to your Grace. And how *Queen Margaret* was married, my Lords the Embassadors will soon learn, if your Grace will be pleased to write unto them.

I hold it (in a manner) necessary, that your Grace do carrie over with you in your company one Civilian to put your Grace in mind of the formalities required; and if your Grace be of that mind, your own Doctor, Dr. *Reeves* is as fit as any man else, who is a good Scholar, and speaks that language. Your Grace hath revived my Lord of *Clare*, sithence I spake with your Grace. And I beseech your Grace to follow that resolution, and to let Mr. *Packer* draw up a warrant of 3. or 4. lines signed by the King to me to place him with the rest of the Councel of War. It will be an occasion to take up more of that time, which he now spends with the Lady *Hatton*. For now I am resolved, that I was of the right in my conjecture to your Grace, that his Lordship had utterly refused my Lady *Purbeck's* cause (of the which the very common people begin to be ashamed) but is deeply ingaged against my Lady of *Richmond*, in the businesse of that famous (or rather notorious) foeminine Contract, and bargain, of sixteen hundred pounds by the year for a house to sleep in.

When your Grace shall draw up your Instructions, you will be pleased to use the words, To Contract, Espouse and marrie Our Welbeloved Son, &c. because they do in those parts contract alwaies before

Dutchesse  
of Rich-  
mond.

before marriage. And your Grace will be pleased to expresse his Majesties pleasure, that this is to be done by your self, and no other : Because although the two Earls upon the place, have some such general words in their Commission, yet your Grace only is named in the Prince's Proxie, and now solely imployed by the King to that purpose. Although I conceived this restraint to be fitter a great deal for the instructions, then the Commission.

I am extream sorry to hear what a grievous fit his Majestie had this last night. But I hope it is a farewell of the Agues, and I pray God it be the last fit. And now am an humble suitor again, that I may come and look upon his Majestie, resolved to say nothing, but that which I will never cease to say, God blesse him. If your Grace holds it inconvenient, I beseech your Grace to excuse me, and to account me as I will ever be found,

Yours, &c.

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*The Bishop of Lincoln to the Duke, 7<sup>th</sup>. of  
January, 1625.*

*Most Gracious Lord,*

**B**Eing come hither, according unto the dutie of my place, to do my best service for the preparation to the Coronation, and to wait upon his Majestie for his Royal pleasure and direction therein ; I do most humbly beseech your Grace, to crown so many of your Grace's former favours, and to revive a Creature of your own, struck dead onely with your displeasure, (but no other discontentment in the universal world,) by bringing of me to kisse his Majesties hand, with whom I took leave, in no disfavour at all. I was never hitherto brought into the presence of a King, by any Saint, besides your self: Turn me not over ( most noble Lord ) to offer my prayers at new Altars. If I were guiltie of any unworthy unfaithfulnesse for the time past, or not guiltie of a resolution to do your Grace all service for the time to come, all considerations under Heaven could not force me to beg it so earnestly, or to professe my self, as I do before God, and you,

Your Grace's most humble, affectionate,  
and devoted servant,

*To. Lincoln.*



*The Bishop of Lincoln to his Majestie.**Most Mighty, and dread Sovereign,*

I Have now these four moneths, by the strength of those gracious speeches your Majestie used, (when I took my leave of your Majestie at *Salisbury*;) and the conscience of mine own innocencie from having ever wilfully or maliciously offended your Majestie, comforted my self in these great afflictions; to be thus injoynd from your Majesties presence (the onely heaven wherein my soul delighted,) having submitted my self (I hope dutifully, and patiently) to the discharge from that great Office (for the execution whereof I was altogether unworthy;) My required absence from the Councel Table; my sequestration from attending your Majesties Coronation: And your Majesties favourable pleasure (for so I do esteem that,) to spare my presence at this next Parliament. And I trust in God I shall most readily obey any other Command, that bears the image and superscription of your Majestie, without any desire of searching after the hand that helps to presse and ingrave it. Yet because I suffer in some more particulars then peradventure is explicetly known to your Majestie: And that I have no friend left about your Majestie, that dares for fear of displeasure relate unto your Majestie my griefs, and necessities, I humbly crave your gracious Pardon to make some two representations, and some few Petitions unto your most excellent Maiestie.

First, I humbly shew unto your Majestie, that besides my former Calamities, I am not paid that part of my Pension, which should pay the Creditors, who lent me money to buy the same; notwithstanding your Majestie hath been graciously pleased to order otherwise.

Secondly, I have not yet received my Writ of Summons unto the Parliament (denied to no Prisoners, or condemned Peers in the late reign of your blessed Father,) that I might accordingly make my Proxie, the which I cannot do, the Writ not received; nor can I my self go into the Countrey, as I had done long ere this, had not the expectation of this Writ, together with the special service of my Lord Duke, and no other occasion whatsoever detained me.

These two particulars I present with all submission unto your Majestie, and shall rest satisfied with what royal resolution your Majestie shall make therein.

These petitions that follow I must earnestly beg at your Majesties  
*hands,*

hands, and for Gods sake, and your blessed Fathers sake, whose Creature, and most painful servant I was.

First, that your Majestie would be pleased to mitigate, and allay the causelesse displeasure of my Lord Duke against me; who is so little satisfied with any thing I can do, or suffer, that I have no means left to appease his anger, but my prayers to God, and your Sacred Majestie.

Secondly, I beseech your Majestie for Christ Jesus sake not to believe newes, or accusations against me concerning my carriage past, present, or to come, whilst I stand thus injoynd from your Royal presence, before you shall have heard my answer, and defence unto the particulars. Those that inform your Majestie may (God he knoweth) be oftentimes mis-informed.

My last supplication unto your Majestie is, That in my absence this Parliament, no use may be made of your sacred name to wound the reputation of a poor Bishop, who besides his Religion and Dutie to that Divine Character you now bear, hath ever affectionately honoured your very Person above all the objects in this world, as he desires the salvation of the world to come. But I crave no protection against any other accuser, or accusation whatsoever. So shall I never cease to pray to the Almighty God to make your Majestie the Happiest and Greatest King, that ever was Crowned, and Anointed: which shall be the continual orisons of

Your Majesties most dutiful and  
most humble Vassal,

*To. Lincoln.*

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*The Lord Keeper to the Lord Viscount Anan.*

17. Septemb. 1622.

*Right Honourable,*

**I** Owe more service to that true love, and former acquaintance, which your Lordship hath been pleased to afford me, now these full ten yeares, then to be sparing, or reserved in satisfying your Lordship about any doubt whatsoever, the resolution whereof shall lie in my power. Concerning that offence, taken by many people, both on this side the borders and in Scotland, from that Clemencie which

which his Majestie was pleased to extend to the imprisoned Lay-Recusants of this Kingdom, and my Letter written unto the Justices for the reigling of the same, which your Lordship did intimate unto me yesterday at Mr. *Henry Gibbs* his house, out of some newes received from a Peer of Scotland. This is the plainest return I can make unto your Lordship. In the general, as the Sun in the firmament appears unto us no bigger then a Platter, and the Stars but as so many nails in the pummel of a saddle, because of the Elongement and disproportion between our eyes, and the object; so is there such an unmeasurable distance betwixt the deep resolution of a Prince, and the shallow apprehension of common and ordinary people, that as they will be ever judging and censuring, so must they be obnoxious to error and mistaking.

Particularly, for as much as concerns my self, I must leave my former life, my profession my continuall preaching, my writing, (which is instant in the hands of many,) my private indeavours about some great persons, and the whole bent of my actions, (which in the place I live in cannot be concealed, to testifie unto the world, what favour I am likely to importune for the Papists in their religion. For the King my Master, I will tell you a storie out of *Velleius Paterculus*. A Surveyor bragging to M. *Livius Drusus*, that he would so contrive his house *Ut Libera à conspectu immunis ab omnibus arbitris esset*, that it should stand removed out of sight, and be past all danger of peeping, or Eves-dropping; was answered again by *Drusus*, *Tu vero, si quid in te artis est ita compone domum mean, ut quicquid agam ab omnibus Conspici possit*, Nay my good friend, if you have any devices in your head, contrive my house after such a manner, that all the world may see what I do therein. So if I should endeavour to flourish up some artificial Vault, to hide and conceal the intentions of his Majestie, I know I should receive the same thanks, that the Surveyor did from *Drusus*. I was not called to Councel by his royal Majestie, when the resolution of this Clemencie to the Lay-Recusants was first concluded: But if I had been asked my opinion, I should have advised it without the least hæsitation. His Majestie was so Popishly addicted at this time, that (to the incredible exhaustments of this Treasurie) he was a most zealous interceder for some ease and refreshment to all the Protestants in Europe, his own Dominions, and Denmarkes onely excepted.

Those of *Switzerland* (having lately provoked the *Pole*) had no other hope of peace; those of France of the exercise of their Religion; those of the Palatinate, and adjoining Countries of the least connivencie

connivencie to say their prayers, then by the earnest mediation of our gracious Master. And advised by the late Assembly of Parliament to insist a while longer in this milkie way of intercession, and Treatie. What a preposterous argument would this have been to desire those mighty Princes (armed, and victorious) to grant some liberty, and clemencie to the Protestants, because himself did now imprison, and execute the rigour of his lawes against the Roman Catholiques. I must deal plainly with your Lordship. Our viperous countrymen the English Jesuits in France to frustrate these Pious endeavours of his Majesties, had many months before this favour granted, retorted that argument upon us, by writing a most malicious book (which I have seen, and read over) to the French King, inciting him, and the three Estates, to put all those statutes in execution against the Protestants in those parts, which are here enacted, and (as they falsely informed) severally executed upon the Papists. I would therefore see the most subtille State-monger in the world chalk out a way for his Majestie to mediate for Grace, and favour for the Protestants, by executing at this time the severity of the Lawes upon the Papists. And that this favour should mount to a Toleration, is a most dull, (and yet a most divelish) misconstruction.

A Toleration looks forward, to the time to come: This favour backward onely, to the offences past. If any Papist now set at liberty shall offend the lawes again, the Justices may, (nay must) recommit him, and leave favour and mercy to the King, to whom onely it properly belongeth. Nay let those 2. writs directed to the Judges, be as diligently perused by those rash Censures, as they were by those grave, and learned, to whom his Majestie referred the penning of the same, and they shall find, that these Papists are no otherwise out of prison, then with their shackles about their heels, sufficient sureties, and good recognisances to present themselves again at the next assises. As therefore that Lacedemonian posed the Oracle of *Apollo*, by asking his opinion of the bird which he grasped in his hand, whether he were alive, or dead, so it is a matter yet controverted, and undecided, whether those Papists (closed up, and grasped in the hands of the law) be still in prison, or at libertie. Their own demeanours, and the successe of his Majesties negotiations, are Oracles that must decide the same. If the Lay-papists do wax insolent with this mercy, insulting upon the Protestants, and translating this favour from the person to the cause, I am verily of opinion his Majestie will remand them to their former state, and condition, and renew his writ no more. But if they shall use these  
graces.



graces modestly, by admitting Conference with learned Preachers, demeaning themselves neighbourly and peaceably, praying for his Majestie, and the prosperous successe of his pious endeavours, and relieving him bountifully (which they are as well able to do as any of his Subjects,) if he shall be forced and constrained to take his sword in hand, then it cannot be denied, but our Master is a Prince, that hath (as one said) *plus humanitatis penè quam hominis*, and will at that time leave to be merciful, when he leaves to be himself. In the mean while, this argument fetcht from the Devils topicks, which concludes a *Concreto ad abstractum* from a favour done to the English Papists, that the King favoureth the Romish Religion is such a composition of follie, and malice, as is little deserved by that gracious Prince, who by word, writing, exercise of Religion, acts of Parliament, late directions for catechizing, and preaching, and all professions, and endeavours in the world hath demonstrated himself so resolved a Protestant. God by his holy Spirit open the eyes of the people, that these aierie representations of ungrounded fancies set aside, they may clearly discern, and see how by the goodnesse of God, and the wisdom of their King, this Island of all the Countries in Europe is the sole nest of peace and true Religion, and the inhabitants thereof unhappie onely in this one thing, that they never look up to heaven to give God thanks for so great a happinesse.

Lastly, for mine own Letter to the Judges, (which did onely declare, not operate the favour,) it was either much mis-penned, or much misconstrued. It recited four kinds of recusancies onely capable of his Majesties clemencie not so much to include these, as to exclude many other crimes bearing amongst the Papists the name of Recusancies, as using the function of a Romish Priest, seducing the Kings liege people from the Religion established, scandalizing and aspersing our King, Church, State, or present Government. All which offences (being outward practises, and no secret motions of the conscience,) are adjudged by the Lawes of England to be merely civil, and political, and excluded by my Letter from the benefit of those Writs, which the bearer was employed to deliver unto the Judges.

And thus I have given your Lordship a plain account of the carriage of this businesse, and that the more suddenly, that your Lordship might perceive it is not *Aurea Fabula*, or prepared tale, but a bare Narration, which I have sent unto your Lordship. I beseech your Lordship to let his Majestie know, that the Letters to the Justices of Peace concerning those four heads recommended by his Majestie, shall

shall be sent away as fast as they can be exscribed. I will trouble your Lordship no more at this time, but shall rest ever

Your Lordships servant and  
true friend,

*Jo. Lincoln. C. S.*

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*The Bishop of Menevensis to the Duke: Dr. Laud.*

*My most Gracious Lord,*

I May not be absent, and not write. And since your Grace is pleased with the trouble, I must professe my self much content with the performance of the dutie. I am not unmindful of the last businesse your Grace committed to me, but I have as yet done the lesse in it, because I fell into a relaps of my infirmitie, but I thank God I am once more free, if I can look better to my self, as I hope I shall.

My Lord, I must become an humble suitor to your Grace. I hear by good hand that my Lord of *Canterbury* intends shortly to renew the High Commission. Now I am to acquaint your Grace, that there is never a Bishop that lives about *London* left out of the Commission but my self, and many that live quite absent are in, and many inferiours to Bishops. The Commission is a place of great experience for any man, that is a Governour in the Church. And since by his Majesties gracious goodnesse, and your Grace's sole procurement, I am made a Governour, I would be loath to be excluded from that which might give me experience, and so enable me to perform my dutie. I am sure my Lord of *Canterbury* will leave me out, as hitherto he hath done, if his Majestie be not pleased to Command that I shall be in. This I submit to your Grace, but humbly desire even against my own ease and quiet, that I may not be deprived of that experience which is necessary for my place. I most humbly beseech your Grace to pardon this boldnesse, and to know, that in my daily prayers for your Grace's happinesse, I shall ever rest

Your Grace's most devoted and  
affectionate servant,

*Novemb. 18. 1624.*

*Gnil. Menevensis.*

Q

*The*

*The Bishop of Menevenfis to the Duke :*  
Dr. Laud.

*My most Gracious Lord,*

**I** Am heartily glad to hear your Lordship is so well returned, and so happily as to meet so great joy. God hath among many others his great blessings (and I know your Grace so esteems them) sent you now this extraordinarie one, a son to inherit his fathers honours, and the rest of Gods blessings upon both. So soon as I came to any end of my journey, I met the happie news of Gods blessing upon your Grace, and it seasoned all the hard journey I have had out of *Wales* through the Snow. When I had rested my self a little at my friend's house in the Forrest (Mr. *Windebank* a servant of your Grace's, whom I made bold to make known to your Honour) I came to *Windsor* in hope to have been so happie, as to meet your Grace at the great solemnitie: but when I came, I found that which I suspected, that your Grace's greater joy would carrie you farther. Which journey, and the cause, and the end of it, I heartily wish, and pray may be full of joy, and all contentment to your Grace. I made bold to trouble your Grace with a Letter or two out of *Wales*, which I hope Mr. *Windebank* took the best care he could to see delivered. I have no means to do your Grace any service, but by my prayers, and they do daily attend, and shall ever, while I breathe to utter them. I hope though I have missed this opportunitie, yet I shall be so happie as to see, and wait upon your Grace at *London*. In the mean time, and ever, I leave your Grace, and all your home-blessings to the protection of the Almighty, and shall ever be found

*Windsor*, 13. Decemb. 1625.

Your Graces most devoted and  
affectionate servant,

*Guil. Meneven.*

*Doctor Mountague Bishop of Chichester to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**Y**our Highnesse vouchsafed at *Windsor* to let me understand, that his Majestie my gracious Master and Sovereign, had taken me off from that trouble and vexation, which by some mens procurement, I  
was

was put unto in the House of Commons. They as I understand, think not so, but intend to proceed against me so far as they can, as having returned his Majestie no other answer, but that I was freed from imprisonment. It is true, that besides 20 l. which the Serjeant had of me by exaction for fees, they bound me unto him in a bond of 2000 l. to appear before them, the first day of the next Sessions. I beseech your Grace, that as you have been pleased to tie me unto your excellent not onely self, but also most honourable Sister in that bond of obligation, as never was poor Scholar to such Worthies; so you would be pleased to let his Majestie understand the case, that by your means I may be absolutely discharged, with the redeliverie of my bond from them, whom I never offended, who (under correction) have nothing to do with me; and as his Majesties servant be left unto himself, especially for that which was authorized by himself, and commanded by his Father, my late Master of ever blessed memorie. If his Majestie will be pleased to call for their accusations against me, if I do not really and thoroughly answer whatsoever is, or can be imputed to me out of my books, I will no further desire favour and protection of his Majestie, and your Gracious self, but be willingly left unto my enemies. I must crave pardon for presuming thus to trouble your Grace, the rather because through a grievous affliction of the Collick and Stone, I am not able personally to attend your Grace, whom according unto my most bounden dutie, I daily recommend unto the Almighty, being more obliged unto your noble self, then ever to any one. So remaining

Most humbly at your Graces  
service ever,

*Petworth, 29. July.*

*Ri. Mountague.*

1. IF any or all the Papists living can prove, that the Roman Church, as it now stands in opposition to the Church of England, is either the Catholique Church of Christ, or a sound member of the Catholique Church,

I will subscribe.

2. If any or all the Papists living can prove unto me, that the Church of England as it standeth at this day, is not a true member of the Catholique Church,

I will subscribe.



3. If any or all the Papists living can prove unto me, that any one point at this day maintained by the Church of *Rome* against the Church of *England*, was the received Doctrine of the Catholique Church, or concluded by any general Councel, or particular approved Councel, or resolved of by any one Father of Credit to be such, for 500. years at least after Christ,

I will subscribe

*Ri. Mountague.*

*The Bishops of Rochester, Oxford, and St. Davids,  
to the Duke, concerning Mr. Mountague.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**EE are bold to be suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor member of it Mr. *Mountague*, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the Cause which we are bound to be tender of.

The cause we conceive (under correction of better judgment) concerns the Church of England merely; for that Church when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached, or maintained by the Church of *Rome*, refused the apparant and dangerous errours, and would not be too busie with every particular School point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unitie amongst Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in Schooles.

Now may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr. *Mountague*, are some of them such, as are expressly, the resolved doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them such as are fit onely for Schooles, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. And therefore to make any man subscribe to Schoole opinions, may justly seeme hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Councel of *Trent*. And to affright them from those opinions in which they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in it self, so it may be the Mother of greater danger.

May

May it please your Grace farther to consider, that when the Clergie submitted themselves in the time of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>, the submission was so, that if any difference doctrinal, or other fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be Judges of it in a national Synode, or Convocation, The King first giving leave under his broad Seale, to handle the points in difference.

But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can Shee, though Shee would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most Gracious Majestie (if you shall think fit) what dangerous Consequences may follow upon it. For first, if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine, we shall depart from the ordinance of Christ, and the continual course and practise of the Church.

2. Secondly, if the Church, be once brought down beneath her self, we cannot but fear what may be next Strook at.

3. Thirdly, it will some way touch the honour of his majesties dear Father, and our most dread Sovereign of Glorious, and ever blessed memorie, King *James*, who saw and approved all the opinions in this Book, and he in his rare wisdom and judgment would never have allowed them, if they had Crossed with truth and the Church of England.

4. Fourthly, we must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the common Wealth, or of preaching, and external ministrie in the Church, if such fatall opinions as some which are opposite, and contrarie to these delivered by Mr. *Mountague* are, shall be Publiquely taught and maintained.

5. Fifthly, we are certain, that all or most of the contrarie opinions were treated of at *Lambeth*, and ready to be published, but then Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memorie, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practise of pietie, and obedience to all Government, caused them to be suppressed, and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance at the Synod of *Dort*. Now this was a Synod of that nation, and can be of no authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by Publique authority. And our hope is that the Church of England will be well advised, and more then once over, before Shee admit a forraign Synod, especiallie of such a Church as condemneth her discipline and manner of Government, to say no more.

And further we are bold to commend to your Graces wisdom this one particular. His Majestie (as we have been informed) hath already taken this businesse into his own care, and most worthily referred.

*The Bishop of Landaffe, &c. to the Duke.*

ferred it in a right course to Church-consideration. And we well hoped, that without further trouble to the state, or breach of unity in the Church it might so have been well, and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered we have little to say for Mr. *Mountagues* person: onely thus much we know. He is a very good Scholler and a right honest man. A man every way able to do God, his Majestie, and the Church of England great service. We fear he may receive great discouragement, and which is far worse, we have some cause to doubt this may bred a great backwardnesse in able men to write in the defence of the Church of England against either home, or forraign adversaries, if they shall see him sink in fortunes reputation, or health upon his book occasion.

And t his we most humbly submit to your Graces judgment, and care of the Churches peace, and welfare. So recommending your Grace to the protection of Almighty God,

We shall ever rest At your Graces service

2. August 1625.

*Jo. Roffens.*

*Jo. Oxon.*

*Gnil Meneven.*

*Doctor Field Bishop of Landaffe to the Duke.*

*My Gracions Good Lord,*

IN the great Library of men, that I have studied these many yeares, your Grace is the best Book, and most Classlick authour that I have read, in whom I find so much goodnesse, sweetnesse, and noblenesse of nature, such an Heroick spirit, for boundlesse bounty as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made Deanes, some Bishops, some Lords, and Privy Councillours. None that ever looked toward your Grace did ever go empty away I need go no farther then my self (a gum of the Earth) whom some 8. years ago you raised out of the dust, for raising but a thought so high as to serve your Highnesse. Since that, I have not played the Truant, but more diligently studied you then ever before. And yet (Dunce that I am) I stand at a stay, and am a *Non-proficient*, the book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiencie of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile,

guile, some wile in some of my fellow Students, who hide my book from me, or some part of it. All the fault is not in mine own blockishnesse, that I thrive no better. I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices. Your Grace was pleased to protest no man had, and to assure me no man could. My heart tels me, it hath been alwaies upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them ever since most found unto your Grace. Give me leave after so long Patience (for which vertue you were once pleased to commend me to my old Master King *James*, and I have not yet lost it) now that for these 12 Months almost, I have been not onely upon the Stage, but upon the rack of expectations, even distracted between hope and fear, to comfort my self with recordation of your Loving kindnesse of old, when on that great feast day of your being inaugur'd our Chancellour, my look was your booke, wherein you read sadnesse, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your Grace would give me no cause. You replyed with (losse of blood rather,) that was your noble expression. But God forbid so precious an effusion. (I would emptie all my veins rather then you should bleed one drop) when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the haven where I would be. My Lord I am grown an old man and am like old Househouldstuffe, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it Eli, or Bathe and Wells, and I will spend the remainder of my dayes in writing an History of your good deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the envie, and obloquy of this present wicked age wherein we live, and whilest I live in praying for your Grace,

Whose I am totallie and finallie,

*Theophilus Landaven.*

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*The Bishop of Landaffe to the Duke.*

*My most honourable good Lord,*

**I**T is meet before I beg a new, that I should first acknowledge those benefits, and more specially give thanks for the last noble favour your Lordship did me in standing up the last day of Parliament, and pleading my cause. Never was poor man more bound to a gracious  
Lord.



Lord for protecting his innocencie: and it came seasonable, like a showr of rain in the time of drouth. My very heart was parched with grief till it came, and it had ere this been broken, had not your Lordships speech then dropt comfort, in strength whereof it yet lives. For an abortive thought, which never came into act, some 2. or 3. years ago conceived, and that tending to a work of mercy, and charitie, a deed of justice, and due thankfulnesse, how far? how foulie have I been traduced? your Honour cannot imagine how deeply I have been wounded in my good name, as if I had deserved deprivation, degradation, yea to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This can none cure but God, or the King, *Deus in monte*, God hath done his part in providing an occasion. Besides *London* (which is too high for me to look after) and the removes which may be thereby, *Hereford* the next Seat to mine, (whither my Predecessors have oft been removed) is said to be now void. Now good my Lord, speak once more seasonably. It is a doubled, and redoubled, an infinitely multiplied benefit, which is so given. Never had I more need of the Cordial his Majestie gave me at my going into *Wales*, which was that I should not stay long there. It would be a restorative too, not onely of my Credit, so cruelly crackt with the sharp teeth of the wide mouth of vulgar lying fame, but of my estate also, alwaies poor, but lately much more impoverished, and made crazie by occasions of the Church, which drew me to *London* (a place of great expences, as the busie times were) to little purpose: And the Parliament overtaking me, which have held me long, and longer yet are like to hold me here, even to the undoing of my self, my wife and six children, from whom I have now lived 6. or 7. moneths. And what shall I carry home with me but disgrace and infamie? Yet my good Lord, at least procure me of my Lord the King a *Nunc dimittis*, leave to depart. I shall be further out of the reach of pursuing malice, there in the Countrie, do his Majestie better service in gathering up his Subsidies, praying, and teaching my children (whilest I read a Lecture to them, my self was never yet able to get by heart) of parcimony, which must be to them instead of a patrimonie, to pray for his Majesties long life, health, and happinesse. In which prayer shall your Lordship ever be duly remembered by

Your Lordships daily devote  
Beadsman,

*Theophilus Landavenfis.*  
Dr.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**O consider my two great losses this week; one in respect of his Majestie to whom I was to preach; the other in respect of my Patron, whom I was to visit. If this be not the way to repair the latter of my losses, I fear I am in danger to be utterly undone. To presse too near a great man, is a means to be put by; and to stand too far off, is the way to be forgotten: so *Ecclesiasticus*. In which mediocrity could I hit it, would I live and die. My Lord, I would neither presse near, nor stand far off, choosing rather the name of an ill Courtier, then a saucie Scholar,

From your Graces most humble  
servant,

*Rich. Corbet.*

*Postscript.*

**H**ere is news, my noble Lord about us, that in the point of Allegiance now in hand, all the Papists are exceeding Orthodox, the onely Recusants are the Puritanes.

*The E. of Worcester, Arundel and Surrey, Montgomery  
to the King.*

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

**A**Ccording to the Orders and Constitutions made and established by your Majestie, and all the Companions of the Order at the last general Chapter held at *White-Hall* the 21. of *May* last past, we are bold to inform your Majestie, that we having diligently viewed divers of the Records of the said Order, do in the black book find, that the keeping of the little Park at *Windsor*, next adjoining unto the Castle, is in direct words annexed for ever to the Office of the Usher for the said Order. So humbly kissing your Royal hands, We rest

Your Majesties most humble and faithful  
Subjects, and servants,

*White-Hall, 1. July,  
1622.*

*E. Worcester, Arundel and Surrey, Montgomery.  
R The*

*The Lord Chancellour Bacon to the Duke.**My very good Lord,*

**M**Y Lord of *Suffolk's* cause is this day sentenced. My Lord, and his Lady fined at 30000 l. with imprisonment in the Tower at their own charges. *Bingley* at 2000 l. and committed to the Fleet. Sir *Edward Cook* did his part, I have not heard him do better, and began with a fine of an 100000 l. But the Judges first, and most of the rest reduced it as before. I do not dislike that things passe moderately, and all things considered it is not amisse, and might easily have been worse. There was much speaking of interceding for the Kings mercie, which (in my opinion) was not so proper for a sentence: I said in conclusion, that mercy was to come *ex mero motu*, and so left it. I took some other occasion pertinent to do the King honour, by shewing how happy he was in all other parts of his Government, save only in the manage of his treasure by these Officers.

I have sent the King a new Bill for *Sussex*: for my Lord of *Nottingham's* Certificate was true, and I told the Judges of it before, but they neglected it. I conceive the first man (which is newly set down) is the fittest. God ever preserve and keep you, &c.

*The Earl of Suffolk to his Majestie.**Gracious Sovereign,*

**I**N this grievous time of my being barred from your presence, which to me is the greatest affliction that can lie upon me; and knowing by my former service to you, the sweet and Princely disposition that is in you naturally, together with that unmatchable judgement which the world knoweth you have, is the occasion, that I presume at this time to lay before your Majestie my most humble suit; which is, that you would be pleased to look upon the Case of your poor servant, who after so many faithful desires of mine to do you service, I do not say that successe hath fallen out as I wished, should now not only have suffered for my weaknesse, and errours, but must be further questioned to my disgrace. I would to God your Majestie did truly understand the thoughts of my heart, and if there you could find one the least of ill affections to you, I wish it pulled out of my body.

Now to adde to my miseries, give me leave to let your Majestie know the hard estate I am in; for I do owe at this present (I dare avow upon

upon my fidelitie to you) little lesse then 40000 l. which I well know will make me and mine poor and miserable for ever.

All this I do not lay down to your Majesties best judging eyes, that I mean this by way of complaint; For I do acknowledge the reason that your Majestie had to do what you did: neither do I go about to excuse errorrs to have escaped me, but will now and ever acknowledge your Gracious favourable dealing with me, if you will be pleased now to receive me again to your favour after this just correction, without which I desire not to enjoy fortune of Goods, or life in this world, which in the humblest manner that I can I beg at your Princely feet, as

Your, &c.

*T. Suffolk.*

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*The E. of Suffolk to the Duke.*

*My Honourable good Lord,*

**A**T the first minute of mine, and my wives delivery out of the Tower, I had returned such acknowledgment due for so great a favour, but that Sir *George Goring* only desired to be the Messenger, as well as he was of the other, Let not (my Lord) my late misfortunes make me or mine more unable to serve, and thank you, then any hee, that thus takes advantage thereby to wrong me in your belief: for what I have both received in abatement of my fine, and speedy libertie, I must confesse to come from your Noble mediation to his Majestie, whose displeasure hath been more grievous to my soul, then all the rest this world can inflict upon me.

As your Lordships kindnesse hath begun to ease me, so now let the same hand cure, and preserve me from a worse relapse wherein I am like to fall, if your power prevent it not. The motion of his Majesties for my perswading my sons out of their places, was the grievoufest sound that ever entred me, for thereby I still breathed under the heavy weight of all my afflictions, not despairing but their Care (charged upon them with my blessing) might somewhat redeem my errorrs, and assure his Majestie, that my will was never tainted with offending him.

I know my Lord, there is little benefit in serving against Masters minds, but they are unworthy servants that will leave such Masters upon



*The Earle of Suffolk to his Majestie.*

upon any conditions. Such as make suit to chop or change for their own advantage, are better lost then kept: But as for mine, my curse should follow them, if ever I could think, they followed his Majestie with such indifferencie. My obedience to his Majestie was ever of more force with me, then mine own ends any way layed, nor ever joyed I more then in running to his Commands. But this (my Lord) rends my heart to think, that, unfortunate I, should bury my sons alive, and pronouſce that sentence, which would make me and them Scorns to posteritie. Whilest I have knee to bend, eye to lift up, or tongue to begg, I must implore his Majesties pardon, and mercy in this kind. As for that more droffie part of my estate, it still lies at his Majesties feet, and if he now please to recal, what he remitted, without further condition, I must obey, and let his Majestie see, no change of time or place can change me, my love, my dutie, or my zeal to him.

My Lord, here you may read me in my greatest griefs that ever did fall to me: weigh them well, and think that one day you may be a father, and be as neerly touched, as now I am. The favour you shall do me herein shall prove no hidden talent, for the increase shall not onely be the happineſſe of a good work well done, but the hearty acknowledgment of a whole family, and all theirs, that shall as faithfully serve and honour you, as the best of those, that would succeed them, which I hope your Lordship will believe from me, who will ever be

Yours, &c.

*T. Suffolk,*

*The Earle of Suffolk to his Majestie.*

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

**Y**our Princely favour in delivering me, and my wife out of the tower, must, and shall ever be acknowledged of us with all humble thanks. And now be pleased to give me leave to be an humble suitor to your Majestie, that out of the tender compassion of your Princely heart, you will be pleased to cast your eye upon the miserable estate of your distressed, afflicted, and old Servant, now brought into fear of never recovering of your Majesties favour, and so wretched my case is, as the little hope, that remained in me to live in your  
memory,

memorie, was by my two sons service to your Gracious self, and the Prince. It is now required of me to impose upon them the resignation of their places, which with all humility I beseech you to give me leave to say, I would sooner use my power over them to will them to burie themselves quick, then by any other way then enforcement to give up their places of service, which onely remaines to me to be either my dying comfort, or my living torment.

Besides, they are now past my government, being both married, and have children, onely I have a Paternal Care of them, which I humbly beseech your best judging Majestie to weigh respectively, how unhappie I must of necessity think my self, if I should be the perswader of that misfortune to my children, that their children within a few years would curse me for, either living, or dead. Upon all these just considerations (most Gracious Master) give me leave to turn my cruel, & unnatural part of perswading them to yield to that, for which I should detest my self, to my humblest desire upon the Knees of my heart to beg humbly of your Majestie, that whatsoever favour you have ever had to me for any service done, that your Majestie will be pleased to spare the ruine of these two young men, whom I find so honestlie disposed in their desire of spending their fortunes, and lives in your Majesties, and your Princely son's service, as if your displeasure be not fullie satisfied with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of *Buckingham* to be my mediator to your Majestie in this behalf, which I assure my self he will noblie perform, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my means to your Majestie in obtaining this great begun favour. To conclude with my prayer to God, that your Majestie may ever find the same zeal, and Love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy, that my hearts Sole-affection did, and ever shall carrie unto you, which God knowes was, and is more to your Majestie then to my wife, and children, and all other worldly things which God measure unto me according to the truth, as

Yours, &c.

*T. Suffolk*

*The Lady Elizabeth Howard to the King.*

**W**Hen I waited upon you at *Theobalds* to beseech your Majesty that my Lord of *Suffolk* might not come into the Star-chamber, you protested that you loved the man, but that you must shew cause to the world why you took the Staffe from him, but for his fortune, that your Majestie would not meddle with it; the same my Lord of *Buckingham* told me, with this assurance of your promise I went away secure in that poynt. Sithence his cause was heard, he moved all that heard it with much compassion to him, and the people did think, that when you sent him to the Tower, you would have sent for him to have kissed your hand. But your Majestie is abused, for they do not let you know, what is thought of the proceeding against this good man, knowing how truly he loveth you, with the truth of his cause, that you would not follow him, and his children with crueltie. My Lord hath spent in running a Tylt, in Masques, and following the Court above 20000. And Sir shall his reward now be to be turned out of his place without any offence committed. Sir I am the child of your old Servant, and am now great with child, I know it will kill me, and I shall willingly die rather then desire life to see my unfortunate self, and mine thus miserably undone. Sir I beseech your Majestie remember my Father that is dead, and me his distressed child; for if he could know any worldly thing, he would wonder to see me, and those that shall come of me, thus strangely used. But my hope is still in your Majesties goodnesse, and that you will not be carried away with the malice of other men. In this confidence I rest with my daily prayers for your health and happinesse, as

*which might  
have been  
better  
spent.*

Yours &c.

*E. H.*

*The Lady Elizabeth Norris to the Duke.*

*My Lord,*

**E**Ver since your Lordships first recommendation of my husband to me, I have thought my self much ingaged to your Lordship; for I must confesse after he had taken his leave of me, I did love him never the lesse: for immediately after my fathers death (when in  
my

my Conscience he least expected to hear from me) I did both send and write to him, which he might interpret an encouragement, or rather an invitation. I did it the rather, because I did not believe those which did him ill offices; for those which were most for him, on a sudden were most against him. I must confesse, that pitie did confirm my affection, and I trust your Lordship will commiserate his estate, as you do the fall of all mankind, for I was the *Eva*, and he was the *Adam*: and I pray God the King and your Lordship may forgive us, as I am confident God will pardon us. Your Lordship may imagine my Mother was of the plot, but I take God to witnesse, that she was not only against it, but contrarily. I did believe she was wholly for your Brother: And for your Brother, my Mother recommended him to me, whom I used like a Gentleman of high worth and qualitie. But I did by no means abuse him by promise, or taking guists, which I falsely suffer for, in the opinion of the world. I only took a ring by my mothers appointment, which came as a token from my Lady your mother, which was of very small value. My husband and I am resolved rather to suffer in the opinion of the world, then contradict any thing which shall be aggravated against us. We must both honour you, and think our selves much ingaged to your Lordship. After God, I protest you are the onely authour of it; for by your means, I first settled my affection. I know there are those which do my husband and me ill offices. I have reason to be jealous of the Lord *Montgomery*, for he would have put tricks upon me in making me deny the Contract; and when he failed in that, he went about to make me believe Mr. *Wray* had denied his. And to tell your Lordship true, his violence and over-earnestnesse made me the more averse. If my husband had not fetched me, I would have come to him, and so I sent him word.

Thus humbly beseeching your Lordship as you are happie in your wife, that you would be pleased to make our peace with the King; and seeing it is Gods act, that you would honour us with your favour. We shall be both bound to joyn in prayer, that you may be ever happie in your Wife, and in your Childrens Children. And so with my humble respect to your Lordship, I rest

Your Lordships humble servant,

*Elizabeth Norris.*



*Sir Edward Cecyl to the Duke.**My very good Lord,*

**H**OW much my affection and ambition hath been to serve your Lordship before other men, I hope I shall not need now to expresse, considering it hath been clear and manifest to your own trial, whereof I do bear still the testimonie, and the continuance in mine own heart. But in your noblenesse it will not appear impertinent to your Lordship, that I put you in mind, how much I suffered in the disgrace my enemies cast upon me about the imployment for the Palatinate, when I was under your protection; whether I suffered for mine own sake, or for your Lordship, I know not: howsoever of this I am assured, the greatest cause I gave them, that had least reason, was because I sought not them, but your Lordship only. And for the successe, you may see by the miracles the imployment hath brought forth, that it was carried another way, rather for private malice, then for any great zeal to the advancement of the publique Cause.

Now my Lord, for your own honour, and for the upholding of your servant, make me so happie, if there be any imployment for men of my profession (as there is opinion) that I may be the man by your Lordships means, wherein you shall make me your obliged, as I am now your affectionate servant. For which you shall be assured of as thankful heart, as any breathes in the whole world. In the enjoying of which kind of service, though you are accounted the most happie among great men, yet you cannot have too much of it. I could remember your Lordship of his Majesties gracious promise for my imployment before any other in the presence of the Prince and your Lordship, and that I am the first General his Majestie ever made, and that I had no ill successe in the perfecting of that service; yet for all this, I will onely trust in your Noblenesse, if you resolve to make me your Creature.

And if it shall please his Majestie to hold me worthy of this honour, I will undertake to save his Coffers (as I have heretofore done) the sixth part of the employments charge and cost, that any other man shall require, who makes not a computation for the managing of it, by a sufficient expence of his own.

I will not write more at this time, but to wish your Lordship as  
much

much happinesse as your heart can desire, and that you will give me an occasion to shew how much I am, and will be

*From our Army this  
20. of Novemb.*

Your Lordships most faithful and  
affectionate servant,

*Ed. Cecil.*

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*Sir Edward Cecil to the Duke.*

*May it please your Excellency,*

**T**His Gentleman Sir *George Blundel* hath now cleerly quitted the service of the States, for this especial reason (as he assures me) to be the more absolutely employed in your Excellencies service. This I know, his friends here that love him (which are many) are very forrie to part with him, for there is no melancholy where he goes. And therefore considering the condition of this place, we shall be great losers, being upon a melancholy place, and service, ill payed, sick of all diseases in the world, in a place that is next neighbour to hell, if the book printed say true, which saith, that the Low-Countrymen are next neighbours to the devil. And I am sure, we are now seated lower then any part of these Countries; for the waters are above us, and about us, and we live in more fear of them, then of the enemy; for we may be drowned at an hours warning, if we do not continually work against it, and yet, and it shall please your Excellencie, this is the Seat for a Winter War. Many more inconveniencies we are daily sensible of, of which I have endured so much, as I dare say without vanitie, that few of my rank and fortune have suffered more, or longer then I have done in these Countries; having served these 27. years together without intermission; and all this for no other end (for I am 900 l. a year the worse for the Wars) then to make me able to serve my Prince and Countrie when occasion should be offered.

But since the time is come, that opinion doth so govern, as strangers get the Command, and new Souldiers employed, which was never heard of before amongst men of our occupation, It is high time for me to retire, and wish I had been of any other profession then this. For if long service can get no honour, nor reward, nor imployment, but the contrary; it would touch a mans discretion to be

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more

*Sir Edward Cecyl to Secretary Conway.*

more and more unfortunate : All my comfort is, that I shall have the honour and good fortune in my retreat, to draw neerer to your Excellencies service, if not in my profession, (which I desire above all) yet in something whereof your Excellencie may make use of me. For I am ambitious of nothing more, then to prove my self by action, and not by recommendation,

Your Excellencies most faithful devoted,  
and humble servant,

*From our Army at  
Wallike the 4<sup>th</sup> of  
Decemb.*

*Ed. Cecyl.*

*Sir Edward Cecil to Mr. Secretary Conway.*

*My very good Lord,*

**I**T hath pleased your Lordship to write me three Letters lately : the one a particular list of officers, that should be sent from hence; the second for Mr. *Hopton*, the third an acknowledgement onely of the receipt of my Letter to your Lordship. The first I have put in execution, and have written to your son, *Sir Edward Conway* to give them all notice of your Lordships Care of them. And to let them know how welcome any one shall be to me, that you think fit to be employed. For one of them called Ensign *Rainesford*, I had set him down, because I received your Lordships direction from himself. For Mr. *Hopton* I have written unto him according to your desire, with your Letter inclosed; concerning the last, I give your Lordship many humble thanks for having expressed the acceptance by your answer. Touching your businesse here : the State hath ben as contrary to us, as the wind. For though they see a great action likely to be performed to their own good, with little cost to themselves ; yet they desire to be so wise, as to make benefit, both wayes, and not to balk any advantage: which makes them stand so stiff upon the denying of us Officers, and Souldiers by election, and will yield to send none but whole companies, onely to abate so much upon the repartitions. But *Sir William St. Leiger* and I, have utterly refused their offer as a proposition against his Majesties service : for by this ignorant winter war our Companies are grown half new men, having lost most of our old, and of those new men the half are sick besides : So that his Majestie should be beholden to them, rather for names, then men:  
And.

And again for the Officers, and Soulders, it is like they should be most of them the worst in the regiment, from whence they are to come. Whereas if we might have had those Officers we made choice of, which were but ten Captaines, and other inferiour Officers to the number of thirty, they might have been fit for imployment upon a double enemy. And I could wish, that whensoever his Majestie shall be once furnished with Good Officers, it would please him to make account of them, as these men do, who have had long experience, and known their Value.

It pleased my Lord the Duke to write to me a Letter, and to let me know he had chosen me his Officer, to attend, and obey him this journey: an honour too great for me, because I did never expect it, but nothing shall excuse my faults, saving my life. And among many other directions he commanded me to provide for the Army such necessary things as cannot be had in England. Whereof I have thought of many, which I fear, I shall not have the time to get. In my care belonging to these provisions, I have considered the use of our small pieces of Ordinance here, which they call Drakes, that shoot 70. Musket bullets. They will be of great use in this service, both in regard of the quick landing, and of the passing of such mountainous places, as perhaps we may meet withal, and likewise in respect of the little hope we have to get any good musquetiers, or at least any great store of them. But they are in such favour here, as we can obtain none from hence, and so are forced by a general consent to buy ten of them here, that were provided for the King of France. And the reputation they carrie is such, as they are readie mony every where. They cost not much more then 400. sterling, and I hope they will prove the profitablest pieces that were ever used in the quarrel of his Majesties Friends. We have likewise considered of what service a company of Firelocks would be to the action, but the time is so short, we cannot raise them. Howsoever we are promised of the States to have leave for a companie of Harquebussiers, which are of such use upon all occasions, that we cannot misse them. And we have chose a brave and worthie Gentleman his Majesties Servant and Subject who is willing to leave any service for this, being the service of the King. If they should have been raised in England, his Majestie must have payed for the horses, armes, saddles, and pistols, and yet not find any able to have served in that kind.

The wind (as yet) holds contrary, which hath made me send this by Sir *Henry Vane*, who goes a way, that I dare not passe. But (I hope



*Sir Edward Cecyl to the Duke.*

hope) if the wind serve, not to be many dayes behind him to receive your Lordships command, more particularly which I will obey as

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

Hagh 2. June . 1625.

*Ed: Cecyl.*

*Postscript.*

**M**Y Lord, now in this time of necessity for the getting of good Musquetiers, there are many hundred to be found in England that have served in this Land, which by proclamation and promise of money in hand, or more pay, will easily discover themselves, whom some of the new men (to be released) will be glad to satisfy, without charge to his Majestie.

*Sir Edward Cecyl to the Duke.*

*My most excellent Lord,*

**T**Here are some Letters of mine, that had come to your Lordships hands, a good many dayes since, had not the wind been contrary and withstood their passage. The substance whereof was onely to shew you how thankful I hold my self to your excellencie for so great and infinite a favour as it hath pleased your excellencie to think me worthie of. But as is it a favour that will set me on work all the dayes of my life: so is it greater then I can ever deserve. Howsoever my resolution is to do my best. And I humbly beseech your Excellencie to believe, that with my diligence, and the best understanding I have, I will seek nothing but to please you, and to honour you; and if God say Amen to make the world speak of your design as much (I hope) as ever our Nation hath given cause. And for the faults of my self, and those I shall bring with me, they shall not be excused, but with our lives, and bloods: for I hope I shall bring none, but such as know what to do, and when they come to it will bite sooner then bark. I do promise my self your Excellencie will have no cause to doubt or repent you of your favours, for I know what men have done, and what they can do in my occupation. But God is God, and men are but men.

All my discouragement is, that the States answer not his Majesties expectation

expectation being fearful (especially since the losse of *Breda*) to part with any of their old Officers, or old Souldiers ; but my hope is now better, for we have put them to another resolution, by answering all their objections. By this disposition of the States to the keeping all their old Souldiers, I wish your Excellencie will be pleased to be as careful in your choice, as you are desirous of great designs. For otherwise the honour, and the charge will both be cast away, as your Excellencie may perceive in some of our latter expeditions, seeing that although there are many called Souldiers in the world, yet but a few there be, that are so : for so long a man must live in the profession to inable him sufficiently, that many grow unable to perform, what they know, before they have attained to the knowledge of what to perform. The knowledge of war being the highest of humane things that God suffereth mans understanding to reach unto.

I have according to your Excellencies command made as many provisions as I can for the shortnesse of the time, of such things as cannot be gotten in England. And I could have wished I had known of this imployment but some months sooner ; for then I could have saved his Majesty somewhat, and have added many things that would very much have advanced the service. For in our profession the preparing of things belonging to the war, doth more shew a mans experience and judgment, then any thing else, by reason the first errors are the begetting of many more, that afterwards cannot be avoided. Your Excellencie may be pleased to inform your self of all the employts, and undertakings of our nation, that none of them hath suffered (for the most part) more then through the negligence of provisions, as in victual, munition, boats for Landing, and for the receiving of sick men, to keep the rest from infection. In this point of provision, it is not good to trust upon a particular man, for gain is a corrupter where the care is not publique. And in so great an expedition, one must do with living men, as they do with the dead, there must be overseers and executors to have a true intent well performed.

I have presumed to write thus much, to shew my thankfulness to your Excellencie, and my great affection to his Majesties service, whereof I am infinitely possessed. I hear your Excellencie is in *France*, but my prayers to God are to send you safe, and happie home, for the World holds you the soule of advancing his Majesties affairs, wherein his Honour is ingaged as it is, especially in this action, being the first, and a Great One.

And as for my self, who am now a creature you have made, I know  
not

not what I shall do when I come to *England*, being your Excellencies shadow only.

I have here attended the wind, and since I cannot force it, I am glad of the opportunitie to send the Letters by Sir *Henry Vane*, who goes over Land, a Passage I am not capable of, having been so long theiremie. But I hope God will send me soon after, leaving Sir *William St. Leiger* here for the dispatch of that which remains. I have writtten more particularly to my Lord *Conway* which I dare not set down here for fear of being tedious, and knowing his Lordship will give your Excellencie an account of it. And so in all humbleness and dutie, I pray God send your Excellency honour, and length of life for his Majestie's affairs, and for the happinesse of

Your Lordships most humble, faithful  
and obedient servant,

*Hagh* the 3<sup>d</sup>. of  
June, 1625.

*Ed. Cecil.*

*Sir Edward Cecil to the Duke.*

*My most Excellent Lord,*

THE occasion of my boldnesse in presenting your Excellency with these lines, is for that, contrary to my expectation, I hear that there is a Commission a drawing to make Sir *Horace Vere* a Baron of *England*. It is strange to me at this time to hear it, for that I know not what worth there is more in him, then in those, that are equal in profession, and before him in birth. If your Excellencie have made choice of me to be your second in this journey of so much charge, and expectation, and to make me lesse then I was, what courage shall I have to do you service? or what honour will redound to your Excellencie? But although I write it, yet I cannot believe it, for that I know you of that judgment and noblenesse, that you will rather adde to your faithful servants, although they beg it not, then to disgrace them, and make them lesse. Therefore I will continue my belief, and rest

Your Excellencies most humble,  
and devoted servant,

19. of July,  
1625.

*Ed. Cecil.*

*Mj*

*My Gracious Lord,*

**I**T hath not a little troubled your faithful servant at my last being with your Excellencie in *White-Hall* Garden, to understand (after I had attended so long) that I had ill offices done me to his Majestie, and yet the World is of opinion, that I have your Excellencies favor. I presently went home, and ever since I have mused and considered, and can find no reason or policie for my being kept from his Majesties presence, which maketh me and my neer friends astonished. For hitherto I have received no favour, but rather the most strictest proceeding, that ever was used (and without example) to any man, that had such a charge.

And whereas there is no Commission of any force, or validitie, without the assistance of the State, and Prince he serveth, for he that Commandeth is but one man, and the rest are many thousands, which are great oddes, yet I have been publicquely heard before the whole body of the Councel (my adversaries standing by) so curiously, as no inquisition could have done more.

For first, I was examined upon mine instructions, then upon my acts of Councel, then upon my journal, then upon a journal compounded of by ten sundry persons, which were under my Command both Landmen and Seamen, which was never heard of before, and I did not only answer in particular to all points that were demanded, but by writing which is extant: yet cannot I get any judgment or report made to his Majestie, but rather time is given to my enemies (as I hear) to make an ill report of me and my actions to the King. But when I was to be accused, there was no time delayed nor deferred, and such men as I have proved guilty, and failed in the principal point of the service, to have fired and destroyed the Shipping, are neither examined, or any thing said against them, which is strange, especially Sir *Michael Geere*. So that I know not how my Lord of *Essex* can take any thing ill from your Excellencie, unlesse it be to have you do injustice, or against all reason. He may rather give your Excellencie many thanks, that his Lordship is not called into question for letting passe the King of Spain's ships, that offered him fight, which would have been the chief service, having instructions not to let any flie, or break out, without fighting with them.

Now (my Lord) I humbly beseech your Excellencie to consider my Case, that hath been so severely examined, and no body else, and that after my Examination, I have lingred so long in my wrongs  
and



and disgraces, and by the ill offices your Grace doth see are done me to his Majestie, which will rather increase then diminish, so long as I shall be kept from the presence of his Majestie, that is I know of himself the justest Prince in the world, and yet to be in your Excellencies favour.

And I hold my self clear of all imputations in despite of all malice and practice, that hath been against me, to obscure all my endeavours which my adversaries in their consciences can best witness, that when they slept I waked; when they made good cheer, I fasted; and when they rested, I toyled. And besides, when they went about to hinder the journey at *Plimouth*, by railing on the beggerlinesse of it, and discrediting of it, I was content to take it upon me, though against my judgment, as I did secretly deliver both to his Majestie and your Grace, before I departed from the Coast: Nominating in my Letter to his Majestie all the inconveniencies that did after happen unto the Fleet: for had it not been in my obedience to his Majestie, and my good affection to your Excellencie, (that I did see so much affect it, and was so far ingaged) I would have been rather torn in pieces, then to have gone with so many ignorant and malicious people, that did shew so little affection or courage to his Majesties service, or any affection at all to your Excellencie. Yet for all this, all hath been laid upon me, having had rather hard courses taken against me, then any way maintained in my Commission which was given me, which no State, that I have ever heard of, did before. I pray God his Majesties future service do not suffer for it; for where his Majesties Officers are not obeyed, he can never be served.

Wherefore my suit is, that if I have any ill offices done me to his Majestie, that I may clear my self before him by your favour, which I have so long attended after; or by way of Petition, which the meanest Subject is not to be hindred in; for as I continue now, I have not onely wrong done to me, but I suffer as much punishment (without any fault) as if I had been condemned.

And that your Excellencie will do me the favour to deal plainly with me, to let me know, why I am deferred from his Majesties presence, which is not denied to any, having received so much wrong.

If my suffering be to adde any service to your affaires in these troublesome times, let but this honest friend of mine know so much, and I will suffer any inconvenience, as I have, misery, danger,

ger, and decay of my fortunes for your Excellencies sake. And  
so I rest

28<sup>th</sup>. Apr.  
1626.

Your Excellencies most devoted, and  
faithful and thankful servant and  
Creature,

*Wimbledon.*

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*My Lord Wimbledon to the Duke.*

*My Gracious Lord,*

I Understand that it pleased the Lords to grant the Colonels leave  
to accuse me anew, and they have taken to them the most discontented  
Seamen they could get to help their malice forward. I had  
thought, that before my coming, they should have had time and advantage  
sufficiently to have shewen all their envie. And I was perswaded,  
that they could not have desired more, then to have been present  
when I should be examined, and my journal read. At the reading  
whereof they took all the exceptions that might be, and I did answer  
them all in your Excellencies presence, as I thought fully, whereupon  
they seemed to be so content, as they had no more to say; neither  
did they at that time desire to make a journal, or to say any more.

Then the Lords resolutions were only to hear the Seamen speak,  
upon whom all the businesse did lie. If they may be suffered upon  
new Combinations, to bring new slanders upon me, I cannot tell what  
to think of it. But this I can say, that if this course be taken, his  
Majestie will never be without a mutinous Armie. (which all States in  
policy do shun) For when the Common Souldiers shall see their  
Chiefs give them such examples, they will soon follow, being that all  
Armies are subject to it, especially a new Armie. I had thought that  
one Trial had been sufficient, being it was before such an Assembly.  
But if I should be accused, I should desire to have new accusers, and  
not the same that have already accused me, (for so there would be no  
end) & that upon their Petition, I might have been heard what I could  
justly say, why they should not have leave to make a journal, and  
not to give them leave before I were heard. I am afraid there was  
never any such president before, and what inconveniencies may come  
of it time will shew.

*Sir John Ogle to the Duke.*

I have sought to none of the Lords as I fear my enemies have done, (I know not whether I shall suffer for it or no) but my trust hath only been in your Excellencie and the justnesse of my Cause. I have been your Excellencies Officer in as difficult and as miserable an action as ever any one hath undertaken, and with as little assistance as ever any one had. For many of those that should have assisted me, were more careful in betraying me, then in forwarding his Majesties service. And if this course be held to encourage them, there is no man shall suffer more then his Majesties service will. For it will be folly for any man to look to his Majesties service, or to take any pains to prevent, or hinder that which may be committed against it; But to let every man do what he will, so all will be pleased, and he that Commands shall have no man to slander him, which is the way to live in quiet.

Thus much I thought was fit for me to let your Excellencie understand, and withal, that I held it a great unhappinesse for me (that have taken such toyl and pains, and suffered so many slanders) to be kept back by my enemies from that honour, that never any one of my rank and place was hindered in, which is from kissing the hand of my Sovereign Lord the King All Power is in your Lordships hands; whether you will uphold me in my just cause, or no, or let me be ruined for want of it. So that I can say no more, but that if I suffer, I shall be your Excellencies Martyr, if not, I shall all my life rest

Your Excellencies most humble, and most  
thankful servant and Creature,

*Wimbleton.*

*Sir John Ogle to the Duke.*

*Right Excellent and most Gracious Lord,*

AND because you are so, why should not I put my soul in your hand? that I have not done it sooner was not through want of will in me, but it hath been the will of God, that mine acknowledgment should be the fuller, your goodnesse the greater. Your Grace cannot be ignorant of the many motions I have had thereto, but my judgment hath been made irresolute by several distractions. I lay now my self, and the fortunes of me and mine at your Graces feet.  
Take

Take me up then (noblest Lord) as becometh the fame which you have, and the confidence which I have of you with a hand of goodnesse. If I had wilfully sinned against you (when I was wickedly insnared and beguiled by that wretch at *Virecht*, to whom I gave some Extract out of your Letters, as also out of the Lord Embassadors,) or did yet with obstinacie maintain such indiscreet proceeding, your Grace might in justice reject me as unworthy.

But since you have long discerned in me a propension to crave your pardon, though still unhappily diverted till this time; I trust your true Noblenesse, generouseffe and goodnesse to be such, as you will not only not turn this heartie submission to any disadvantage on my part; but looking upon mine ingenuitie, with a right eye of gracious inclination, both pardon my fault, and follie towards your self, and also (to bind my prayers to be offered in the greater zeal for you, for I shall not be able to do you better service then in prayer) be a strong mediator to his gracious Majestie, that my errorrs of weaknesse, and want of discretion, committed then towards his late Majestie of ever blessed memorie, and his Embassadour, with what other oversights may have been gathered up since, may be freely and fully forgiven and remitted, that so my soul being discharged of all fear of displeasure against me, I may with a cheerful heart and quiet conscience, go on in such a vocation as the Lord shall have appointed for me. My Lord, this wound hath long festered neer my heart, and though false skins have been drawn over it sometimes by unskilful hands, yet have I ever judged it the surest cure to rip it up by Confession, and heal it by Contrition. And sure I judge that it savours more of a right generous spirit to confesse a fault, then to conceal it, especially when the party offending is free from malice, and the party offended of a nature so noble and full of goodnesse, as nothing can be wished to be added unto it, and which is yet more; and this have you graciously done to me, (my Lord) signed himself with his own hand a true and faithful friend unto him, the more to invite him to trust him. And trust you I do my Lord, and in you (next my Gracious Sovereign) as much as may be in any arm of flesh. The God of Heaven (I hope) will speak peace to my soul, if the King, and your Grace will send peace to my heart. I trust you will, and will pray to God you may, that I may in all cheerfulness and thankfulness ever remain

Your Grace's most humble, and faithful, and  
obliged servant

*Exeter* 3. June,  
1625.

T 2

*Jo. Ogle.*  
*Postscript.*



*Postscript.*

I Beseech your Grace to send some other man to take this Charge which I too weakly for fear of offending by denial have thus far undergone, but upon hope of being withdrawn. Yet still submit my self to your Graces good pleasure.

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*Sir Robert Mansel to the Duke.*

*Right Honourable and my singular good Lord,*

HAVING used all the possible speed I could to repair to *Algier*, where I should have been by the 15. of *March* last, I held it my dutie humbly to present unto your Lordship the particular account of my proceedings.

Before my arrival I furnished the two Prizes, three *Brigandines*, and a fourth Boat with Firelocks, and combustible materials for the burning of the Pyrats ships within the *Moal*, and had trained my men in the execution of their several duties, and likewise appointed a Squadron of boats with small shot to rescue the vessels of execution in their advancement and retreat.

The first night of my arrival being the 21. of *May* last, the vessels of execution were all advanced, but by reason of contrary winds they were commanded to retire.

The second and third nights they were also in a readinesse, but were withheld with calmes.

The fourth night it pleased God to blesse us with a fair Gale, and they being advanced again, and the two ships with the fire-works, having almost recovered the mouth of the *Moal* (the wind to our great grief) turned to the opposite point of the *Compass*.

The boats performed their directions in towing of the ships, but considering, that by the continuance of the course, they should expose their principallest men to hazard, by reason of the great store of Ordnance and small shot, which plyed upon them, they debated amongst themselves what to do, Capt. *Hughes* (who commanded one of the *Brigandines*) replied, Go on, and give the attempt with the boats, which they cheerfully pursued, crying out without cessation, King *James*, King *James*, God blesse King *James*, and fearlessse of danger (even in the mouth of the Canon, and small shot, which showed

red like haile upon them) they fired the ships in many places, and maintained the same to the great comfort of us, that were spectatours, so long as they had any powder left in their bandileers, striving in the end who should have the honour to come off last, the which at length, as a due to his former resolution and courage, they left to captain *Hughes*, and so retired, all the ships continuing still their cheerful cry, King *James*, with the loss of 20. that were slain, and hurt, and leaving the fire flaming up in 7. several places, which continued in some of them long after their retreat, and being aboard his Majesties ships.

The cowardly Turks, who before durst not shew themselves to so weak a force, but from the walls or the tops of their houses, so soon as they perceived all the boats rettyred, opened their ports, and sallied out in 1000. and by the help of so great multitudes, and a suddain shower of rain, seconded with a calme which then happened, the fire was after extinguished, without doing any more hurt then making two of their ships unserviceable.

During that Stay, there there came out of the Moal only one Frigate, which we forced to run on shoare.

Other service by us there performed, was the sinking of one of their best men of war by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, and Captain *Childleigh*, she was mann'd with a 130. Turks and 12. Christians, whereof 12. onely escaped, the rest were either slain or drowned, which appeared both by the relation of divers Christians which nightly escaped aboard us, and by divers of the dead bodies that floated upon the water by our ships. We took likewise before their faces in the Bay a Fly-boat, which the Pyrats had formerly taken from the Christians and sold to *Ligorn*. In her Merchandize to be exchanged for Pyrats goods, and some mony amounting to 2000. and odd pounds, the exact account whereof I shall not say to addresse to your Lordship as soon as the same is perfected by the council of War.

The Turks hereupon presently manned out three Gallies to reskue here, but Captaine *Giles*, and Captain *Herbert*, with the help of three Brigandines, which I sent out to second them, soon fetcht her up, and brought ther unto me, and the Gallies were put to flight by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, Captain *Pennington*, and Captain *Childleigh*.

During the time of my aboad there, after the attempt made by the boates, I attended ten dayes for an opportunity to send in the ships with the fire workes, to finish the service begun by the boats; but in all that time there happened not a breath of wind fit for their attempt, notwithstanding the ships were allwayes ready at the instant;  
that

that they should receive my directions to advance. But at last understanding by the Christians (that escaped by swimming) aboard me, how the Pyrats had boomed up the Moales with Mafts, and Rafts, set a double guard upon their ships, planted more ordnance upon the Moale, and the walls, and manned out twenty Boats to guard the Boome, and perceiving likewise, that they had sent out their Gallies, and boates both to the Eastward and Westward to give advce to all the ships upon the Coast, that they should not come in during my aboad there, and so finding no hope remaining, either by stratagem to do service upon them in the Moale, or to meet with any more of them, in the regard of the daily complaints brought unto me, both from some of the Kings ships, and most of the Merchants of their want of victuals, I resolved by the advice of the Council of war to set sail, whence I made my repair to this place, where I met my Brother *Roper* with your Lordships dirrections which I have received, and at the instant obeyed, by signifying his Majesties pleasure declared by your Lordships Letter unto the worthie Commanders of those four ships whom his Majestie hath pleased to call home.

But my Lord, in the duty I owe your Lordship, and my zeal to his Majesties honour and service, I humbly beg your Lordships pardon to advertize your Lordship, that seeing we have now made this attempt upon the Pyrates, and that they perceive that our intent is to work their utter ruine and confusion, the recalling of these his Majesties Forces before the arrival of others in their stead, and the bereaving us of so many worthy and experienced Commanders, I fear may prove more prejudicial to the service, then upon one daies consideration I dare presume to set down in writing, by encouraging the Pyrats to put in execution such stratagems upon us, as to my knowledge they have already taken into their consideration. My reasons for the same, I shall be bold upon more mature deliberation to offer in all humbleness unto your Lordships judicious view, either by the Commanders that are to return unto your Lordship, or by a messenger which divers of the Council of War advise to be addressed over land on purpose with the same.

And so being ready (so soon as we have received in our water, and dispatched divers other busineses, which of necessity must be ordered in this place) to set sail for *Malega*, there to receive in our remainder of Victuals, and to take my leave of these 4. Ships, and such other of the Merchants as cannot be made serviceable in these parts. With my endlessse prayers for your Lordships increase of all honour,

honour, I cease your Lordships farther trouble for the present;  
And rest

Your Lordships most humble, most faithful and sad servant,

*From aboard the  
Lion in Alegant  
Rode. 9<sup>th</sup>. June.*

*Robert Mansel.*

1621.

Sir Robert Mansel *to the Duke.*

*Right Honourable and my singular good Lord,*

**I**T is not unknown unto your Lordship, that Sir *Thomas Button* before his coming out, thought himself much wronged in that he did not hold the place of Vice Admiral in this Fleet, whereof I must acknowledge him very worthy, and that for my part I had ingaged Sir *Richard Hawkins*, a very Grave, Religious, and experienced Gentleman, before I was assured whether Sir *Thomas Button* would leave his imployment in *Ireland*, or no; and that afterwards Sir *Thomas Button* by your Lordships mediation, was contented to undertake the charge he now holdeth, which God knowes I laboured for no other end, then for the securitie and advancement of his Majesties service, by reason of the experience I have had of his sufficiency and ability.

Since that time, I have doubled that injury. A wrong was done unto him which cannot be denied, he patiently appealed to me for justice, which I must confesse I denied him. But the name of the person that offered the wrong, and the reasons why I denied him Justice, I must leave unto Sir *Richard Hawkins* and Sir *Henry Palmer* to relate unto your Lordship, and if that will not give your Lordship satisfaction, I must humbly submit my self to your Lordships Censure.

Notwithstanding the impression that these injuries took with him, yet thus much I must truly confesse in his behalf, That there was no man more zealous to advance his Majesties service nor more forward to undergo any danger or hazard then himself, whereof he hath given assured testimonie to the World in these three particulars.

First, in the service performed by him on a Christmasse day at night, whereof I have formerly advertized your Lordship at large.

Secondly, Then in going over to *Algier* cheerfully, without complaining,



*Captain John Pennington to the Duke.*

plaining, when his Ship was so grievously infected, that he had not able men in her to manage her Sailes.

Also in imploying the most choice men in his Ship under the command of his Nephew, for the firing of the Pyrates ships within the Moale of *Algier*.

And lastly, in his joyning with Sir *Richard Hawkins* in the towing off one of the Prizes, when she was becalmed within musquet shot of the *Moale*.

My Lord, I must protest unto your Lordship, that I had no ends of mine own for the injuries done to Sir *Thomas Button*, and therefore your Lordship cannot cast a greater honour upon your poor servant then in repairing him, which I humbly begg of your Lordship.

If Sir *Richard Hawkins* do return unto me, then I shall be an humble suitor unto your Lordship in the behalf of Sir *Thomas Button* that he may return to his imployment in *Ireland*, from whence in my earnest desires to enjoy his company and assistance, I was the only means to withdraw him, and that he may receive such allowance and entertainment as was formerly usually paid unto him, by which means your Lordship will take away the Curses of his children, whose blouds are neer unto me, and oblige me with my continual prayers for your Lordships increase of honour, ever to remain

From aboard the *Vanguard* the 10. of July.

1621.

Your Lordships most humble and  
faithful servant,

*Robert Mansell.*

*Captain John Pennington to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

MY last to your Lordship was of the 18. of this present from *Stokes Bay*, since which time I have received two from your Grace, at *Deep* one by your Secretarie Mr. *Nicholas*, whereby your Grace commands me to deliver up his Majesties Ship, and the rest under my Command, to the hands of such *Frenchmen* as his Christian Majestie shall appoint, according to his Majesties pleasure signified by my Lord *Conway*. And that I and the rest of the Masters take security of them for our ships severally according to the true valuation.

on. And to see this put in execution, you sent your Secretarie Mr. *Nicholas*. And the other by Mr. *Ingham* in answer of mine written from *Stokes Bay*. The former part whereof being only a command to put your former in practice, and the latter a denial of my humble suit for my being called home from this Service. Which said part confirms absolutely, that it was not your Graces pleasure that I should yield up the ships into their hands, and dispose my self and companie of them: for I trust your Grace had no such unjust thought as to continue me here alone after.

The French had possession of her to be their slave, as I am sure they would have made me if they had their wills. To give your Grace an account of what I have done since I came to *Deep* (which was the 21<sup>th</sup>. at this instant about nine of the clock at night) would be too tedious for this time. The 22<sup>th</sup>. in the morning Earlie I sent my boat ashore with my Lievetenant to find out your Graces Secretarie, to receive my Letters, whereby I might know your Graces pleasure, and to kisse my Lord Embassadours hands from me, and to let him know I was come with his Majesties ship to do him service, but could not command the rest to come along with me, their Masters not being there, and all their companies in a mutiny. But his jealousy was such, that he would not suffer your Graces Secretary to come aboard, or to send me your Letters, or that my Lieutenant should speak to him, but in his presence, but presently sent a Gentleman aboard to me, commanding me to come ashore to him, which I confesse I was very loath to do, in regard my people were much discontented, and readie daily to mutiny, being all wonderous unwilling to go against *Rockel* or those of their religion. And besides, I never having been a shore, since I came into my command, neither on our own Coast, or else where. (It being not my use) yet notwithstanding these particulars knowing his Greatnesse, and your Graces pleasure, for the giving him all due respect, I presently went to him, where he taking me into a roome apart with your Graces Secretary, he first delivered me my Lord *Conwaies* Letter, or rather a warrant, (for so he terms it himself) for the delivery of the ship into their hands (as they interpreted it) and then your Graces Letter, commanding me to see his Majesties pleasure (signified by my Lord *Conwaie*) put in execution. And lastly a letter from the King of France, thereby willing me to receive his Souldiers aboard that he had provided, and his Cousin the *D. de Mommorencie*, and to go presently, and to joyn with his Great Fleet against his rebellious subjects. This is the effect of that Letter. Having read all these letters,

he would presently have possession of the ship that night, for that he could not stay longer. I told him, that I did not understand it so, but that I was to render all service to his most Christian Majestie; but nothing would serve him, save the present possession, which because I would not yield unto, he grew into a strange furie, telling me, that your Grace had sent your Secretary to see her delivered, and security to be taken for her. My answer was, that I was ready to obey, according as I understood the warrant, which was to do his Christian Majestie service, and to receive a convenient number of Souldiers aboard me. But to dispossesse my self of my command, I had no such order: but still nothing would satsfie him but the shipe, telling me, he would not entertain at the most (if they were willing) above 60. or 80. of our people. My answer was, I had no order to discharge a man of them, neither could I, but if they were discharged, what they should do, or how they should get home, having neither meat, mony, nor clothes, I know not. To the first of these, he told me, that Mr. *Nicholas* had order by word of mouth from your Grace to discharge us, which Mr. *Nicholas* confirmed, as also to see the ship delivered, which he commanded me to do. But with your Graces pardon I durst not do it upon words, it being a businesse of too high consequence, neither if I had been willing, would my companie ever have condescended to it. To the second, for our passage, he promised to have provided barques for us; but to conclude this, and not to insist upon the rest of the particulars (they being too tedious) his rage and fury was such, that I must of necessity give a little way thereto, or else I think he would have kept me ashore, so as I told him I was content if my company would yield thereunto, and therefore desired to go aboard to speak with them, and to give order for the drawing up of the inventorie. And upon this he suffered me to depart, but not without promises of a large summe of mony which should be given me at the surrender, besides a royal pension during my life, he sending his Secretarie, and many others aboard with me to see all things put in execution, and your Graces Secretary to perswade me to do it. But when I had them aboard, I told them it was a thing not presently done, neither was my companie willing to deliver over the ship without a more ample warrant, yet I would do my best to bring both to passe so soon as I could. So using them with the best respect I could, and fair promises, that I would use all diligence for the accomplishing of their desires; though I must confesse I never meant it, till I should hear further from your Grace, and have an especial Warrant from his Majestie, or your Grace for it, it being a businesse



of so high a nature. Upon these hopes they departed, and went a shoare, where they had not been long, till some of them returned back with a strange allarum from his Lordship, that he would presently have possession of her, or my resolution to the contrary. And althoug I alleadged that the inventory, and other businesse would not be dispatched in two dayes, it would not suffice, except I would receive 400. Souldiers aboard in the mean time till things were perfected.

Thus seeing I could not delay him till I heard farther from your Grace, I was forced to give him this resolute answer, That upon this Warrant, I would not deliver over the ship unto him, neither if I would, would the company give way unto the same, we not holding it a sufficient discharge for us: But that we were ready to receive a competent number of Souldiers aboard, with a chief Commander, and to go upon such service, as his Christian Majestie should direct us, according to the agreement with the King my Master; but nothing would satisfie him but to have her delivered over to him, which if I did not presently, my head should pay for it. I desired his patience for two or three daies, till I had written and sent to your Grace, and that he would let me have a Shallop for that purpose; but he denied both the one and the other; notwithstanding sent away a Barque himself with one to your Grace, but would not suffer me to send thereby, which made me the more jealous of the real intent of the businesse. The 23. he sent your Lordships Secretarie aboard to work and perswade me, but I could not give other answer, then I had done formerly, only that I would attend until I heard farther from your Grace; though I must confesse I had much ado to perswade my Company, who were very unwilling to it. But I had hope still to have a more ample Order how to proceed in this great and weighty businesse. And upon the 24. at two of the clock in the morning, Mr. *Ingham* (whom I sent from *Stokes Bay* to your Grace) returned unto me with two Letters, one from your Grace, and another from my Lord *Conway*, the former part of both commanding me to put your former Commands in execution: but the latter part prohibiting me to depart with my charge, gave me the more courage to stand upon my former terms.

This day your Graces Secretarie came aboard me again, after I had sent your Graces Letter to him, being sent by the Embassadour to prosecute the businesse, for the deliverie of the ship unto them. But after I had shewed him, that part of your Graces Letter, he knew not what to say to it. I willed him to tell the Embassadour, that this



Letter was nothing but an answer of mine written from *Stoken Bay*; concerning the not coming of the rest of the ships. I further offered his Lordship this day for the more expedition of the businesse, to take 150 of his men aboard, and to run over for the Coast of *England*, and to send presently to your Grace, that we were ready to surrender over there, upon an authentique Warrant from his Majestie, or your Grace. His answer to this was, That he would not put his men in to be prisoners, nor that we should be the major part. I then offered him to take in as many French as I had English man for man, but without arms, yet nothing would satisfie him, but the possession of the Ship, either by delivering of her over into their hands, or by receiving 400 armed men aboard, wherewith they would quickly have taken her from us, as you may plainly see their intent by their proceeding. Which I refusing to do, this night about ten of the clock, he sent his Secretarie aboard with three or four others to make a protestation against me, as a Rebel to my King and Countrey, as you may perceive by the Copie of it, which I send your Grace herewith, and this he said was the last he would have to do with me, for that on the morrow, he would away for *Paris*. Whereupon the next morning I sent this Gentleman Mr. *Ingham* unto him to know, what farther service he would command me, and whether he would have me attend his pleasure longer here, for that I was ready to go upon any service they would command according to the former agreement, and to receive as many men aboard as possibly I could; but he said he had nothing to do except I would either deliver up the ship, or take in the 400. Souldiers. In the interim came his Secretarie, with the same company he had before, and made another protestation against me, in regard I would not take in his 400. men, and therewithal brought me a Letter from your Graces Secretarie, (for he is so jealous that he will not suffer him to come aboard but when he listeth) which Letter was, That the Embassadour would stay till Thursday next, if I would give it him under my hand to deliver up the ship then, if I had not order to the contrary before, which I had as good have done at the present; for I expect no Letters from your Grace, in regard they would not suffer me to write to you, as I desired. And if your Grace should write to me by his messenger, they would be sure not to deliver them, till the day were past, except such as were for their turn.

In all which your Grace may see their intents, that there hath been no flights or wayes left unassayed to bring their purpose to passe: first by fair words, then by seeking to get me become the French Kings

Kings servant, with promises of a great Pension, and brave employment, with offers of good sums to be laid down upon the surrender of the ship as aforesaid. And when none of these courses could prevail with me, then followed their threatnings of having my head, and such like. All which (I thank God) I have withstood; for I had rather live all my life with bread and water, then betray my King and Country of so precious a Jewel as this; and had rather the King should take my life, then to have a hand in the surrender, or valuing of such a Bulwark of the Kingdom.

Upon the making of the last Protest, and with the threats they gave us, my Company grew into such a fury and tumult, that they got up their Anchors, and set sail for England, without acquainting me with it, or order from me, saying, They would rather be hanged at home, then surrender the Kings Ships, or be slaves to the French, or fight against those of the Religion. But I must confesse, I heard what they were a doing, but let them alone, because I saw they had reason; otherwise, I should rather have died amongst them, then to have suffered it.

And thus I have related the principal passages unto your Grace, wherein, if I have offended his Majestie, or your Grace, it hath been for want of discretion, and not of true zeal to do his Majestie, your Grace, and my Countrey service, which if it be found to be an offence, I humbly crave pardon.

I am now come to an anchor in the Downs, where I shall attend your Grace's farther pleasure, to be disposed of as his Majestie, and your Grace shall please. But to return again to *France*, I can assure your Grace, that all the people in the ship will rather be hanged then do it, they have been so well used there. Thus praying for your Graces many happie and prosperous daies, I humbly rest

Your Graces most humble, and faithful servant,

*J<sup>o</sup>. Pennington.*

*From aboard the  
Vanguard in the  
Downs, 27. July.  
1625.*

*Captain*

*Captain Pennington to the Duke.**May it please your Grace,*

**T**O take into your Consideration these particulars following:  
 First, That there is no clause in the contract for our quiet enjoying, and celebrating our Divine service to God morning and evening, according to the ancient order of the Seas.

Secondly, That they may bring as many of their own Nation aboard as they will, and they speak of putting in as many French as English, which will amount to 500. in all, which the ship is neither able to carry, neither will it be for the health of those that go in her, or safety of the ship to his Majestie. All which I desire may be considered of, and a course settled with the Embassadour of the just number I shall receive aboard.

Thirdly, That we are bound to fight against any Nation, that they command us, except our own; which you may likewise please to consider of.

Fourthly, That there is no Clause for the supply of the Victuals, and other provisions before the six moneths be expired, so that they may keep us till that time, and then turn us off naked and destitute of all provisions to be a prey to our enemies.

Fifthly, That we may know where we shall receive our supplies of powder, and other munition from them, for that the three last, which we have in here, with the appurtenance, is not sufficient to maintain a fight of three hours.

The former five Articles I humbly desire your Grace judiciously to consider of; and what your Grace will have me therein perform, may be inserted in my instructions.

Now further I humbly desire your Grace;

First, That all we English may be of a Squadron, and not separated upon any occasion, the accidents of the Sea excepted, and that we may be ready at all times to ayd and assist one another.

Secondly, That I may have power in my instructions, or otherwise, for the command of the rest of the English that go along with me, if not, every man may take his course, and do what liketh him best, which may prove prejudicial to the service, dishonourable to the State, and dangerous for the safety of his Majesties ship.

Lastly, I humbly desire, that your Grace will be pleased to give order, that there may be some provision of Cloathes laid in for naked men, (whereof there are many in the ship) as hose, shoes, and shirts

shirts (at least.) As also some provision of store for sick men, of Oatmeal, Rice, Sugar, and fruit, and some little stock of money, to relieve them if necessitie require it. It may afterwards be deducted out of their wages, if your Grace will have it so.

Your Graces Loyal, and faithful servant  
ever to be commanded,

*Jo. Pennington.*

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*Mr. Trumbal to the Secretarie.*

*Right Honourable,*

**W**ith my former dated the 11<sup>th</sup>. of this moneth, I sent your Honour two Letters for his Majestie, and promised by my next to write unto your Honour at large, about the matter they did contain.

In performance whereof, and for the discharge of my dutie, I will now desire permission hereby freely to deliver my mind, for so much as is yet come to my knowledge, and I judge meet to be committed to paper concerning the same. And seeing this Packet is to be sent by an expresse Messenger, and a \* person of trust, I will for \* *Mr. Carie.* your Honours greater ease abstain from the use of a Cipher.

After I had been at *Lovain*, and *Antwerp* to take some depositions for the discovering of the authours and correctors of that most pernicious Libel, *Corona Regia*, (as by a dispatch to the late Mr. Secretarie *Lake* I did advertize his Majestie,) there came unto me a certain person, living about this Town, going by the name of *Nicholas de Laken*, and brought me the Packet, which a good while since I sent to your Honour. Amongst other things, he told me, that heretofore by accident, he fell into the company of a Cannon of *Lovain*, with whom he had some speech about that divelish book, and that if I would send thither, he was very confident, he should penetrate farther by his private industrie in the space of a few dayes into the mysterie then I had been able to do in the compasse of divers years, with my publike information.

Here upon to make a tryall, and desiring to imploy *Le see et Le verd*, for the manifesting of a truth, which I knew his Majestie so much longed to understand, I furnished him with mony, and some instructions



instructions, and sent him to *Lovain*. At the end of six or seven dayes, he returned from thence, and as his own letters do testify, and (he hath protested with many oaths) he avouched to me, that he had discovered that secret to the very bottom. I inquired of him, by what meanes? He made answer by the help of the said Canon, and some young Schollars his countrie men, Students, in that university, who had brought him to the acquaintance of a certain Italian living there, that had served the author of the book both while he did compose it, and while it was in printing. He averreth also that *Puteanus*, and some others, had their fingers in that unsavorie Pye. And he saith, that when I began to make search for those persons, which had done his Majestie that intollerable wrong, that the principal author, and *Flavius* the Printer were secretly warned, to get them out of this country, and had some meanes given them to maintain them abroad. He affirmeth likewise, that both of them ever since that time, have remained, and are at this present remaining out of the territories of the Archdukes. That he hath often seen the sayd author in this City, and knoweth his name, and Surname, and his person so well, as no change of his apparel, nor disguising of his body, can cause him to mistake or be deceived. By his report, that party is no Clergie man, though he be a good Schollar, and reputed to have an excellent Latin pen. But those commendable quallities, are drowned by his greater vices, he being much addicted to lewde women, and unsatiable drinking. He is now (by this mans information) resident in a town upon the Frontiers of Germany, And as for *Flavius*, he can (if he truly) declare where he lurketh, and assureth me, that his wife is at a place within ten leagues of this town. The Cannon that did over see the presse, and withdrew the leaves of this booke, as they were printed, is called (as he heard) Mr. *Claud.* and dwelleth at *Nostre Dame de Halles*, whither I purpose to send him this Easter holidiaies to make farther inquirie. More then these, and some other particulars (which are so transcendent, as I dare neither believe, nor set them down in writing) he will not impart unto me, until he be assured of his Majesties protection, by a Letter under his hand, and a competent reward for his labours. And the reason he alledgeth therefore is, that if once it be known, he did meddle in this matter, there can be no more safety for him to continue in these provinces. He doth further undertake, that in case his Majestie will be pleased to grant him his demands, allow mony for the expences of the journey, and give him two persons of courage, and fidelity to accompanie him, he will either lose his life, or put the sayd author

into

into their hands who may carry him (as he thinketh) with little danger, either into the Pallatinate, or the united Provinces. Hereupon I guesse, that ( if this report be well grownded ) that wicked fellow must be in , or near about the town of *Cullen*. I cannot amongst all those of my acquaintance, and his Majesties subjects here call to mind any one so fit for this interprize, as the Gentleman whose name is written in Cipher in my letter to his Majestie. For he is universally well spoken of for his honestie, and other good Parts, and in sundry occasions hath given good testimony of his ardent desire to do his Majestie some remarkeable and meritorious service. And his sufficiencie being better known to his Majestie then to my self, I will not commend it any further. The want of imployment and some disgustes he received in Holland, while he served there, compelled him by necessity to looke for preferment under the King of Spain. But hitherto his religion, the respect he beareth to his Majestie, and my perswasions, have detained him from those Courses. By him I am told, that he hath heard out of the mouths of one Captain *Carpentine*, and his son in law Captain *Hamilton*, pencioners to the King of Spain (but subjects to his Majestie, that they being one day walking in a street at *Antwerp* called the Major Brugg (where they reside) with 4. or 5. others in their companie, and there happening some speech amongst them, about a book his majestie had then published against the Pope, it fell out that one of them apprehending that opportunity said, that he had subject enough to furnish a book which should more vex the King of great Britain, then his Majesties book could offend his Holinesse, and if he could meet with a Schollar, that were able to put it into a method, and good latine, he would be ready to perform his word. Another of the troop made answer, that he would undertake the work upon that condition, and they both (for a great whiles after ) were absent at *Lovain*, even about the same time that the Libel was forged. Perhaps some part of this, may draw neer to the verity. But they both depending upon the King of Spain (as is before mentioned) and being averse in religion, I am much afraid, I shall do little good upon them by examining them before the Arch Dukes Commissioners, seeing they may delude me , and the truth with equivocation, and mental reservation. Although he conceiveth, that if they were called before a judge, and summoned upon their oathes to speake the truth, they would not refuse to discharge their consciences. I have seriously intreated him to bestow his best indeavour in attempting what he can further learn about this relation, and he hath accepted to perform my request.

The said Gentleman from whom I had it is not willing to be brought publiquely upon the Stage, for this businesse, lest thereby he should incurre the note of an informer, then which nothing is, or can be more odious in these parts. Neverthelesse he hath promised (if his Majestie like to have it so, and will be pleased to give commandement for it) to justifie what is before rehearsed to their faces.

Whether both these parties encounter upon one, and the same authour, or understand them to be divers men, I can neither judge, nor fortell: yet it seemeth that one of them may hit on the right. And as I will not spare any paines, charges, nor peril whatsoever to bring the parent of this child of darkenesse into the light, so I hope his Majestie (whose cause it is) will not refuse to hazard a little monny to give himself satisfaction.

These things having passed in this manner, I humbly beseech your Honour at a fit opportunity, when the King is alone to acquaint him with these particulars, and intreat his Majestie to keep them secret; for I am of opinion (being spoken under humble correction, and without offence) that had not his Majestie by communicating this businesse at the first to *Mounseur Borschof*, given him meanes to advertize it to his wife (who by tatling divulged it, and foyled the way) we had never been put to half this trouble, but had taken *Flavins*, in the form, and by him discovered the authour. My intention is not, that his Majestie should be induced to put 2000. Pistols (or the summe that shall be allotted *Laken*) into his hands, before the service be done; but that his Majestie would vouchsafe (if he approve the project) to cause so much monny, as in his profound wisdom, he shall think meet for this occasion to be forthwith remitted to me by Mr. *John More*, by the meanes of Mr. *Ducket*, a Marchant dwelling in Milk-street in London, to be repayed at *Antwerp* by Mr. *Lionel Wake* trading there, or by the companie of our English Marchants at *Middleborough* in *Zealand* in the name of reward for service done, or to buy Tapestries, or linnen for his Majestie. And I will either return it back again by exchange, if this design cannot be effected, or defaultk the remains thereof upon my entertainment. All that I would venture in this case, should only be for those mens necessary expences that are to be employed therein; and that also I would have not to exceed, but to be limited within the compasse of 200. pounds sterling.

By apprehending these men, the Atch-Dukes cannot take any just occasion



occasion of offence against his Majestie or his Ministers, seeing one of them is not their Vassal, and both are out of their Dominions.

It may (for these Considerations) please your Honour to advise with his Majestie, whether it be fitter to proceed herein *Via facti*, or *Via juris*: to send *Laken* to seek out the Author and others to apprehend him, or the Printer, or upon promise of a reasonable recompence for his pains, to deal with him effectually to declare their names, and habitations, and afterwards leave it to his Majesties gracious and Princely pleasure to prosecute or let fall his action. In either of which kind, I will yield humble obedience to his Majesties Commands, and your Honours directions, as things to my self indifferent. But I am doubtful, that by continuing of the course formerly holden in the carriage of this businesse, we shall never attain our desired ends. I am not so slight as to give credit to all reports, nor so prodigal as to part with money for nothing.

My most humble and earnest suit is, that his Majestie, and your Honour after mature deliberation upon the several points of this Letter, will vouchsafe to send me by my servant *Marshall* (who is now at *London*) particular, and distinct answers for my better direction. I have been the more prolix upon this subject, in hope that this I have written shall serve once for all.

In that matter concerning the Countesse of *Argile*, which it pleased your Honour to recommend unto my Care, I have done as much already as I can for the present. We must of necessity with a little patience expect the successe, whereof your Honour shall in due time be punctually advertized. In the mean while, I do with all reverence, desire your Honour to excuse the tediousnesse of this Letter; And so take my leave,

Your Honours very humble, and  
ready to be commanded,

*Bruxels*  $\frac{21}{11}$ . of  
March,  $\frac{1613}{1615}$ .

*W. Trumball.*



*Mr. Trumball to the Secretarie.**Right Honourable,*

**T**Hose that are employed in such place as I am, must admit all manner of men into their company. And the Oath I have taken to his Majestie, will not permit me to conceal any thing from his knowledge that cometh to mine, and may in any sort have relation to his Royal service. For these Considerations I assume the boldnesse so soon to renew your Honours trouble, after the dispatch of those Volumes of Letters which I sent you yesterday by one of my servants.

This Bearer *de la Forrest* is better known to your Honour, then to my self, although I remember many years ago to have seen him in England. During his stay in this Town, he brought unto me a certain *French Gentleman*, calling himself the Viscount of *L'orme*, and Sir *De la Pommeraye*; who hath (by his own relation) been a great Navigator, and been authorized by 18. of the chief Pyrats in the *Levant*, to search for their pardon, and retreat into some Christian Countrey, being sorry for the ill they have done, and desirous to spend the rest of their daies in peace. With this Commission he came into France, and there travelled so far with the King and his Ministers, as he obtained a general abolition for the said Pyrates, a safe Conduct to bring them into his Dominions, and a procuration (which I have seen under the great Seal of France) to treat, and conclude with them upon certain conditions. But he being envied by some *Grandeas* of that Kingdom, and by misfortune happening to kill a man, he was forced (as he pretendeth) for the safety of his life to flie into these Countries, before he could bring that work to perfection.

And being now disenabled to return thither again, he desireth to make a tryal, whether his Majestie will vouchsafe to lend his ear to that Treatie, and grant unto the said Pyrates a general Pardon. To which effect, he sendeth over *La Forrest*, and hath intreated me to accompany him with my Letters to my Lord Admiral, your Honor, and Mr. Secretarie *Calvert*. For retribution of this grace, the said Pyrates offer to give 45000 l. sterling to be shared amongst you three, or to be disposed of as his Majestie shall appoint. But your Honour may see the Conditions proposed to the French King were more advantageous. For they were to give him their Ships, Artillerie, and

Munition,

Munition, and to furnish means to set out some men of War for his service.

And I see no reason (in case his Majestie should encline to such capital offenders, and common enemies) why he should not have as much, or more benefit then another Prince, the greatest part of them being his Vassals.

Your Honour if you please may peruse these adjoynd Papers, and impart the contents of them to my Lord Admiral. They agree with their Originals; and if his Majestie do not taste this overture, there is no more harm done (for any thing I can perceive) then the losse of my labour to peruse and subscribe them.

There remaineth onely two points, wherein I should speak to your Honour, the one is, that this matter may be concealed from the French Embassadour *Monsieur le Count de Tilliers*, for fear of ruining de *L'Orme*. The other with gratifying *La Forrest* with the pay of a Pacquet (if your Honour shall think it meet) for the carrying of these Letters, who saith your Honour is his great Patron, and hath promised him a good turn.

*Monsieur de L'Orme* hath given him power to sollicite this businesse, and procure him an answer; wherein I joyn my humble prayer, that the poor man may not here languish in hopes, and spend his money to no purpose.

When I shall know whether his Majestie will rellish this overture, or not, I will write thereof more largely (if there be cause) otherwise let it remain as it was before. In the mean while, I humbly take my leave; And rest

Your Honours

In all humbleness to be  
commanded,

*Bruxels* 23. of Octob.  
1619.

*W. Trumball.*

Sir

*Sir Thomas Roe to the Marquesse of Buckingham  
Lord Admiral.*

*My Lord,*

I Can give your Lordship no great account of any thing that hath occurred since my departure. I was bold to write to Mr. Secretarie *Calvert* from *Maliga* of the great increase of the Pyrates in those Seas, and of the danger of the Merchants; with my own thoughts, if his Majestie have any farther purpose to attempt their destruction, which is both honourable and necessarie; if these Trades, or the other of *Spain* to the South of the *North-Cape* be of any consequence to his Majesties Kingdomes: if they be suffered to increase, they will brave the Armies of Kings at Sea in a few years, and attempt even the Coasts and Shoares with peril. And because they carry the name only of Thieves, they are yet contemned, or neglected; but they will become a dangerous enemy, when they shall rob with Fleets, and therefore would be in time considered. The Spaniards now make great offers to continue the Contract, though their performance be slow, and their own Estates chiefly interested, yet besides the danger and ruine of the Merchant it is considerable, that this Army increasing is at the obedience of the Grand Seignior the common Enemy, who hath no strength but Gallies. I know your Lordship will collect enough out of this without further pressure. The Armado's of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, have been in the *Archipelago*, the Turks Forces absent in the black Sea. Yet they have done nothing of consequence, taken a few Carmisales and slaves, and are returned to the Port, where *Don Philibert* of *Savoy Generalissimo* is present, who is made Viceroy of *Sicily*, with absolute power to dispose of all offices, without attendance from Spain, which is more then Vice-Re. He hath used me for his Majesties honour with very great respect, as I have in particular advised Mr. Secretarie. Among many courtesies, finding 13. English Captives in the Gallies, I thought it my duty to succour them. His Highnesse at the first instance, to expresse his good affection to my Master, gave them to me all free, which I think is a good work, and not ordinary. I beseech your Lordship, that his Majestie may be pleased to take knowledge of it into Spain for the Princes honour, that he may in the like occasion, not think himself neglected.

The advice from *Constantinople* is seconded of the overthrow of the *Turk*. God grant it be true, and yet the pride of the Grand Seignior  
is

is not asswaged, but he threatens a new attempt in the spring. I hope I have hitherto done his Majestie no dishonour, nor can I boast of services; but being under your Lordships protection, I will hope for a good interpretation, beseeching you to present my name to his Majestie, that I be not forgotten in these great distances, wherein my humble fortune hath kept me, and as I have observed your Lordship to be the *Amparo* of those that pretend to virtue and honour, and not to desert them till they have forsaken themselves: So I beseech you take me upon those conditions which cannot shame you, and leave me, when I am other, then

Your Lordships faithfull, and  
honest servant,

*Messina, 7. De-  
cemb. 1621.*

*Tbo. Roe.*

L. R. H. to the Duke of Buckingham.

*My dear Lord,*

I Have since my departure from you used all diligence in the Princes service, and punctually observed all his Commands. Onely with the King I have dealt so freely in my relation of the Prince his carriage, and your extraordinary care of working his content in all points, that I did move him to shed tears in expressing his happinesse for such a son, and likewise his good fortune in having a Favourite, who is framed according to his own heart in all points. Neither have I pressed any thing to injure any farther then my dutie bound me, and my faithfull love to your service, which shall alwaies have a prime place in my heart.

My Lord, there are contrary opinions in Court and City, by the one you are much admired for your noble expressions of true honor, and love to your King, Prince, and Country, with many observations of your special care and zeal to Religion, and your immovable resolution to Contest with all oppositions to the contrary. By the other you are maligned, and they give it out, That you have with your wilfulnesse occasioned these delayes, by diverting and changing their waies wherein they had begun to treat: but the falsenesse hereof hath been shewen, and it appears malice without ground, the which, (though heretofore I have told you,) not out of any other end then  
to;



to do you service, yet have you so slightly regarded me for it, and so much respected those ill-deserving Great ones, (as if you had intended to receive your enemies into your bosome, and to cast off your faithfullest friends;) yet shall not any usage discourage me from discharging the office of a most loving and zealous affected friend, and servant, yea inso much, that I will rather displease you, in doing you that faithful service, that both my honour and love obligeth me to, then be silent, and they let you run into apparent danger.

My Lord, amongst the protestants your are divulged (as much as ill disposed ones dare) a Papist. Among the Papists, it is avowed you are the greatest enemy they have. For which reports, I am not troubled, for they have made you the much more pittied, and as highly esteemd, and honoured amongst the most judicious, and best deserving subjects, as any thing could do. And I dare assure you, that since your being at *Madrid* you are much better beloved of all people (who have not ends) then you were before. Noble Lord, I find the King both resolute, and couragious, but wise, and secret, to my own hearts joy, and not to be won upon by the subtil and false policie of any. I made it my humble suit upon my knees, that he would consent to no proposition of this Spanish Embassadour concerning peace or war, till the Princes return. Which suite he tooke well at my hands, and granted. I have told him freely what I observed in Spain, both of their manners, usage, and honestie, and left it to his wisdom to make what use he pleased. His Majestie longs to see the Prince, and you, and so do all the subjects, and will not be satisfied with any thing, but your speedy return. Except you have jealousies put into the Spaniards heads, and prevent the danger, which will be by hastening the marriage with all possible speed; for there are some whose buttons break with venom, that you have got so much honour, and so well deserved of the King and Prince. But you believe me not, but think I speak of Spleen, when God knowes I never bore any to any man, but for your sake. Your most vertuous lady mourns for your absence, and will not be comforted. Your fair Daughter deserves your staying withall, and your faithful friends and the good of the Kingdom want you most of all.

And for your greater comfort, the King is so reserved in the Princes affaires, as that he neither imparts the busineses of Spain, nor his intents therein to any of hit privie Councel. Since your patent, the Earl *Marshall* is become a great stranger at the Court. But all men find you so fast revited into the Kings heart that they see it is an impossibility to work you any way displeasure in your absence,  
and

and therefore forbear to expresse, what willingly they would effect, but find it in vain to go about it. But let not the Kings love to you or their small ability to do you harm, make you too carelesse, or too credulous of those your enemies, lest it give to o great encouragement to them, and too great dishartning to your faithful friends. I am sorrie at my being with you at *Madrid* that you durst not impart those secrets, wherein I am sure my faithfulness, and love unto you, would have done you all service (as the thing I most desire) but I see the zeale of my heart to you, is not rightly considered, yet am I confident that time will make me best known, and better esteemed by you as one whose true heart, is alwayes watchful of taking all opportunities to do you service. My Lord, you shall find me not only a word-friend, but an active, who never am better pleased, then when I find most opposition. And for conclusion, I am so far from shunning dangers to do you service, as that I would willingly wade in blood at any time to manifest my self yours. And therefore I should receive great content, if you knew, how truly I were yours, because then I am sure in the Noblenesse of your nature, it would be impossible for any to be able to do me wrong in your Honourable thoughts. My dear Lord, pray suffer no longer delays in Spain, but either dispatch, what you went for quickly, or else return speedily; for assure your self, their desire to have you continue there, is for no love to you, but to further thereby their own designs elsewhere. Nay I dare justifie it out of my own weak judgment, that the longer you stay, the farther off you shall be from obtaining, what you desire. And if you resolutely purpose your return with speed, you will force them out of their dull pace, and put them upon the rock, from which they cannot escape, except they fulfil your desires. Besides, your presence is most necessary here for home-affairs, for your absence hath caused too great insolencie in the Court, by such as bear themselves very loftily, and insult very much over yours, especially your poore servant *Mentis* is much threatned as being yours, and must suffer till you come back. Some other things likewise are otherwise carried in your absence, then would be in your presence, therefore for Gods sake return, but with the Prince, and count delays, denyals. And the longer you stay there, the stronger you make them and your selves the weaker. My Lord of *Bristol* hath a great, and more powerful party in Court, then you imagine, in so much, that I am confident were the King a newter, he would prevail, and I do not much marvail at it, for you trust upon the honour, and justification of all your actions, desirous to make no friends, be-

cause you need none, but he deales with a great deal of cautelous wisdom, and as he hath wrought into the Kings opinion, by reason of some pleasing services, so hath he into all those, who are about the King, or powerful, that they may better his good services, and smother his bad. Besides the man who is suspicious (as he must needs be) hath far greater care of after-reckonings, how to make fair glosses, then he who doth all things with the avowment of all honour, and the only intent of service to his King, and Country. It grieves me I am not thought worthie to hear from you any word by these last messengers, especially being promised the imployment, from which I was put. Farewell (dear Lord) and the Almightyes protection be upon our unmatched Prince, upon whose worth, and brave achievements all eyes are fixed, and the same protection light upon you his right hand, and give you the good fortune, to make as brave a return, as you did voyage thither, to the eternal praise of your future memories. And upon these hopes, I rest happie to think myself

Yours

H. R.

*Sir George Carie to the Marquesse of Buckingham.*

8. December, 1619.

Your Lordship

**V**ill be satisfied, before this of mine will have the happineffe to kisse your noble hands, that the great Myserie of iniquity in the Star-chamber is now revealed, and as many as could be discerned to have the mark of the beast upon them, have undergone their censure. Some I must confesse, and great fishes too, have broken out of the nett. But that escape must be objected to the errors of some of the pursuers, whose courses in some things were not enough direct to warrant, what otherwise might have been done. And your Lordship who is a good Woodman well knowes, unlesse the Wind-lace be well carried, the Bowes which stand up can never shoot.

Notwithstanding all the defaults of the meaner Agents, the Court maintaining the honour of their own uprightnesse, and integritie hath with moderation too, (yet such as leaves subject to his Majesties

ities mercy to work upon some particulars,) raised in Fine some 130000 l. or thereabouts. If no errours had been committed, (whereupon those Defendants, which escaped, took advantage to be safe) by this which is done, you may imagine what it would have amounted to. For my part, I rejoyce to conceive, how with the shortest of the daies, we are at the worst of our estate, hoping by this means with the return of the Sun, to see some such return of the money, (the riches of his Majesties Treasurie, and bloud of the Common-Wealth) as that the Exchequer may flow, and the Veins of the State may fill again, and both with the Spring renew their strength, lustre, and complexion. I have now stayed here so long attending this businesse, that I hold it too late to wait upon you at *Newmarket*, That gives me cause to crave your pardon for this presuming imperfect Accompt of this daies action, and wishal to desire the assurance, that I live in your estimation, the same, I will ever be

Your Lordships

Most sincerely honest and  
humble servant,

*G. Cary.*

To King James, abignoto.

*Your Majestie,*

**B**Oth in the eminencie of your regal dignitie, and in the excellencie of your judgment, doth truly represent the common sense, whose part it is to judge and discern of all things; whereas the other senses do but report their particular objects. And in that manner do I humbly offer to your Majesties Consideration in this importune *Christs* of the affairs of Christendom, so much as I have observed in *France*, that may now concern your service, in which place I have been heretofore employed in your affaires.

And first considering the present estate of things in *France*, and weighing against it, the seizure made of the *Valtoline* by the King of *Spain*, the late invasion of the *Palatinate*, and now this new defeat arrived in *Bohemia*, I do put this for an infallible ground, that either the King of *France* will resolve out of jealousy of the progressions



of the house of *Austria* effectually to succour the *Palatinate*, or else abandoning the affairs of *Germany* to their own succeſſe, and neglecting the increaſe of the house of *Austria* on that ſide, he will think more then to recompence himſelf, by taking this opportunity to extinguiſh the body of thoſe of the Religion in *France*. And as undoubtedly he will reſolve on one of thoſe two points, ſo on both of them for ſundry reaſons he cannot. To move him to the ſuccour of the *Palatinate*, the main motive will be, the jealouſie between thoſe two Monarchies, which can never die, ſo long as they do both ſubſiſt in no greater a diſproportion of ſtrength and power; As alſo that *France* ſhall by their uſurpation of the *Palatinate*, be on all ſides Circled by the house of *Austria*, and particularly on that part where *France* hath before uſurped on the Empire; in which regard his intereſt of eſtate is greater then your Majeſties in the Conſervation of the *Palatinate*, though your perſonal intereſt be incomparable with his. Then he cannot but think of the loſſe of his Correſpondencies, and breach of his Confederacies in *Germany*, which have been very ancient, and very particular with the house of the *Palatine*. And if the reaſon of mutual gratitude, and vindication of injuries, may move Frenchmen, there are plentiful arguments on both kinds to move them to defend the Houſe of the *Palatine*, againſt that of *Austria*. But now on the other ſide to move him againſt thoſe of the Religion at home, firſt doth preſent it ſelf, his ſucceſſeful beginning againſt them in the buſineſſe of *Bearn*, then which nothing could be more unjuſt, both in regard of the matter it ſelf, and of his own faith, and promiſe, and of the deſert of thoſe of the Religion towards him, in theſe late troubles, nor could any thing be more ſuddenly, or violently (I do not ſay cruelly) executed, then that was. And again the preſent tearms, wherein that King, and thoſe of the Religion do ſtand, will puſh him on. Then there will not want to this purpoſe, the powerful perſwaſions of the Pope, and his adherents, both by propounding overtures to lay aſleep the jealouſies of the house of *Austria*, and offering huge ſummes towards the charge of the War, which if he ſhould attempt, and prevail therein, it would prove of far greater prejudice for many reaſons that may be given in the intereſt of Eſtate, to your Majeſtie, though not in the intereſt of your affection, then the loſſe of the *Palatinate*.

What may in *France* be reſolved upon theſe motives, is uncertain.

But I do conceive hereupon, that it may be uſeful for your Majeſties ſervice effectually to propound in *France*, a Confederacie for the

the Conservation of the Palatinate, to which if they do hearken, your Majestie shall proceed in that design with greater strength and reputation, and occasion the King of *Spain* to proceed with greater remissenesse, or else absolutely to relinquish the Palatinate by a Treaty. But if in France it be not hearkened to, your Majestie may take it for an assured argument, that they mean to proceed against those of the Religion, in which case your Majestie may make use of the same Embassage to revive again some of their factions in the Court, whereby those of the Religion may be strengthened in their defence, and it will not be hard to effect, if it be well proceeded in. And herein doth properly offer it self the person of the Duke of *Bovillon*, who for his great experience and wit, and intelligence in that Court, is best able to guide and further your Majesties intentions; and for his interest in the person of the *Palatine*, and in the conversation of those of the Religion, doth precisely square with your Majesties ends, whose advice you may first suddenly and secretly enquire:

8cc.

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Sir Walter Aston to the Duke, 10. December,  
1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**HE Arch-Duke *Don Carlos*, brother to the Emperour, made his entrie into this Town on the 15<sup>th</sup>. of the last moneth, *Stil. Vet.* He was met by the Almirante of *Castile* two daies journey from this place, who went from hence well accompanied, and attended by many Liveries richly set forth. Some 400. paces without a Gate of this Town called *Alcala*, the Arch-Duke was received by the two Infants *Don Carlos* and the Cardinal, and about 200 paces without the said Gate by the King himself, who came attended with the greatest part of this Court, and in his Coach accompanied with the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde of Olivarez*: The King lighted out of his Coach to receive the Arch-Duke, and some complements being past between them, returned into his Coach, and set the Arch-Duke by him on his left hand; in the other end of the Coach set the two Infants; in one boot the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde of Olivarez*; and in the other the Emperours Embassadour, and the Almirante; the Almirante taking place of the Embassadour. Being come to the Palace,

Palace, the King accompanied the Arch-Duke to the Queens Quarter, where his Majestie left him to be conveyed from thence to his own Quarter (which is the same was given to the Prince his Highnesse at his being in this Court,) by the Infants his Brothers, as he was, having finished his complements with the Queen, and the Infanta *Dona Maria*. There were preparations here making for the honouring his reception with several feasts, and entertainments after their manner here. But these have been stopped by the Arch-Dukes sicknesse, who felt himself indisposed the day after his arrival, and applying some Physicall remedies by the advice of a Physician which he brought along with him, his distemper increased, and as it is pretended by these Physicians by a wrong course held with him: What hath been the true cause of his infirmity, I leave to be disputed by them; He hath been held divers dayes with a terrible Calenture, which proved at last a *Tatarillo*, whereupon there was little hope conceived of his life; but he hath since received some ease, and is now in a good way of amendment. In respect of the Emperours unworthy proceedings with the King our Master, I have not dared to visit him, untill I shall have notice of his Majesties pleasure therein, which I shall be glad to understand from your Grace.

Since the expiring of the Truce betwixt this Crown and the *Hollanders*, this King hath given License to divers Port Towns on the Coasts of *Biscay* to arm out what ships they shall think good, and to make prize to their own particular benefit of what they shall light upon belonging to the enemies of this Crown: by which meanes it is here hoped, That these Coasts will be much the better secured from the daily pillages of the Holland men of War, and the Turkish Pyrates. For the advancing whereof upon request made of those of *Sevil*, there is License given unto them to arm what men of War they can find means. The Duke of *Maqueda* likewise with leave hath lately set forth six ships which are abroad in Pyracie.

There is advice given hither, that the Duke of *Brandenbergh* hath given his consent to the conferring of the Electoral dignitie upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, which I can hardly believe, though I find it assured from very good hands.

The Duke of *Nexbergh* remains still in this Court, and presses to carry a cleer resolution in his busineses from hence; but for any thing I can yet learn his negotiation remains in the same estate as I advertised in my last to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*.

The Armada prepared in *Portugal* for the recovering of *Brasil* is gon to Sea, and whereas, they were to have stayed at the *Cape St.*

Vincent



*Vincent* for the Armado of Castile, upon advice, that is given hither, that the Hollanders in *Brazil* are not able to make any resistance of consideration, they have order to proceed in their journey. Twenty ships of war, and 4000. land Souldiers (which is the force of that Fleet) being here held sufficient for that enterprize. The Armado in *Cadiz* is not yet departed, but hath her men aboard, and there is daily expectation of newes that it is gone to Sea. The Duke of *Saxonic* having received letters from the King our Master, and the King of *Denmark*, sent presently coppies of them unto the Emperour, with his answers unto their Majesties, and accomponied them with a letter of his own unto the Emperour. All which the Emperour sent unto the King. The carriage of the Duke is much esteemed here, for having given (as I am informed) by his Letters unto the King our Master, and the King of *Denmark* such an answer as they are here much satisfied withal. Nothwithstanding in this Letter to the Emperour with many reasons, and much instance, he advises him to apply himself to the settling of the peace in *Germany*, and expressing much affection to the composing of the affaires of the Prince Palatine doth earnestly intreat his Majestie not to destroy that ancient house. In the mean time the Duke of *Bavaria* uses all diligence to combine himself with this Crown, and now doth offer to cast off all other thoughts of leagues, and to depend wholly upon Spain, so that this King will protect him in his Electoral dignity, and what he hath lately possessed himself of in those parts. This offer of the Dukes hath been several dayes debated in Councel, where the Marquesse *Tnoiosa* hath been busie in the behalf of the Duke: but the wiser part of this Councel seeing how prejudicial, the increase of the Dukes greatnesse may prove to the Empire, do no way favour his pretentions. They likewise hold fit to continue the state of things in a possibility of an accommodation without our Master.

The Arch-Duke *Don Carlos* hath brought power from the Emperour to proceed to the consummation of a marriage betwixt the Emperours son and the Infanta *Donna Maria*, wherein he sayes, he hath nothing to Capitulate, but brings them a blanck paper, and hath power, and order to confirm what conditions they shall here set down. The Emperour's Embassadour doth much presse to proceed to the Capitulations, but there is yet nothing done. The Infanta of *Brussels* hath lately written hither, importing this King to admit of a treaty of marriage betwixt the Prince of *Polonia*, and the Infanta his Sister, extolling with many expressions the worth, and parts of that Prince.

There



There hath been some moneths a general stop of their proceedings here in all suites of English Merchants depending in this Court; but I have at last procured a *juncto* to be assigned for the hearing of all English Causes, wherein I am promised there shall be a speedy Resolution taken of whatsoever is at present in Question.

The Duke of *Feria* hath lately advertised hither from *Millain*, that the French King, and the Duke of *Savoy* do minister much occasion of jealousy, that they intend to attempt some novelty in those parts, and doth therefore desire, that his Troops may be augmented; whereupon (above the ordinary charge) there was instantly remitted unto him 2000. Duckets.

The great annual *Assiento* which this King makes with the *Genoveses* is newly concluded, it is for 7. millions, whereof 4. are remitted for *Flanders*, to be paid by monethly portions.

In a late meeting of the Council of State upon a discourse that passed amongst them, taking into consideration this Kings wants, and the present distemper of his affairs, the Inquisidor General expressing how necessary a time it was for his Majesties Subjects to assist his present occasions, made offer of 100 Duckets for his part, which the *Conde of Olivares* followed with a tender of 300; the *Conde of Monterrey* of 100; all the rest of the Council of State following their example gave according to their quality. Notice being taken of this abroad, the Condestable wrote a Letter unto this King, wherein he made tender of 200 Duckets, the *Marquesse of Castel Rodrigo* of 100, the *Marquesse of Carpio* of the like summe. Divers others have likewise declared themselves in this donative, and it is hoped that it will go over the whole Kingdome, and bring in an extraordinary Treasure into the Kings purse. Thus with the remembrance of my duty, I rest

Your Graces, &c.

W. A.

Archbishop

*Archbishop Abbots to Secretarie Nanton,*  
12. Septemb. 1619.

*Good Mr. Secretarie,*

**I** Have never more desired to be present at any Consultation, then that which is this day to be handled, for my heart, and all my heart goeth with it. But my Foot is worse then it was on Friday, so that by advice of my Physitian, I have sweat this whole night past, and am directed to keep my bed this day.

But for the matter, my humble advice is, That there is no going back, but a countenancing of it against all the world; yea so far as with ringing of Bells, and making of Bon-fires in *London*, so soon as it shall be certainly understood that the Coronation is past. I am satisfied in my Conscience, that the Cause is just, wherefore they have rejected that proud and bloody man, and so much the rather, because he hath taken a course to make that Kingdom not elective, but to take it from the donation of another man. And when God hath set up the Prince that is chosen to be a mark of honor through all Christendom to propagate his Gospel, and to protect the oppressed, I dare not for my part give advice but to follow where God leads.

It is a great honour to the King our Master, that he hath such a Son, whose virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King. And me thinks I do in this, and that of *Hungary* foresee the work of God, that by piece and piece the Kings of the earth, that gave their power unto the beast, (all the Word of God must be fulfilled) shall now tear the Whore and make her desolate, as St. *John* in his Revelation hath foretold. I pray you therefore with all the spirits you have to put life into this businesse, and let a return be made into *Germany* with speed, and with comfort, and let it really be prosecuted, that it may appear to the World that we are awake when God in this sort calleth us.

If I had time to expresse it, I could be very angry at the shuffling which was used toward my Lord of *Doncaster*, and the slighting of his Embassage so, which cannot but touch upon our Great Master who did send him, and therefore I would never have a Noble Sonne forsaken, for respect of them who truly aym at nothing but their own purposes.

Our striking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will honour the *Palsgrave*, will strengthen the Union, will bring on the States of the Low Countries, will stirre up the King of *Denmark*, and will move

*The Lord Brook to the Duke.*

his two uncles the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bovillon*, together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in France) to cast in their shares. And *Hungarie* as I hope (being in that same cause) will run the same fortune; for the meanes to support the war, I hope *Providebit Deus*. The Parliament is the old, and honourable way, but how assured at this time I know not, yet I will hope the best; certainly if countenance be given to the action, many brave spirits will voluntarily go. Our great Master in sufficient want of mony, gave some ayde to the Duke *Savoy*, and furnished out a prettie army in the cause of *Cleve*. We must trie once again what can be done in this businesse of a higher nature, and all the mony that may be spared is to be turned that way. And perhaps God provided the Jewels that were layd up in the Tower to be gathered by the Mother for the preservation of her Daughter who like a noble Princeesse hath professed to her Husband not to leave her self one Jewel rather then not to maintain so religious, and righteous a cause. You see that lying on my bed I have gone too far, but if I were with you this should be my language, which I pray you humbly and heartily to represent to the King my Master, telling him, that when I can stand, I hope to do his Majestie some service herein. So commending me unto you, I remain

Your very loving friend,

*Geo. Cant.*

*The Lord Brook to the Duke, 11. November,  
1623.*

*May it please your Grace,*

Out of *Spain* we hear, the world comes so fast after you (since your departure,) as we assure our selves this great work is at a good end, with contentment to our blessed Prince, and like a Princely treaty, with addition of honour to the Monarchie, he intends to match with.

But Sir, we hear of a new treaty sprung up between the *Palsegraves* Eldest son and the Emperours youngest Daughter. A Labrynth into which, what hope soever leades us, I fear no one thread will be able to guide us well out. Because in the passages between these far distant Princes education of children seemes like to be demand-  
ed.

ed, Ballancing of Councils to the jealousie of friends, Question whether the Palatinate shall be delivered in the Nonage before marriage, or after. Then whether sequestred into a Catholique, or Protestant hands. If into a Catholique, a probable argument that both it, and the *Valtoline* are equally reserved free to fall with associated forces upon our ancient Bulwark the *Nether-Lands* at pleasure. Lastly whether the Myter, and these Scepters thus united, with their advantage in number of swords, and Deskes abroad, their new springing partie at home, strengthes by sea and land, Constant ambition of adding Crown, to Crown, and perfect Auditt of their neighbours powers, and humors (even while the second Heire male of this Kingdom shall live in the hands of enemies, and strangers) I say whether these will not prove fearful in equalities, casual to the lives of our King and Prince, dangerous to the Crown by changing successive rights into tenures of Courtesie, and charging of the peoples consciences with visions of confusion or bondage.

Again (Sir) admit this new project should vanish into smoak as undigested vapours use to do, yet give me leave to question, whether to your Grace you have overtly protested against the intricate Courses of the Spaniard, even the specious issue of the Palatinates delivery before consummation of marriage, but not like to prove Mother of many Colourable and unavoydable delays. Because, suppose the proposition should be granted, yet who sees not that the effecting of it will prove an act of so many parts. Viz: the Pope, Emperour, King of *Spain*, Duke of *Bavaria* &c. and of so great consequence joynlie, and severally to them all, and must of necessity require divers assemblies, commissions, perchance Dietts &c. And then what time the execution of the Minutes under these Heads will demand, he that knowes the divers natures of Nations in treating may easily conceive.

To begin with the least; what many or other conditions can be offered like to satisfy the honour, humour, and huge expence of the *Bavarian*, for quitting his Conquest to so unreconcilable a neighbour: and if there be possibility, yet out of whose estate or treasury are these conditions, or large proportions of Dowrie probably to be expected? touching the Emperour; Is there any forraign alliance able to perswade this Prince, who having by an untimely war, changed all tenures of Election into succession, and thereby shaken the antient freedom of our *Germany* Princes, what I say can in likelihood winn him to restore these dead forces of his Enemies, to the



prejudice of all he enjoys, or aspires. Besides what shall move this Emperour to take away the Bann from the *Palsegraves* person, who hath so desparately hazarded not only his own private Kingdomes, and Provinces, but by his undertaking, waved the main ambition of of the *Austrian* familie. For the Spanish King if he be prest, his answer will be ready and fair, that he hath no right in him (but mediation) as appeares by the divisions already made. Notwithstanding how little right soever pretends, yet his Councel, his instruments, his charge, by diversion, *Overt Ayde*, insensible succours (the world sees) have been used in all these wars ; so as this together with his right by strong hand gotten (and kept by arts of depositing) upon the *Volsaline* may lead us to discern clearly, that he finds the passage of his forces through them, equal, and so resolves both, to over-run the Low countries when he please. Against which little State (whether out of revenge, or ambition of greater conquests by them, he will constantly carry a warchfull and Griping enemies hand.

Concerning the Pope, who knowes not that his universal affected supremacie (howsoever dissembled) yet hath, doth and ever will urge his Holinesse to stir up colourable Warres of Religion. Since Warres, Contentions, and tumults among Princes have been his old way of adding more wealth, and power to his sanctified Sea. How I say this new fashion'd Monarch, shall be won to suffer *Heidelberg* (the most dangerous nest of Heretiques after *Geneva*) to return to her former strength is a poynt beyond my Capacity.

By these short, hastie and imperfect images your Grace may yet judg, that except the restitution of the *Palatinate* be instantly prest (and like a work of Faeries either furnished, or broken off at once) we may easily be over-shot in our own bowes, by having the strengths and free Councels of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* during this treaty kept under a kind of Covert-baron, and so long made a forge for other Princes ends, as my Blessed Sovereigns trust may perchance find it self compelled to play an After-Game, amongst discouraged friends, and combination of powerful enemies, such as under characters of *Alliance* will think they have won one great Step towards their inveterate Ambition of a Westerne Monarchie.

Noble Duke, If you find me lifted above my earth, in handling a subject to which I am utterly a stranger, yet bear with a Monks humour, in a man that is prisoner to old age. Hide my follie from the eyes

eyes of Critiques. And pardon my freedom that hath wearied you,  
with a mind ever to remain

Your Graces loving Grandchild  
and humble servant,

*Tho. Brook.*

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Dr. Balcanquel to Secretarie Nanton,  
26. of March.

*Right Honourable,*

**T**He reason why I have not of late written to your Honour, is the discontinuance of our Sessions of the Synod this great while; but since my last unto your Honour, we have thus spent our time. The publique reading of all the Collegial judgments upon the 5. Articles was made an end of. In which (God be thanked for it) there was a greater harmonie and consent then could almost be hoped for, in such variety of learned men, who did not know one of anothers judgment. The onely difference was in the second Article. After that the President, (never asking advice from the Synod) took upon him to conceive, and dictate the Canons himself to us; but we who were sent by his Majestie, conceiving that course to be altogether against the dignity of the Synod, consulted with some of the Delegates, who approved our Counsel, and thought it fit, that there should be some deputed by the Synod, and joyned to the President for conceiving of the Canons, that so whatsoever was done, might be done by publique authority. This motion did trouble the President not a little, who hath all the Provincials at his beck, and some of the forraign Divines too, but especially the *Palatines*. Yet there was a publique Synode called for this purpose, where the President of the Delegates did make a speech, desiring the Synode to depute some who joyned with the President and the Assesours, might take pains for moulding of the Canons. In the delivering of the voices most testified their dislike of this course, and their singular respect to the Presidents Credit; but *Sculterms* did by many reasons approve the course which the President had begun, and disprove this

new

new course, which was suggested, yet he taxed no man personally. But *Sibrandus* (when he came to deliver his voice) like a mad-man did inveigh against those, who were the suggesters of this change, and said, That strangers should not take upon them to prescribe what was good for the estate of their Church, and that some others who had joyned in that, were worthy to be noted *Censurâ Ecclesiasticâ*: therein he aymed at the South *Holland*, who did likewise much dislike the President his Course. *Sibrandus* spake so furiously, that both the *Præses Politicus*, and the *Præses Ecclesiasticus*, desired him either to hold his peace, or else speak that which might not disturb the peace of the Synode. Yet since it was the Delegates pleasure, the whole Synode added to the President, and the Assessours three forraign Divines, viz. my Lord of *Landaff*, *Sculterus*, and *Deodatius*; 3. Provincials, viz. *Poliander*, *Vallens*, and *Triglandius*; who should mould and conceive the Canons upon every Article, and then send a Copie of what they have done to every Colledge, that they may adde power, and change what they will, the Colledges observations being considered by them, and the Canons according to them amended, they are to be returned to the Colledges, and the Colledges to return them again, and so to keep the course ever till there be no exceptions against them. When they are thus agreed upon by all several Colledges, they shall publicquely be concluded, and approved by the Synode.

We are now hard at polishing the Canons, which these Deputies send us. All our trouble is in the second Article: The most part of the Synode would cry us down with voices for the restriction of the general propositions in Scripture, and the Confessions of the Reformed Churches concerning Christs death, *ad Solos Electos*. We stand for leaving them unexpounded, and unrestricted as we found them, and rejoyce exceedingly, that the Directions which my Lord Embassadour sent us from his Majestie concerning this point, agreeth so fully with our judgment subscribed with our hands, given in to the Synode, upon the second Article. By this doing we first leave a sound and sufficient ground for preaching of the Gospel to all men. Next we shun a great deal of offence, which otherwise we must needs have given to the *Lutheran Churches*. Thirdly, we retain the same phrases, and forms of speaking, which those Fathers did, who wrestled with the *Pelagians* in the same point. If this Article be well looked into, I hope there shall moderation enough be observed in all the rest. If it were not for the moderation of the forraign Divines, we should have

have such Canons as I think have not been heard of: for there is never a Provincial Minister here, who hath delivered any rigid Proposition, and hath been taxed by the Remonstrants for it, but he would have that Proposition thrust into one Canon or another, that so he may have something to shew for that which he hath said. As soon as the Canons are agreed upon, I shall by Gods grace with all expedition send them unto your Honour. Our next work will be *Vorstius*, whose book they would censure, without citation of himself. The President wrote to our Colledge in the Delegates name to know, whether we thought it fit to have him personally cited; but especially to know what we thought would be most agreeing to his Majesties mind.

To the latter, concerning his Majesties mind, we answered, That we thought my Lord Embassadour could give them the best resolution for that point.

For the former, we thought it would be evil taken, If any man should be condemned, not being first heard. But because they, that *Vorstius* would keep them as long as the Remonstrants had done; We told them, That we desired they would not suffer him to make any defences, or explications of his blasphemous propositions, but simply to answer *per ita vel non*, whether he would plainly abjure them, or not; And so accordingly proceed against him, and so we should make no great losse of time; so I think he shall be personally cited.

This is all, for we have had no Synodical meetings these 12. daies. I can see no end of the Synode before *Whitsontide*. With my best prayers for your Honours, and the remembrance of all my faithful respects. I take my leave; And am

Your Honours

In all true observance and  
service,

*Walter Balcanquel.*

*Sir*



Sir William Beecher to his Majestie,

4<sup>th</sup>. of February.

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

BESIDES the relation of the apparance of change in the affairs of the Court, wherewith my Dispatch to Mr. Secretarie Lake will acquaint your Majestie: I thought it my duty to give you particular account, that being yesterday with the Prince of *Fain ville*, after some earnest protestations made to me of his desire to do your Majestie service, falling into discourse of those occurrences, he grew into these terms. That the complaints of the Queen Mother were founded upon good reason; that if she had offended the King, or the State, why did they not make her processe? if she had not offended, why should she not see the King, and her children? that when the Queen fell upon these Complaints, they thought to fright her, by Pretending to bring forth the Prince of *Conde*; but that the Queen had astonished them, by telling them, That she was so far from opposing, as she desired the liberty of the Prince. That the Queens friends would be glad of his liberty, for that it could not be prejudicial, but rather advantagious, at the least, it would be honourable for them, if his liberty were wrought, if not by their intercession, at least by their occasion; further he told me, That he was confident, that the Queen would not be gained by their fair words, but would persist in her resolution. Which discourse of his with some other advertisements, doth perswade me, that this matter hath a farther root, and is likely to bring forth some great alteration here, in no long time. And I doubt not but that *Monsieur de Luine* will find with repentance, how much better it had been for him, to have furthered your Majesties advice for the delivery of the Prince, whereby he might have acquired to the King a reputation of Justice, and to himself an obligation of a powerful friend in the Prince, rather then to leave him to the adventure of the changes, that time may produce. But if your Counsel did prove fruitlesse to them by their misconceit of it, yet it doth, and will every day prove more honourable to your Majestie, who by your wisdom have foreseen, and by your goodnesse have premonished all your neighbours of the mischiefs that threatened them.

Peradventure they may overcome this effort of the Queenes by  
fair

fair words to her Person, and threats signified afar off, and continue the state of affairs in the same condition that now it is, which is in few words extremely Romish, Jesuitish, and by consequence Spanish.

Monsieur de Luine seemeth to me a man in himself capable of reason, and by the death of the Marshal d'Anchre, eternally bound to be a good Patriot, but that he applies himself wholly to the Kings person, and that distrusting his own judgment, relies upon the judgment of the Ministers of the State, and principally \* Du Angen the \* Du Agon. Chancellor, and the Garde-seaux.

They utterly neglect all the Alliances of our Religion abroad, and care not how inconsiderately they oppress it at home. Only they seem desirous to entertain themselves well with the King of Spain, by the intervention of the Nuncio, and do think that no advantage which they can give the Spaniard by this proceeding in other parts, can equal that which they pretend to receive at home, by suppressing the State, and doctrine of those of the Religion.

If they proceed long in this train, it will undoubtedly breed mischievous designs, which there is no so ready way to prevent, as to let them generally perceive, that they are discovered, whereby the proceedings of the Ministers of State will grow so detestable to all those here, that have any sense of the love of their Countrey, that it will produce either a change of their persons, or of their Councils.

But I do humbly submit the Censure hereof to your Majesties most exquisite judgment, whom I do beseech the Almighty long to preserve in health, and all perfect happiness.

Your Majesties

Most humble Subject, and  
Loyal Servant,

Will. Beecher.

## To King James, abignoto.

*Most wise, and Glorious Prince,*

**B**Ecause the departure of your Majestie doth not permit me to hope for the honour of seeing you, and that the advertisements, and orders which I have to communicate unto you, do merit your speedy review and magnanimous resolution, I have presumed to trust them unto this paper, which I do humbly desire may rest in the hands of your Majestie alone.

The treaty of restoring all that had been taken by Sea (which by a motion from *Spain*, was put into the hands of some Ministers in *Rome*) is accompanied with so little hope of obtaining the end, that was pretended, that by reason of their continuing at *Naples* to dissipate, and waste such goods as they had taken in our ships, and the Cardinal *Borgias* reservednesse to promise any thing, that negotiation may be held as vain, and as an insidious invention to gain time. Nevertheless my Masters marching still with a constant desire of purchasing the publique tranquillity, have been content to render all such vessels as they had taken within their Gulph, in hope that having gotten the advantage of the cause by this honest proceeding, they might prevail in which they had made at *Naples*, for the restitution of their Galeasses, and of the ship called *Rosse*.

But the actions and operations of the Spaniards do not answer unto what is desired, and hoped. For in the Kingdome of *Sicilie Naples*, and *Calabria*, they do muster new Souldiers, and they make great preparations for a war by the Sea. The subjects of those Kingdomes are taxed with extraordinary Contributions of mony, and in daily counsels held by the duke of *Offuna*, the Marquesse *Santa Croce*, and other ministers they do consult of the meanes of making war, and doing hurt. But that which is most important is, that in the conjuncture, there is likewise in divers parts of *Spain* a terrible course of great provisions. For they have put in a readinesse armour for 30000. men, they have ingrossed all the ammunition that could be purchased, and have put in good equipage 60. tall ships which being added unto those they have already in the Streights make 80. at *Naples* they have 20 ships more besides all their own Gallies, and an order they have obtained for the Gallies of *Malta*, *Florence*, and the Pope to joyn with them.

All the *Italian* Souldiers are quartered along the Coast of *Apulia*, which is opposite to our *Gulphe*, and they have 14000. foot of *Wal-*  
loons.

*loons, French, and Spaniards* lodged within the Kingdom of *Naples*. In *Flanders* at this present, they make a new Leavie of 6000. foot, and a 1000. horse. And in the state of *Millan*, they do retain still 3000. horse supernumeraries. All which forces, and provisions, as they do deserve for their greatnesse to be regarded, and looked upon with a jealous eye of every one; so those, who do suffer at the present many injuries and acts of hostility at the hands of the *Spaniards*, and in particular the State of *Venice*, which is betrayed by their fraudulent treaties, cannot chuse but fear, and doubt more then any other. Neither can any pretences of enterprises or designs against the Turk secure those, who set the sword bended against their breasts, and the fire kindled in their own houses.

Whereupon your Majestie is humbly desired that you will be pleased to consider seriously of what hath been remonstrated, and to take such a resolution, as may best besit your wisdom, and Greatnesse, and the safety, and indemnity of a State so observant of your Majesty as ours is, and of a member so important of the liberty of *Italie*, and of Europe. There is not, at this day (Invincible Sir) any Prince in the whole world upon whom the Conservation of the publique tranquillity doth more rely then upon your Majestie. For there being none that doth equal your Majestie in wisdom, and experience, possessing your Kingdomes in perfect peace, quietnesse, and plenty, to the infinite praise of your name, and being free from the molestation of all stormes and tempests, it seemeth that the eyes of all men are turned towards your Majestie as towards a Sun, that ought to clear the Skie, and that they expect deliverance onely from your hand. These resolutions (oh most wise King) will be the strongest walls upon which your eternity can be reared. These will be the Jewels, and the crown, which will adorn you in earth, and in Heaven. These will be the immortal Glorie of your powerful name.

The resolutions in cases of such weight, and danger ought to be magnanimous, quick, and powerful. The very noise of your putting in order your royal Navie, the sending a person of quality to the place, from whence the danger is feared, and the declaring your self in favour of those, whom you shall find to have the right on their side, may perhaps prove sufficient to procure a peace. If words will not prevail deeds must follow, and such a resolution will prove the true Antidote to all their poysons. For the better effecting whereof the world doth attend with great devotion to see a good correspondence renewed betwixt your Majestie and the *French King*; and for



*Sir Isaac Wake to the Secretary.*

the disposing your Majesties heart thereunto, the State of *Venice* doth joyn her humble prayers unto the earnest intreaty of many others.

In the mean time, I am to request your Majestie, that you will be pleased to forbid the exportation of Artillerie, ships and Mariners out of our Kingdomes for the service of the *Spaniards*, it being neither just nor agreeable to your Majesties Piety, that your Arms should be stayned with the blood of a State, and Prince, that hath no equal in love to your Royal Crown, and that will ever testifie to all the world by effects of their observance, the pure, and sincere devotion that they have to your Glorious name. For my own particular, I humbly crave leave to kisse your royal hands.

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*Sir Isaac Wake to the Secretary.*

*Right Honourable,*

I Have safely received the Letter, wherewith your Honour hath been pleased to favour me, dated at *Theobalds* the 19<sup>th</sup>. of July Stil. Vet. and have to my singular comfort understood, that you have been pleased not onely to give favourable acceptance unto such weak dispatches as I have made bold to addresse unto you, but done me the honour likewise to acquaint his Majestie with the contents of them, and to direct my proceedings in in this intricate businesse, which instructions dictated by his Majesties wisdom, this light will be sufficient to direct my steps in the middest of an *Egyptian* darknesse, which doth not only obscure the *Horizon* of this Province where I reside, but almost the whole face of Europe, by reason of the great mists, which are cast artificially in all mens eyes to cover the designs of those, who do presume, that they have in all places *arbitrium Belli et Pacis*.

I most humbly crave pardon of your Honour, if you do not receive my answer so soon as perhaps you might expect. For yours having stayed upon the way a month and a day, did not come to my hands until the 20<sup>th</sup>. of August Stil. Vet. At which time it was brought unto me by Mr. *Rowlandson*, whom I had dispatched into *Germany*, to advertize those Princes of the motion made to the Duke of *Savoy* for the passage of Spanish forces through his State. My Lord of *Doncaster* under whose Cover I received that Letter, did not think fit to send it to me by an expresse messenger for fear of increa-  
sing.

sing the suspicion of some in those parts, who are jealous that his Majesty doth favour the Duke of Savoy more then they could wish. And I must confesse, that the same reason induced me likewise to send that Gentleman of the Duke of Savoy's into Germany, rather then any servant of mine own, for fear least allees, and vennes of messagers betwixt my Lord of Doncaster, and me in these doubtful times might so far injealous the contrary party, as might prejudice the service of his Majestie in that Negotiation.

The instructions that your Honour hath been pleased to give me from his Majestie, concerning my treating with 52. c. in favour of 93. a. having reference unto the inclination of 95. a. to peace, or the probability of defence to be made by 93. a. I held it more safe for me to govern my self by such informations of the state of those affairs as I have received from the favour of the 1. 32. 7. 5. 47. 48. 2. 10. 40. 45. of 51. a. in 97. a. And for the better justification of my proceedings, I send your Honour here inclosed the Copie of his Letter unto me, wherein you will see, that I have no reason as yet to spend the name of 51. a. in favour of 93. a. nor to imbargue 52. c. in a businesse, which may draw a great charge, and envie upon himself, and not much advantage the 93. a. I must confesse that the 50. b. in general, and particularly the 54. b. and the 41. 45. 23. 34. 9. 12. of 5. 35. 22. 4. 30. 50. have represented the state of those affairs at this present unto 52. b. in a manner not onely different from the advertisements sent me, but almost contrary, and they do seem not only to be confident of the prevailing of 93. c. but likewise they continue to give hope that the 10. 51. 29. 15. of 48. 3. 59. 15. will concur with 51. b. and 52. b. in the 12. 30. 13. 9. 50. 27. 40. 35. of 99. a. But because I have reason to suspect that they make relation of those affairs, rather as they wish they were, then as they be indeed, and that their intention to draw somewhat from 52. c. towards the succours of 93. a. I will forbear to joyn with them therein, until I can have some better ground then their advertisements, which may be thought to favour of partiality, and I have reason to be backward therein, because I know that 52. c. would presently take me *en mot*, and put to the account of 51. a. that which he is most willing to do of himself. I do not affirm this out of conjecture, but upon good ground; for besides, that he did signifie so much unto me at my return out of England, I do know that within this fortnight he hath sent unto 56. b. 3000. 41. 24. 48. 49. 40. 30. 47. in part of 42. 2. 60. 32. 15. 35. 50. and in the conveyance of this

52. c. the Duke of Savoy.  
93. a. the Bohemians.  
95. a. the Emperour Ferdinand.  
51. a. the King of England.  
97. a. Germany.  
99. a. the King of the Romans.  
71. c. the Agent of England.  
51. b. the Prince Palatine.  
52. b. the Marquess Brandenburg.  
54. b. the Marquess Anspach.  
50. b. the Princes of the Union.  
56 b. Count Ernst Mansfeld.

this 33. 39. 34. 35. 61. there was extraordinary diligence used to conceal it from the knowledge of the 71. c. whereof no other construction can be made, but that 52. c. would fain be intreated by 71. c. to do that, which he hath already a mind to do.

If upon more fresh Letters, which I expect from my Lord of *Doncaster*, I shall find that the affairs there have changed face since the writing of his last unto me, I will govern my self accordingly, as I shall receive warrant from him.

We are here at a stand, expecting with devotion the issue of the affairs of *Germanie*. The Army in the Kingdom of *Naples* is still retained, and no order given, either for the dismissing of those Troops, or the employing them in any service. Prince *Philibert* is at *Messina* with the Gallies, and hath with him 10. or 12000 men. The Ships and Gallions remain at *Naples*, and the *Walloons*, *Lombardes* and *Neapolitanes* which should have come to *Vado*, are since their disembarking again, quartered round the City of *Naples*. It is impossible to guesse what they mean to do; but the most probable conjecture is, that under the colour of suspecting the Duke of *Ossuna*, the *Spaniards* will keep their potent Army on foot, and by that means keep all *Italy* in awe, and as it were *sub Ferulâ*, and delude the reiterated promises and oaths that have passed by them, to assure the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, that they would dismiss those Forces. The season is now past for any enterprise by Sea, so that Prince *Philibert* must be forced to return without doing any thing. And many are of opinion, that the Duke of *Ossuna* had secret order to counterfeit madnesse, and to crosse the Kings Commandement expressly to deprive Prince *Philibert* of the honour which would have redounded unto him, if he had been possessed of the absolute Command of so potent an Armie. The Duke of *Savoy* on the other side, would fain make you believe, that undoubtedly *Ossuna* hath entertained rebellious thoughts, and that if *Don Octavio D' Arragona* do not bring a good answer out of *Spain*, he will break out into open contumacie. His demands of the King of *Spain* are these:

First, That he may be continued in the Government four years longer.

Secondly, That he may be permitted to enter with his Fleet into the Gulph of *Venice*, and to dispute his Majesties Title to that Sea by the force of Arms.

Lastly, That in case the King of *Spain* will not let him Contest so far with the *Venetians*, that there may then be sent him so much money out of *Spain* as may license his Army, considering that the King-  
dome

dome of *Naples* is so far exhausted, as that they cannot contribute any longer either to the maintaining, or to the dismissing of those Forces.

The *Venetians* did lately chase a small Gallie of the *Vicocchi*, which was entred into the Gulph to rob and spoyle, and followed her unto the shoares of *Apuglia*, where *Ferlitick* the Captain of those Thieves saved himself and the most part of his fellows by flight into the mountains, but *Signior Filippo Belegno* recovered the Gallie, and carried her away as a prize, having found two banners displayed, the one with the arms of *Spain*, the other with the arms of *Ossuna*; And not onely a formal Patent and Commission to take any thing, that he could from the *Venetians*, but some Letters likewise from some principal Ministers of *Ferdinand*, wherein this *Capo di Banditi* is encouraged, and requested to do the *Venetians* as much hurt and dammage, as he might be able. Now the Duke of *Ossuna* is fallen into a great rage with the *Venetians*, *quod non totum telum corpore acceperunt*, and he doth threaten to be revenged upon them for not suffering these *Vicocchi* to rob and spoyle their subjects.

The Duke of *Savoy* hath done me the honour to intreat my company with him into *Savoy*, whither he doth purpose very shortly to go, that he may receive at the confines of his estate, the Prince of *Piedmont*, and Madam his wife. And because his request hath the power of a command over me in *Licitis, et honestis*, I must be enforced to passe the Mountaines again at an unseasonable time, before I have sufficiently refreshed my self after my last voyage, and I know not whether I shall have the opportunity of writing unto your Honour again before my going, which is uncertain, as depending upon the going of the Duke. So with my hearty prayers unto Almighty God for the preservation of his Majestie in health, and the prosperity of his Estate, in all humility I take leave; And rest

Your Honours most faithfully  
to command,

*Turin* 27. Septemb. }  
22. August. } 1619.

*Isaac Wake.*

*Sir*



*Right Honourable,*

I Have received the Letter, wherewith your Honour hath been pleased to favour me, dated at *White-Hall* the 27. of February, and having to my singular comfort understood, that his Majestie hath declared his gracious approbation of my proceedings here, with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*. And I do with all thankfulness acknowledge to receive that favour from the hand of your Honour, as my only *Gratum faciens* —

I will not fail to govern my self precisely by the rule of those Instructions which you have been pleased to give me. And as you have favoured me with passing your word for me, that I will not spend his Majesties name without particular Warrant, and direction; so will I promise faithfully to perform as much, as you have undertaken for me, and both in this, as in all things else you may assure your self, that his Majesties revealed will, and that only, shall be a Law unto me.

Your Honour will have understood by my former Dispatches, that the Duke of *Ossuna* is re-confirmed in his Government of *Naples*: He hath not (as far as I can learn) any certain time prefixed, but is to remain there *durante Regis beneplacito*; And when his Patent was presented unto him, he had likewise order (which was delivered by word of mouth) that the King his Master did require him immediately to dismisse all his Army, and to send the *Walloons*, and *Neapolitanes* into *Germany* to the succours of the Emperour. The same party did likewise signifie unto him, that as the King of Spain had shewed, to have a care of the honour of the Duke of *Ossuna* in establishing him anew in that Regencie, at this time, when the world had made some doubt, that his late actions had not been conformable to the will and pleasure of his Master, so he did expect that he should voluntarily, and of himself, ask leave to go into *Spain*, and offer to give an account of all his proceedings. Which course, the King did recommend unto him as most honourable, for the justification of his own innocencie, and the confusion of his enemies. This Message the said Duke hath wisely suppressed, and hath published the Patent of his Confirmation, without taking notice of the private Articles, which were annexed thereunto, and delivered verbally. He doth professe to understand very well, that in *Spain* they wish him ill, and that their design is under the fair bait of this establishing him in that Government, to make him swallow the hook of dismissing his

his armie, that so they may afterwards dispose of him at their pleasure, when he shall remain utterly disarmed. But his heart did not serve him to throw away the scabbard when he had drawn his sword: and I am perswaded, that as in *Spain* they will judge of his proceedings by the rule of *Tacitus*. *Qui deliberant desciverant*: so he will repent of not having observed, that other *Maxime, Aut nunquam tentes, Aut perire*. His best hope is, that *Chi ha tempo ha vita*, and if he can make his peace at home upon any conditions, he will not much care to turn honest, and change his dangerous designs into faithful service of his Master. To play *Le bon valets*, he hath now obeyed his Masters Commandment in sending the *Wallcons* and *Nepolitans* into *Lombardie*, and they are all so safely arrived at *Vado* upon 19 Gallions, being in number 6. or 7000,

The landing of these troops, and their passing along the skirt of this State doth not onely give a little jealousie to the Duke of *Savoy*, but put him likewise to some Cost, and trouble. For as he doth well know, how dangerous it is to stand to the discretion of a reconciled enemy, so doth he evidently see, that their ill talent towards him, doth not only continue, but increase; and therefore to assure himself, and his State, he hath caused at this present a general muster to be made of all his Cavallarie, and trained Infanterie, which he doth send to the confines of his State, that way, which these newly landed Troops are to passe. And although their order be to march towards *Switzerland*, and to passe that way into *Germany*, yet will this Prince stand upon his guard until they are quite gone out of *Lombardie*, and hath given order to the Count *Guido St. George* in his absence, not to let him lodge in *Monferrat* upon any terms whatsoever, nor to linger too long neer the Confine of this Province. He hath this reason to conclude, that the *Spaniards* wish him ill, because he doth see that they do mistrust him. For whereas they had a fair promise of the passage for their armie through this State, in vertue of antient capitulations betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, they have chosen rather to buy the passage at the hands of the *Swisses* at a very dear rate, then adventure to take it here *Gratis*. Whereby it may appear unto all the world how little confidence they have in this Prince, and how much they mistrust him for being partiallie affected to the Prince *Palatine*, and all that party. Howsoever your Honour doth conceive, that the season of the year is too far passed for the transportation of this army of the *Spaniards* into *Germany*, yet you will see that necessity doth make men strive with many inconveniencies

niences, for they must passe whatsoever weather happen; and indeed the Alpes are passable enough until the months of January and February, if the Souldiers be well cloathed, for there is no danger but of cold, untill the deluges of Snow which fall late do shut up the passages.

Perhaps they will not find the passages of *Suisseland* so favourable as they do conceive, and as is figured unto them, for they have bought it only of the little Popish *Cantons*, without asking leave of the *Seigniorie* of *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and it is to be supposed, that the State of *Berne* will take a hot Alarum, considering that their controverſie with *Friburge* is not accommodated, and that the Governor of *Millan* hath made offer unto those of *Friburge*, and the little *Cantons*, of all this armie for the defence of the Catholique religion in the *Bailiage* of *Eschaleus*, whereof I have given notice to our *Signiorie* of *Berne* by an expresse Currier that they may have time to save themselves from a surprize.

The voyce doth run currant over all *Italie*, that the Duke of *Parma* is to undertake a voyage shortly for the service of the King of *Spain*, but whither he is to go they cannot tell; for some send him into *Germanie*, others into *Flanders*, and the most men into *Spain*. For all which discourse, I know no other ground, but that his brother the Cardinal *Farnese* hath asked leave of the Pope to retire himself for a time to *Parma*, and I do imagin that the *Speculativi* have concluded thereupon, that he is to govern the State in the absence of his brother.

Prince *Philibert* having failed of the enterprize of *Susa*, did intend in his second setting out from *Sicily*, to meet with the Turkish Fleet and fight with them. The first part of his design succeeded happily, for he had the good fortune to encounter the whole Fleet between *Zant* and *Cephalonia*, but finding them more strong then he was aware, and well resolved to give him battaile, he was counsailed to retire to *Messina*, where he is at this present, without having effected any thing. The two armies of *Venice*, and the Turk, did likewise meet on those Seas, not far from *Corfu*, but as soon as they did know each the other, the two Generals, and all the principal Officers, did interchangeably present one the other with wine, and *Rinfres Camenti*, and so much kindnesse passed betwixt them, that the *Viser Bassa* did offer to joyn his Fleet with the *Venetian*, and to set upon the Spanish *Armado*, which charitable offer, the *Venetian* General had so much christianity as to refuse with modest thanks.

Signiour



Signiour *Antonio Donato* hath sent a servant of his hither, who had the fortune to arrive in an ill Coniuncture. For the Duke of *Savoy* having lately called upon the *Venetians* for that money which is wanting in Signiour *Donato's* account, they did excuse themselves upon his pleading not guilty, and did send unto the Duke a Copy of his Letter written to the Senate, when he was yet Embassadour, and not convicted. This Letter arrived here from *Venice* the very day before Signiour *Donato's* servant, and if your Honour will be pleased to cast an eye upon the Copy which I send here inclosed, you will not blame the Duke of *Savoy* for refusing to give him audience, or to receive his Masters Letters; for he doth give the Duke the Lie three several times in that Letter, which is strange language to be used of a Prince; and I do much wonder, that the *Venetians* would upon any occasion whatsoever publish such a Petulancie, committed by one, that was their Embassadour at that time.

He brought me a Letter from his Master of meer Ceremonie, and Complement, and had his principal addresse unto the Popes Nuntio in this Court, whereat I did wonder somewhat formally at the first, as conceiving that in Congruity he ought to have interrupted his Correspondence with the Popes Ministers, as long as he doth live under the protection of his Majestie; but when I understood, that the Duke had lodged him in a prison, with an intent to send him to *Venice*, I was glad that I had so little to do with him, and the Nuntio so much.

The Duke of *Savoy* doth assure himself, that when his Majestie shall have perused this Letter of Signiour *Donato's*, he will withdraw his countenance, and protection from him, and account him unworthy of any favour, for having wronged in so high a degree a Prince, that is so much a servant of his Majestie.

I may not likewise conceal from his Majesties knowledge, that Signiour *Donato* hath not been wanting to ruine (as far as he could) *Padre Paolo*, and *Fulgentio* in *Venice*; two persons that have done his Majestie very long and faithful service, as by an inclosed Paper, your Honour may see, which is an abstract of a Letter written from *Fulgentio*.

The Prince of *Piedmont* having made a posting voyage hither to receive his Fathers blessing, before he bring his Lady in the Country, I did present unto him his Majesties Letters of Congratulation, whereunto he hath returned an answer, which I send here inclosed. So with my hearty prayers unto Almighty God for the preservation



*Sir Isaac Wake to the Duke.*

of his Majesties Person in all happineffe and prosperity, in all humility I take leave, And rest

Your Honours

Most faithfully to  
command,

Turin  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Octob: 1619.

*Isaac Wake.*

*Sir Isaac Wake to the Duke.*

*Right Honourable, and my very singular good Lord,*

**I**N these parts we have nothing of moment worthy the relating, the storms which do vex our neighbours round about us keeping us here in calme, and quiet, as it were *per antiperistasin*. Howsoever I am of opinion, that we shall enter into the *Dance* either actively or passively before the next summer passe over. All over *Italy* there doth raige a great dearth, which did lately cause in *Naples* a dangerous Cullevation of the people against the Cardinal *Zappata* Vice-Roy, who had somewhat to do to save himself from the fury of the *Popolarzo*.

In the State of *Millan* likewise some insurrections were beginning to be made in *Novarra*, *Alleffandria*, and *Cremona*, both for want of bread, and for the insolencie of the Garrison Souldiers, who having had no pay for many moneths, did commit many violent excesses upon the people, which did drive them into despair; but those Com-motions were appeased betimes, and no great matter of Consideration hath ensued, although there are some neighbour Princes who did stand *aux Escontes*, and would be ready to have acted a troublesome part, if the scene had been ready.

The Duke of *Parma* hath imprisoned his natural son *Don Octavio*, the mysterie whereof is not well known, but it must needs be for some great matter, because he did make shew to love him passionately. The Infanta *Isabella* of *Modena* hath been in danger of her life, by being surprized with a violent feaver, neer the time of her child-birth: from hence the Duke of *Savoy* sent his Physitians to help her, and we hear now that she hath escaped that danger, and is safely delivered of a daughter.

Count

Count *Mansfelt* is grown formidable, and doth daily increase in strength and reputation. Although he hath hitherto intitled his armes unto the service of the King of *Bohemia*, yet I believe he will neither disarm, nor suspend his arms, when he shall be commanded so to do by that King. For being now intertained by the State of *Venice* with an honourable provision of 12000 Crowns *per annum* in peace during his life, and the pay of 10000 Foot, and 2000 horse in the time of War, he will try what he can do for the infranchising of the *Grisons*, when the affairs of the *Palatinate* shall be accommodated. And if the *Austriaci* do not bend all their forces against him very speedily, and break his Armie before it grow more strong, he is like to give them a greater blow then they have had these many yeares. That which he hath gotten already in *Alsatia*, is much more worth, then the lower *Palatinate*; and although he hath hitherto made those people to swear Allegiance unto the King of *Bohemia*, yet when the said King shall make his peace with the Emperour, it may be doubted, whether Count *Mansfelt* will resign up what he hath conquered; and it is thought, that he will either keep it for himself, or intitle some other Prince thereunto. The *Austriaci* were never so matched as with Count *Mansfelt*, for he is a perpetual motion, and doth not stand upon the defensive (as others have done hitherto, and lost by the bargain) but he is alwaies setting upon them, and doth make War at their cost; let them take heed how they proceed with him; for he, who hath nothing to lose, is ready to hazard the Paquet upon all occasions; And if he do chance to overthrow them once in battel, they will run danger, or lose all that they have in *Germany*. Let me in all humility beseech your Lordship to continue me in the honor of your good opinion, and to favour me with your honourable protection, especially with a good word to my Lord Treasurer, for the sending me some relief, without which I cannot possibly subsist, having for want of my pay, consumed all that I had in the world. God Almighty increase upon your Lordship all happinesse and prosperity, as is unfainedly wished unto you by him that is

Your Lordships most humble obliged  
Creature and Servant,

Turin  $\frac{13}{27}$  of Febr.  
1621.

Isaac Wake.

Sir

Sir Isaac VVakes *Proposition for the King of*  
Denmark.

**I**T seemeth that the Glorie of this State, which at all times was great, doth shine brighter now adayes; since that besides so many Neighbouring Kings and Princes, whereof some are in a made league with us, and some do keep a good correspondence, and all a good intelligence with us. Now the friendship of your Highnesse is sought by the mighty King of *Denmark*, a monarch of those nations, that in time past have left their remembrance of their *provesse* in *Italie*, *France*, *Spain*, and in whole Europe behind them. This Great King of the North, who like a Second *Atlas* holds up the *Arctick-pole*, rich in treasure, numerous in men, dreadful for his invincible generosity and Courage, doth here offer himself unto your Highnesse. And acquainting you of his actions, doth confidently promise you to stand firm, and stout in the defence of the common cause, if so be that he receive that assistance as he hath reason to expect from those, that are interested in the same cause. His Majestie of *Denmark* hath had from the King my Master, as much as can be given, and it is no small matter, that his Majestie of great *Brittain* doth still continue the same assistance, having withall still those great expences, that are required for the surety of his Realmes, and for the offence of the common enemy.

His Majestie of *France* hath also contributed to this good work somewhat, and there is great hope, that he will bring forth in a short time some fit remedie against this evill. The Lords States do as much as they are able. And the Princes of *Low Saxonie* do not want in their duties. There remaineth now, that your Highnesse put also your powerful hand to this work, and with a vigorous succour, worthy of your great heart do incourage all the rest to continue their Empire. The two Kings are not ignorant of the great sincerity wherewith this most Excellent State, doth observe the capitulations made with Allies of the league, and that rather then to be wanting in things agreed upon, you have surpassed in necessarie provisions for the advancement of the designs, and that you have not been partakers, nor agreeers of the treaty made at *Moncon*. But that you do continue to keep some forces in your Dominions, and likewise some troops in the *Valtoline* for the effecting (as much as is in you) of what was first thought fit, and of the agreement of the League.

And as that generous resolution and constancie of this State is never enough praised, so there is great hope that you will not bring this  
same

same in the reckoning of the two Kings, who never will misse to praise the wisdome and generositie of this State, though not obliged for their particular for any thing whatsoever done till now, either by the league in general, or by whomsoever of the united in particular, because that the league was made two years and more before his Majestie of great *Brittain* broke with *Spain*, or that the King of *Denmark* had declared himself. Since the time that these two Kings are come to the *Dance*, your Highnesse hath not levied one man, and the Forces which you do yet keep, as they were not levied, so are they not maintained in Contemplation of the two Kings, but onely for the first reasons of the League.

The onely thing here sought for is to go with a common pace, that those that are now too heavily laden, may be supported by their friends, either by way of diversion, or by way of assistance. And therefore your Highnesse and other Princes are now requested to help, seeing there is small appearance of diversion. And set the case, that the Peace between *Spain* and *France* should be firm, would it not turn against the Common Cause? *Italia incendium ruina Germanie extinguere?* To quench a little fire in *Italy* by the ruine of whole *Germany*? In Chronical diseases Physitians do not so much respect the symptomes and accidents as they do the causes of the evil.

The *Valtoline*, *Palatinate*, *Hussia*, *Marchisat* of *Baden*, *Dukedome* of *Brunswick*, and so many other Countries attempted, and oppressed by the *Spanissh* and *Austrian* usurpation, are grievous and dangerous symptomes and accidents: but the Cause, and fewel of the evil remains yet in the ambitious bowels of the *Spaniard*, who now with spread sailes goeth on towards the universal Monarchie; unlesse there be applied betimes some fit remedies, all topick remedies will do but little good.

The King of *Denmark* doth offer himself ready to apply such an issue, whereby he may be brought back to terms of modestie, and with the assistance he doth expect from your Highnesse and other interested Princes, he hopeth to bring his good intent to passe. And being prodigal of his great Soul, there is no doubt he will ever go back, unlesse he be forsaken.

Thus there remains the Common liberty almost in your hands, and if this most excellent Senate resolves to give ayd unto that King, that libertie will be preserved. If you do forsake him, that will also be indangered, yea lost. I therefore beseech your Highnesse to ponder well this matter, and to grant such an assistance, as is requested by the King of *Denmarks* Embassadour.



*Sir Henry Wootton to the Duk.**My most Noble Lord,*

I Will be bold by this opportunity to give his Majestie through your Lordships hands, an accompt of a Command which I had from him at *Theobalds*, about sounding how the *Venerian* Embassadour stood satisfied with the late determination touching his predecessour *Donato*.

I did visit the said Embassadour immediatly at my return from the King, and saluted him as by expresse Commandment; interjecting some words of mine own gladnesse, that he had received contentment in this tender point, which would signalize his beginnings. This I said, because in truth I had found him alwaies before the more passionate in it by some reflection upon himself. His answer (after due thanks for his Majesties gracious remembrance of him from abroad) was, That for his own part, he was *Contentissimo*, and had represented things home in the best manner. He hoped likewise it would be well tasted there also, though with some doubt, because the State out of their own devotion towards his Majestie might form a confidence of expecting more. I replyed, that the King upon the matter (if we consider disgrace) had done more then themselves: for he was but once banished at *Venice*, and twice here; viz. once from the Verge of the Court, and secondly, from *London*, which was as much as could be done with preservation of National immunities, and more then would have been done at the suit of any other Embassadour here resident, or perhaps of any of their own hereafter if the like case shall occur. For (as I told him) it was the Kings expresse will, that his particular respect to the republique, and to him in this businesse should not be drawn into examples. With this point he was not a little pleased for his own glory, and said, that indeed Mr. Secretarie *Nanton* had told him so. This was the summe of what passed between us, omitting impertinencies. Let me end (my dear Lord) as I am bound in all the use, either of my pen, or of my voice, with an humble and hearty acknowledgment of my great obligations towards your Lordship, which will make me resolve, and in good faith unhappy, till I can some way shew my self

Your Lordships most thankful and  
faithful servant,

25<sup>th</sup>. of January,  
1619.

*Henry Wootton.*

Sir

*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.**My most honoured Lord, and Patron,*

**T**Hese poor lines will be presented unto your Lordship by my Nephew (one of your obliged servants) and withal some description (as I have prayed him) of my long infirmities, which have cast me behind in many private, and often interrupted even my publique Duties; with which yet I do rather seek to excuse some other defects of service then my silence towards your Lordship.

For to impertune your Lordship seldom with my pen is a choice in me, and not a disease, having resolved to live at what distance soever from your sight, like one who had well studied before I came hither, how secure they are whom you once vouchsafe any part of your love. And indeed I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious lines: for thereby I see that your Lordship had me in your meditation, when I scant remembered my self.

In answer of which Letter after some respite from mine own evils, I have deputed my said Nephew to redeliver my fortune into your Noble hands, and to assure your Lordship, that as it should be cheerfully spent at your Command if it were present and actual (from whose mediation I have derived it) so much more am I bound to yeeld up unto your Lordship an absolute disposition of my hopes: But if it should please you therein to grant me any part of mine own humour, then I would rather wish some other satisfaction, then exchange of Office; yet even in this point likewise shall depend on your will, which your Lordship may indeed challenge from me, not onely by an humble gratitude, and reverence due to your most worthy person, but even by that natural charity and discretion; which I owe my self: For what do I more therein, then onely remit to your own arbitrement the valuation of your own goodnesse? I have likewise committed to my foresaid Nephew some Memorials touching your Lordships familiar service (as I may term it) in matter of art and delight.

But though I have laid these Offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own pen to give your Lordship an account of a Gentleman, worthier of your love, then I was of the honour to receive him from you.

We are now after his well-spent travailes in the Townes of purer language, married again till a second Divorce, for which I shall be sorry, whensoever it shall happen. For in truth (my good Lord) his

*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

conversation is both delightful, and fruitful, and I dare pronounce, that he will return to his friends, as well fraught with the best observations as any that hath ever sifted this Countrie, which indeed doth need sifting; for there is both flower and bran in it.

He hath divided his abode between *Sienna* and *Rome*: The rest of his time was for the most part spent in motion. I think his purpose be to take the French tongue in his way homewards, but I am perswading with him to make *Bruxels* his Seat, both because the *French* and *Spanish* Languages are familiar there, whereof the one will be after *Italian* a sport unto him, so as he may make the other a labour: And for that the said Town is now the scene of an important Treatie, which I fear will last till he come thither: but far be from me all ominous conceit.

I will end with cheerful thoughts and wishes; beseeching the Almighty God to preserve your Lordship in health, and to cure the publique diseases. And so I ever remain

Your Lordships

Most devoted obliged  
servant,

*Venice* 29. of  
July, 1622.

*Henry Wotton.*

*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

*My most honoured, and dear Lord,*

**T**O give your Lordship occasion to exercise your Noble nature, is withal one of the best exercises of mine own duty, and therefore I am confident to passe a very charitable motion through your Lordships hands, and mediation to his Majestie.

There hath long lay in the prison of Inquisition a constant worthy Gentleman, viz. Mr. *Mole*; In whom his Majestie hath not only a right as his subject, but likewise a particular interest in the cause of his first imprisonment. For having communicated his Majesties immortal work touching the allegiance due unto Sovereign Princes with a *Florentine* of his familiar acquaintance, this man took such impression at some passages, as troubling his conscience, he took occasion at next shrift to confer certain doubts with his Confessor, who  
out

out of malicious curiosity, enquiring all circumstances, gave afterwards notice thereof to *Rome*, whither the said *Mole* was gone with my Lord *Rosse*, who in this storie is not without blame; but I will not disquiet his Grave.

Now having lately heard, that his Majestie at the suite of I know not what Embassadours (but the *Florentine* amongst them is voiced for one) was pleased to yield some releasement to certain restrained persons of the Roman faith: I have taken a conceit upon it, that in exchange of his clemencie therein, the Great Duke would be easily moved by the Kings Gracious request, to intercede with the Pope for Mr. *Moles* delivery. To which purpose if it shall please his Majestie to grant his Royal Letters, I will see the businesse duely pursued. And so needing no arguments to commend this proposition to his Majesties goodnesse, but his goodnesse it self, I leave it (as I began) in your Noble hand.

Now touching your Lordships familiar service (as I may term it) I have sent the complement of your bargain upon the best provided and best manned ship, that hath been here in long time, called the *Phoenix*, and indeed the cause of their long stay hath been for some such sure vessel as I might trust. About which since I wrote last to your Lordship, I resolved to fall back to my first choice. So as now the one peece is the work of *Titian*, wherein the least figure (viz the child in the Virgins lap playing with a bird) is alone worth the price of your expence for all four, being so round, that I know not whether I shall call it a piece of sculpture, or picture; and so lively, that a man would be tempted to doubt, whether nature, or art had made it. The other is of *Palma*, and this I call the speaking piece, as your Lordship will say it may well be tearmed: for except the Damosel brought to *David*, whom a silent modesty did best become, all the other figures are in discourse, and action. They come both distended in their frames; for I durst not hazard them in rowles, the youngest being 25. yeares old, and therefore no longer supple, and pliant. With them I have been bold to send a dish of Grapes to your Noble Sister, the Countesse of *Denbigh*, presenting them first to your Lordships view, that you may be pleased to passe your censure, whether *Italians* can make fruits as well as *Flemmings*, which is the common Glorie of their pencils. By this Gentleman, I have sent the choicest Melon seeds of all kinds, which his Majestie doth expect, as I had order both from my Lord of *Holdernes*, and from Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. And although in my Letter to his Majestie (which I hope by your Lordships favour himself shall have the honour to deliver



## Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.

together with the said seeds) I have done him right in his due attributes; yet let me say of him farther as *Architects* use to speake of a well chosen foundation, that your Lordship may boldly builde what fortune you please upon him, for surely he will bear it virtuously. I have committed to him for the last place a private memorial touching my self, wherein I shall humbly beg your Lordships intercession upon a necessarie motive. And so with my heartiest prayers to heaven for your continuall health and happinesse, I most humbly rest

Your Lordships

Ever obliged devoted  
Servant,

Venice  $2^{\frac{2}{3}}$ . Decemb.  
1622.

Henry Wotton.

*Postscript.*

MY Noble Lord, it is one of my duties to tell your Lordship, that I have sent a servant of mine (by profession a Painter) to to make a search in the best townes through *Italie* for some principal pieces, which I hope may produce somewhat for your Lordships contentment, and service.

## Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

HAVING some daies by sicknesse been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much honour at my last Accessse, I am bold to make these poor lines happier then my self. And withal to represent unto your Grace (whose noble Patronage is my refuge, when I find any occasion to bewail mine own fortune) a thing which seemeth strange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majestie hath already disposed the *Venetian* Embassage to Sir *Isaac Wake*; from whose sufficiency if I should detract, it would be but an argument of my own weaknesse.

But that which herein doth touch me, I am loath to say in point of reputation, surely much in my livelihood (as Lawyers speak) is that thereby after 17. years of forraign in continual employment either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility

lity to subsist at home, much like those ~~Seale~~ <sup>Scale</sup> Fishes which sometimes (as they say) oversleeping themselves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about them but a dry shoare when they awake. Which comparison I am faine to seek among those Creatures, not knowing among men that have so long served so gracious a Master, any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate barenesse. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your Love, so make me worthy in this of some part of your Compassion. So I humbly rest

Your Graces, &c.

*Henry Wotton.*

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*Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke.*

*My most Noble Lord,*

**V**Hen like that impotent man in the Gospel, I had lyen long by the Pooles side, while many were healed, and none would throw me in, it pleased your Lordship first of all to pity my infirmities, and to put me into some hope of subsisting hereafter. Therefore I most humbly and justly acknowledge all my ability and reputation from your favour. You have given me encouragement, you have valued my poor endeavours with the King, you have redeemed me from ridiculousnesse, who had served so long without any mark of favour. By which arguments being already and ever bound to be yours till either life or honestie shall leave me, I am the bolder to beseech your Lordship to perfect your own work, and to draw his Majestie to some settling of those things that depend between Sir *Julius Caesar* and me, in that reasonable form, which I humbly present unto your Lordship by this my Nephew; likewise your obliged servant, being my self by a late indisposition confined to my Chamber, but in all estates such as I am

Your Lordships.

*Henry Wotton.*

*Sir*

Sir Henry VVotton to the Earl of Portland, Lord  
Treasurer.

*My most honoured Lord,*

I Most humbly present (though by some infirmities a little too late) a straying new years glist unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the richest Materials.

In short, it is only an image of your self drawn by memorie from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent, and unmalignant men. Which to portraict before you, I thought no servile office, but ingenious and real. And I could wish, that it had come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year somewhat like *Platos* definition of felicity with the contemplation of your own *Idea*. They say, that in your forraign employments under King *James* your Lordship was the the opinion of a very able and searching judgment, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the *Palatinate*, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art, and that Sir *Edward Conway* got the Start of you both in title, and employment, because the late Duke of *Buckingham* wanted then for his own ends a Martial Secretarie.

They say that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you.

They discourse thus of your actions, since, that though great exhaustations cannot be cured without suddain remedies no more in a Kingdom then in a natural body: yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours, wherewith at your beginning, your house was in a manner daily besieged.

They note, that there hath been made changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgment so cultivated, and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord *Burleigh* under Queen *Elizabeth*, whom they make your paralel in the ornament of knowledg.

They observe in your Lordships divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities rarely sociable.

In the character of your aspect, a mixture of Authority, and Modestie. In the faculties of your mind quick apprehension and solidity together, in the stile of your Porte, and Trayn, as much dignity and

as great dependencie as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise, and outward form.

That your Table is very abundant, free, and noble, without Luxurie; That you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court. That you love magnificence and frugality both together. That you entertain your Guests and Visitours with noble Courtesie, and voyd of Complement. Lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet no enemy to froath-formalities.

Now in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, *viz.* that you had alwaies a special care to the supply of the Navie; And likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the Kings only sister for the continual support from hence, then she hath found before.

They observe your Greatnesse as firmly established as ever was any, of the love (and which is more) in the estimation of a King who hath so signalized his Constancie: besides your additions of strength (or at least of lustre) by the noblest alliances of the Land.

Amongst these notes, it is no wonder if some observe, that between a good willingnesse in your affections to satisfie all, and impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall on your Lordship, unlesse you had been cut out of a Rock of Diamonds, especially having been long before so conversant with liberal studies, and with the freedom of your own mind.

Now after this short Collection touching your most honoured Person, I beseech you give me leave to adde likewise a little what men say of the Writer.

They say I want not your gracious good will towards me, according to the degrees of my poor talent, and Travailes; but they say, I am wanting to my self. And in good faith (my Lord) in saying so, they say the truth. For I am condemned I know not how by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulnesse in mine own businesse, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace.

Therefore, It must be your Lordships proper work, and not onely your Noble, but even your charitable goodnesse, that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of that Text *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum.* And so I remain with all humble and willing heart

At your Lordships command,

Henry Wotton.

Sir.



*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.**May it please your Lordship,*

I Fear I have taken too much of that liberty of not writing, you were pleased to allow me by Sir *George Goring*, but I hope your Lordship will measure my devotion to serve you by no other rule then your own interest and desert. For as I understand by Sir *George Goring* how often I come in your thoughts, and how great a part I have in your Cares; so is there no man to whom I would more willingly give daily account of my self then to your Lordship, to whose grace and favour I owe so much.

I forbear to trouble your Lordship with any relation of businesse, because I presume your Lordship is acquainted with all my dispatch, and it is not long since I intreated my Lord Treasurer to tell your Lordship what I thought of things then. I have yet little reason to change my opinion.

And if your Lordship please to know the state of things now, I have sent this Gentleman the Bearer hereof especially to do your Lordship reverence in my name, and to give you full information. For my return or stay, I humbly submit it to his Majesties pleasure.

Though this Negotiation be like to spin it self out into much length, I weigh not my own interest. I shall willingly be there, where I shall be thought most able to do his Majestie service. And so intreating that I may be continued in that good opinion and grace, wherein your Lordships own affection, not any merit of mine hath placed me, I humbly kisse your hands; And remain

Your Lordships

Faithful and devoted  
servant,*Rich. Weston.**Bruxels* 26. June,  
1622.*Sir*

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke*

*My very good Lord,*

I Have understood by my Lord Treasurer the way you have made with his Majestie for my calling home, for which this present doth give your Lordship most humble thanks, though I have forbore to presse or sollicit it, because I would approve my obedience to his Majestie, and take away from them all occasion, who otherwise might have accused my departure, and imputed the want of successe here to my want of patience to expect an answer.

I have almost in all my Dispatches since we entred into this Treaty, signified what opinion I had of their proceedings here, and my chief comfort was, that whatsoever the successe were, that the clearnesse of his Majesties intentions would appear to the whole world, and that the failing is not of his side, which I think is manifest enough: for notwithstanding that his Majestie hath followed them in all their desires, and the Prince Electour hath conformed himself to what was demanded, that the Count *Mansfelt*, and Duke of *Brunswick*, the pretended obstacles of the Treatie, are now with all their Forces removed. No face of an enemy in the *Palatinate*, but his Majesties power in the Garrisons; All other places repossessed which *Mansfelt* had taken. No cause of continuing any War now, nor any cause of jealousy or fear for the future, considering his Majesties fair and honourable offers: yet are they so far from a cessation, that they are fallen upon *Heidelbergh*, and either want the will, or power to remove the siege. And all I can get is two Letters of intreatie from her Highnesse to the chiefs of the Emperour to proceed no further; and after some 18. daies since I made my proposition for the Cessation, I have yet no answer: so that being able to raise no more doubts, they make use of delayes. I have said, and done, and used all diligences within my power to bring forth better effects, and can go no farther; and therefore I humbly beseech your Lordship that I may have leave to return, when I shall hear that they will not remove the siege at *Heidelbergh*. For their pretending to restore all, when all is taken, is a poor comfort to me, and as little honour to his Majestie; and how far they are to be believed in that, is to be examined more exactly then by writing, by weighing how the weak hopes given me here, agree with the strong assurances given by my Lord *Digbie* out of *Spain*.

I hope therefore his Majestie will be pleased to think it reasonable

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

to speak with me, and as your Lordship hath ever been a happie and gentle star to me; so have I now more need of your favourable aspect then ever, that his Majestie may receive my obedience as a sacrifice, and interpret well of all my endeavours, what successe so ever I bring home with me. Wherein humbly intreating your Lordships wonted grace and favour, I humbly kisse your hands, and vow unto you the faithful observance of

Your Lordships

Most humble and devoted  
Servant,

*Bruxels* 3<sup>d</sup>. of Septemb.  
1622.

*Richard Weston.*

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**Y**OUR Grace shall adde much to the infinite favours I have received from you to read a few lines from me, much more to vouchsafe them an answer, which I am the more bold to begg, and the more hopeful to obtain, because I understand by Sir *George Goring*, that howsoever I have had many ill offices done me, your Grace will not easily depart from that opinion, you have hitherto conceived of me, for which I humbly thank your Grace, and intreat the continuance of it no longer, then I shall be able to make good the integrity of my heart unto you. But that, which with all humilitie, and importunitie I sue for at your Graces hands, is to let me know my Accuser, and if your Grace think it unseasonable now, that I may have a promise to know him at your return. Whatsoever, or how great soever he be, (though respect, and reverence of those eyes which shall read these lines make me forbear ill language now) I shall dare to tell him, whatsoever becomes a wronged innocence to say. In the mean time, I despise him, if there be any such that hath accused me since your Graces departure, to have done, or said, or given way to the hearing of any thing that may be wrested to the impeachment of my faith and sincere professions towards your Grace; and yet till it come to the tryal, I relie (as I wrote to Sir *George Goring*) no lesse upon your Graces wisdom and goodnesse, then my own innocencie, that

that such Calumnies shall not lessen the estimation I had with you; wherein being most confident praying for the continuance and increase of your Graces honour and happinesse, I remain

Your Graces

Most humble and devoted  
servant,

17. July,  
1623.

*Richard Weston.*

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*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Humbly thank your Grace for the Message I received from you yesterday by Mr. *Packer*. And withal I humbly beseech your Grace to believe, that no man shall condemn me more, then I would my self, if I had omitted any possible diligence either to interest, or acquaint your Grace with the Commission of the Treasurie. Wherein I appeal to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, who first declared his Majesties pleasure unto me, which I could not ascribe more to any Cause, then your Graces favour, and good opinion of me. And at my last being with your Grace, I began to speak with you of it, but finding your Grace to grow into some indisposition, I forbore, thinking it not only incivillitie, but a violence to have spoken any thing of my self to your Grace at that time. This I intreated Sir *George Goring* to relate unto your Grace, and withal to renew the professions of my love and reverence to your Graces person, which I had rather make good by real performances then by words, and therefore I will trouble your Grace no longer upon this subject.

I am now extreemly importuned by the Earl of *Middlesex* to sollicite his Majestie for the first testimonie of his gracious disposition towards him. And your Grace remembers, that in the beginning of his Lordships troubles, his Majestie commanded me to deliver unto his Majestie, whatsoever his Lordship should petition of him.

Now I humbly beseech your Grace to direct me what to do: His Lordship sues for his enlargement, and I know desires to derive that favour from his Majestie by your Graces mediation. And I am careful to perform all duties, my obedience to his Majestie, my respect to



*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

your Grace, and my care of him (that relieth upon me) being in affliction. And therefore I humbly beseech your Grace to vouchsafe me an answer to this particular, because his Majestie goeth from hence to morrow, and the Earl of *Middlesex* will languish with expectation till he receive some comfort from him. And so continually praying for the increase of your Graces health, I remain

Your Graces

Most humble servant,

29. May,  
1624.

*Richard Weston.*

*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Have according to his Majesties Command signified to me by Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, delivered to the Earl of *Middlesex* his Majesties pleasure concerning his Fine. The news of it did extremely dismay him, as being far contrary to his expectation. He used not many words; but thereof I having given Mr. Secretarie a particular account in answer of the charge I received from his Majestie, I will not trouble your Grace with the repetition of them.

The chief cause of this unto your Grace is, to acquaint your Grace with a short Dialogue that passed between Mr. *Brett* and me touching his Pension.

He sent his man to me this week to demand it; to whom I made this answer, That the charge of the Progresse being settled, I would consider of the payment of his Masters pension amongst others, before which time I could not in that case give satisfaction to any. He went away with this answer, and immediately after (within less then a quarter of an hour) Mr. *Brett* himself came to me, and asked me at the first word, Whether I had any Command to stay his Pension. I replied, No other command then the want of money. He told me, That the rest of his fellowes were paid: I said it was true, I was to have care of them that immediately followed his Majestie, when I was forced to intreat others to have patience till more moneyes came in. He asked me again, Whether I had any Command to stay his? I answered

red as before; wherewith he parted from me, as it seemed, not pleased.

This peradventure is not worth troubling your Grace withal, but that because his Majestie was pleased to acquaint me with his just indignation against him at *VVansteed*, I would be glad to receive some direction, what answer I shall make upon his next importunitie. And so humbly intreating your Grace ever to number me amongst those that do most honour and pray for you, I remain

Your Graces

Most humble and faithful  
servant,

*Chelsey* 23. *July*,  
1624.

*Richard VVeston.*

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*Sir Richard Weston to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I did scarce esteem my Letter worthie your Graces reading, much lesse worthie your paines to answer it. It is my duty upon all occasions great and small, to pay unto your Grace those observances I owe you. And when your Grace vouchsafes to take knowledge of them, it is your favour, and therefore I humbly thanke your Grace for vouchsafing an answer.

I have according to his Majesties commandement signified by your Grace unto me, taking the best order I can about the Wardship of the Ladie *Cravens* Son. The most of the Officers of the Court of Wardes being out of the town, I have spoken with Sir *Benjamin Ruddier*, who assured me, that there is nothing yet done, nor can be, till there be a master, or that the Officers meet together, and that he will take care that nothing shall be done to the prejudice of his Majestie.

And for the more Caution, I have commanded the Clerk of Court, if any man petition, or sue about the Wardship, that there be no proceeding till he acquaint me with it. This is all can be done for the present, and thereof I think fit to give your Grace account, in answer of the charge I have received from his Majestie. And so  
humbly

*Sir Francis Cottington to the Duke*

humbly craving leave to kisse your Graces hands, I wish your Grace continuall increase of honour and happinesse, and remain

Your Graces

Most humble and faithful  
Servant,

*Chelsey* 12<sup>th</sup>  
August 1624.

*Richard Weston.*

*Sir Francis Cottington to the Duke.*

*May it please your Honour,*

**M**Y last unto you was of the 23. of September by Mr. *Berrie*, who that day departed from hence towards England, with intention to take passage by Sea from *St. Sebastians* : and although I conceive, that this conveyance will be much speedier (it being by an extraordinarie dispatched for *Flanders*) yet for that I hold the other to be sure, I will not forbear to trouble your Honour with any repetition of that dispatch.

The strength and boldnesse of the Pyrats (or rather of the Turks) is now grown to that hieght both in the Ocean, & *Mediterranean* seas, as I have never known any thing to have wrought a greater sadnesse and distraction in the Court, then the daily advice thereof. Their whole Fleet consists of 40. Sail of tall ships, of between 200. and 400. tuns a piece ; Their Admiral of 500. tuns. They are divided into 2. Squadrons, the one of 18. Sail remaining before *Malaga* (in sight of the Citie) the other about the *Cape St. Marie*, which is between *Lisbone*, and *Sevil*. That Squadron within the *Straights* entred the rode of *Mosfil* (a Town by *Malaga*) wherewith their ordinance, they beat down a part of the Castle, and had doubtlesse taken the town, but that from *Granado* there came Souldiers to succor it ; yet they took there divers ships, and amongst them 3. or 4. of the west part of *England*. Two bigg English ships they drave on shoar, not past four Leagues from *Malaga* ; and after they went on shoar also, and burnt them, and to this day they remain before *Malaga*, intercepting all ships, that passe that way, and absolutely prohibiting all trade into those parts of *Spain*. The other Squadron at the *Cape St. Marie* doth there the like, intercepting all shipping whatsoever

soever. They lately met with seven sail of English ships, (all of London as I take it) but loaden only with pipestaves, which they had taken on the Coast of Ireland by the way. Five of these, viz. the *Marie Anne*, the *Marie* and *John*, the *Rebecca*, and *Gibbs* of Sandwich, and one *John Cheyney* of London they took, and the other two escaped. They robb'd them onely of their victuals, their Ordnance, and of some sayls, and so let them go, but in their company was also taken a great Ship of *Lubeck*, sayd to be very rich, which they still keep with all the men. They have few or no Christians aboard them, but all either *Turks*, or *Moores*, and the most part are of those, which of late years were turned out of Spain for *Moriscos*. They attend (as it seems) and as themselves report to them that have been aboard them (the coming of the *West Indian Fleet*, which is now very near.) But from hence they have commanded the *Armada* (which was divided into three Squadrons) to be joyned together, and advice is brought that it is so, and now consists of twenty strong ships; *Don John Faxardo* (the General) hath also expresse order to fight with the Pyrats, not admitting any excuse whatsoever, but the common opinion is here, that we will be able to do them little harm, because his ships are of great burthen, and they will be able to go from him at their pleasure. And the other Squadron within the *Straights* will alwaies be able to secure their retreat thither. I doubt not but in my next dispatch, I shall be able to tell your Honour what *Don John Faxardo* either hath or will do to them. If this year they safely return to *Argier* (especially if they should take any of the Fleet) it is much to be feared, that the King of Spains forces by Sea will not be sufficient to restrain them hereafter, so much sweetnesse they find by making prize of all Christians whatsoever. The Secretary of the Council of war, hath hereupon discoursed much unto me, and by him I perceive, that here is an intention, to move his Majestie (the King our Master) that he will be pleased to joyn some of his Sea-forces (upon good terms) with this King, for the suppressing of these Pyrats, if they should hereafter grow, and increase as hitherto they have done. Seeing they now professe themselves the common enemies of Christendom. Many reasons he gave me, that he thought might move his Majestie thereunto; but that whereon for my part I most reflect is, that these courses of the Pyrats, do but exercise the forces of the King of Spain by Sea, and put an obligation on him by all meanes to strengthen, and increase his *Armada*, and keep in practise his Sea-souldiers, without doing him any great harm, for that the greatest dammage will alwayes fall upon the Merchants that trade

into.



into those parts (of which the English will ever be the greatest number, and the greatest losers) And as for the taking of his Fleet, it is not to be imagined, for that besides, that they come very strong (consisting of 50 great ships, of which eight are Gallions of war) they shall alwayes be meet, and guarded by the *Armada*. Your Honour may be pleased to acquaint his Majestie with what I here write, for I perceive it is expected, that I should advertize what the Secretarie hath discoursed to me, which I would have done more at large; but I am straightned with want of time. Yet I may not forbear to advertize your Honour, that the said Secretarie told me withal, that the last year the States desired leave of this King for certain ships of war (which they had armed to Sea against *Pyrats*) might have safe recourse into these parts, which was accordingly granted them, but that instead of offending the *Pyrats*, the same ships sold in *Argeir* as much Powder, and other warlike provision (especially powder) unto the *Turks*, as furnished the foresaid Fleet which they have now at Sea, a thing which is here (he sayes) very ill taken. I doubt not but from *Piemount* your Honour hath better advertizement (at least more speedier) then I can give you from hence, yet have I thought it fit to advertize you, that in a late ambush, which the Duke of *Savoy* had layed, at *Don Pedro de Tolledo's* entrance into *Piemount*, the *Maestro de Campo* of the *Spanissh* armie was slain; the Son of the Prince of *Asoli* was hurt: so was the Prince of *Morvelles* (who serves this King there) and many other Captaines, and Gentlemen of note slain and hurt. They here say that the number of men *Don Pedro* lost was but few, but their custome is to dissemble their losses; howsoever it is to be conceived, that when so many principal men were touched, the common Souldiers could not well escape.

At *Lisbone* there is arrived two Caracks, and a Gallion from the *East-Indies*, the Caracks very rich, and much richer then in former years, but (as in a former Letter I advertised you) two others as rich as they, and that should have come in company with these, were cast away coming home.

*Don Roderigo Calderon* (now the Marquesse de *Las Siete Iglesias*) is suddenly commanded from this Court, and confined to a small Village, and Judges are appointed to examine by what means he is so suddenly grown to so great an estate (which in my time is risen from nothing to above 60000. Duckets a year rent, besides an infinite treasure in moveables) and doubtlesse some heaveie sentence will fall upon him, for he hath many enemies, and I understand that the Duke of *Lerma* hath much withdrawn his favour.

New supplies of Souldiers are here raised for the Governour of *Millan*, and 30. Companies are ready to be imbarqued at *Valentia*, where the Gallies attend them.

Here is lately come hither one who calls himself Sir *James Mackonnel* a Scotchman, and sayes he is Cousin german to the Earl of *Arguile*: I have not seen him, but I hear he discourses of his breaking out of the Castle of *Edenborough*, of the unjustnesse of his imprisonment there, of his integritie in the Popes Religion, and so desires to be entertained into this Kings service, which doubtlesse he shall obtain if he can make it here be believed, that he hath a true fugitives heart.

My Lord *Rosse* is now much hearkened after, and they think he staies very long. By the ordinarie (God willing) I shall write again to your Honour. And so for this time I humbly take my leave

Your Lordships

to be Commanded,

*Fran. Cottington.*

*Madrid* the first of  
Octob. 1616. *Stil. Ver.*

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*The Lord Viscount Rochfort to the Duke of  
Buckingham.*

*My Lord,*

I Have received great wrongs about my Lord of *Oxford* by reports, which can find no authour: yet have they wrought such impressions in the hearts of some, that it is hard to remove those Calumniation: for divers are possessed, that I am to be his accuser, which is so strange, and so maliciously bruited, that it is somewhat suspected; yet know I not any one particular, for which he is in the Tower, neither if I knew any such slip (in so noble a person as might deserve the Kings displeasure) would my nature give me leave to play the Informer, except it neerly concerned the safetie, or the honour of my King, and then should my discoverie be publique to the face, and not private behind the back, for that I account too base to be found faultie in.

E c

Sorry

*The Lord Viscount Rochfort to the Duke.*

Sorry I am to be so much as suspected, but since ill disposed persons will raise ill rumours without any ground, the cleernesse of my heart is sufficient content unto me; and as my heart hath been alwaies most faithful and watchful to do you service; so good my Lord, let me intreat you, that for my sake, my Lord of *Oxford* may receive some testimonies of your great favour for his speedy enlargement, and that it may appear, you are the more willing to do it, for my earnest intreatie. My Lord, you shall not onely hereby oblige all my Lord of *Oxford's* friends, but likewise the Lady *Diana's*, who doth lose a great deal of precious time by my Lords imprisonment, and therefore let all be arguments to excite your noble heart to procure his freedome. And so I kisse your hands, and rest

More yours

then his own,

H. R.

*Postscript.*

PRay make all haste from *Spain*, for neither are your pleasures and contents so great there, as you may find them here, neither have you so faithful friends there as you deserve; but sure I am you have many false ones. For I have work enough both in Court and Citie to falsifie their reports of you; yea some of them (about women) very base ones, and much tending to your great dishonour. And it goes currant among very great ones, that the Prince hath been somewhat displeased with you of late. I have sent you another Letter of larger contents, and I should be glad to hear from you.

King

*King James to Pope Gregorie 15<sup>th</sup>. 30. September, 1622.*

*James* by the Grace of God King of great *Brittain, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the faith, &c. To the most Holy Father Pope *Gregorie* the the 15<sup>th</sup>. greeting, and all manner of Felicitie.

*Most Holy Father,*

**Y**Our Holinesse will perhaps marvel, that we differing from you in point of Religion should now first salute you with our Letters. Howbeit such is the trouble of our mind for these calamitous discords and bloodsheds, which for these late years by past, have so miserably rent the Christian World, and so great is our care, and daily solicitude to stop the course of these growing evils betimes, so much as in us lies, as we could no longer abstain, considering that we all worship the same most blessed Trinitie, nor hope for salvation by any other means, then by the blood and merits of our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus; but breaking this silence to move your Holinesse by these our Letters friendly and seriously, that you would be pleased together with us to put your hand to so pious a work, and so worthy of a Christian Prince.

It is truly to be wished, and by all means to be endeavoured, that this mischief creep on no farther, but that these storms at the last ceasing, and the rancor being removed, by which they were at the first raised, the hearts of these Princes, whom it any way concerns, may be re-united in a firm and unchangeable friendship, and as much as may be knit together in stricter obligations then before, one unto another.

This we have alwaies had in our desires, and to bring it to passe, have not hitherto spared any labour, or pains, not doubting but your Holinesse out of your singular pietie, and for the credic and authoritie that you have with the parties, both may and will further this work in an extraordinary manner. No way can any man better merit of the state of Christendome, which if it shall take the desired effect in your daies, and by your assistance your Holinesse shall worthily reap the glorie and the reward due to so excellent a work.



*Pope Gregorie the 15<sup>th</sup>. to the Prince of Wales.*

That which remains for us further to say concerning this matter, this Gentleman our Subject *George Gage* will deliver unto you more at large. Praying your Holinesse, that you will give him in all things full credence and belief, beseeching Almighty God from our heart to preserve you in safetie, and to grant you all other happinesse.

From our Palace at *Hampton Court* the last of Septemb. 1622.

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*Pope Gregorie the 15<sup>th</sup>. to the Prince of Wales.*

*Most Noble Prince, Health and light of Divine Grace, &c.*

**G**REAT *Brittain* abounding with worthy men, and fertile virtues, so that the whole earth is full of the glorie of her renown, induceth many times the thoughts of the great Shepherd to the consideration of her praises. In regard that presently in the infancie of his Church, the King of kings vouchsafed to choose her with so great affection for his inheritance, that almost it seems there entred into her at the same time the Eagles of the *Roman* Standard, and the Ensigns of the Crosse. And not few of her Kings indoctrinated in the true knowledge of Salvation gave example of Christian pietie to other Nations, and after-ages, preferring the Crosse to the Scepter, and the defence of Religion to the desire of Command. So that meriting heaven thereby (the Crown of eternal blisse) they obtained likewise upon earth the lustre, and glorious ornaments of sanctitie. But in this time of the *Brittanicks* Church, how much is the case altered? yet we see that to this day the English Court is fenced and guarded with moral virtues, which were sufficient motives to induce us to love this Nation, it being some ornament to the Christian name, if it were likewise a defence and sanctuarie of Catholique virtues.

Wherefore the more the glorie of your most Serene Father, and the property of your naturall disposition delighteth us, the more ardently we desire, that the gates of Heaven should be opened unto you, and that you should purchase the universal love of the Church. For whereas, that the Bishop *Gregorie* the Great of most pious memorie introduced amongst the English people, and taught their Kings the Gospel, and a reverence to the *Apostolical* Authority, we much inferiour to him in virtue, and sanctity, as equal in name, and height of dignity, it is reason we should follow his most holy steps, and procure

procure the salvation of those Kingdomes, especia<sup>l</sup>lie (most Serene Prince) there being great hopes offered to us at this time of some successeful issue of your determination.

Wherefore you having come to *Spain* and the Court of the Catholique King, with desire to match with the house of *Austria*, it seemed good to use most affectionately to commend this your intent, and to give clear testimony, that at this time your person is the most principal care that our Church hath. For seeing you pretend to match with a Catholique Damosel, it may easily be presumed, that the antient seed of Christian pietie, which so happilie flourished in the minds of *British* Kings, may by Gods Grace reverberate in your breast. For it is not probable, that he, that desires such a wife, should abhor the Catholique religion, and rejoyce at the overthrow of the holy *Romane* Church. To which purpose we have caused continual prayers to be made, and most vigilant orisons to the Father of Lights for you (fair flower of the Christian world, and only hope of great *Brittain*) that he would bring you to the possession of that most Noble inheritance, which your Ancestors got you by the defence of the Apostolique authority, and destruction of monsters of hærises. Call to memorie the times of old; ask your forefathers, and they will shew you what way leads to heaven, and perceiving what path mortal Princes passe to the Heavenly Kingdom, behold the Gates of heaven open. Those most holy Kings of *England*, which parting from *Rome* accompanied with Angels, most piously revered the Lord of Lords, and the Prince of the Apostles in his Chair. Their works and examples are mouthes wherewith God speaks, and warneth you, that you should imitate their customes in whose Kingdomes you succeed.

Can you suffer that they be called Heretiques, and condemned for wicked men, when the faith of the Church testifieth, that they reign with Christ in Heaven, and are exalted above all the Princes of the Earth, and that they at this time reached you their hands from that most blessed Country, and brought you safely to the Court of the Catholique King, and desire to turn you to the womb of the *Romane* Church; wherein praying most humbly with most unspeakable groans to the God of mercy for your salvation, to reach you the arms of Apostolical charity to imbrace most lovingly your children, so often desired, and to poynt out as it were with a finger the blessed hopes of Heaven. And truly you could do no act of greater comfort to all Nations of Christendom, then to return the possession of those most Noble Isles to the Prince of the Apostles, whose authori-

*The Princes answer to the Popes Nuntio &c.*

ty for so many ages. was held in *England* for the defence of the Kingdom, and divine Oracle, which will not be uneasie to do if you open your breast (upon which depends the prosperity of those Kingdoms) to God who is knocking. And we have so great desire of the honour and exaltation of your Royal Name, that we wish, that you should be called through thee whole world (together with your most Serene Father) the Freer of Great *Britain*, and restorer of her antient Religion. Whereof we will not lose all hopes, putting them in mind in whose hands the hearts of Kings lie, and he that rules all nations of the world, by whose Grace we will with all possible diligence labour to effect it. And you cannot choose but acknowledge in these Letters the care of our Apostolical charity to procure your happiness, which it will never repent us to have written, if the reading thereof shall at leastwise stir some sparks of Catholique religion in the heart of so Great a Prince, who we desire may enjoy Eternal comforts, and flourish with the Glorie of all virtues. Given in *Rome* in the Palace of *St. Peter* the 20. of April 1623. In the third of our *Pontificado*.

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*The Princes answer to the Popes Nuntio that brought him this Letter.*

**I** Kisse his Holinesse Feet for the favour and honour he doth me, so much the more esteemed, by how much the lesse deserved of me hitherto. And his Holinesse shall see what I do hereafter, and I think my Father will do the like. So that his Holinesse shall not repent him of what he hath done.

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*The Prince of Wales his Reply to the Popes Letter.*

*Most Holy Father,*

**I** Received the Dispatch from your Holinesse with great content, and with that respect which the pietie and care wherewith your, Holinesse writes, doth require: It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to read the generous exploits of the Kings my predecessours, in whose memorie, posterity hath not given those praises and Elogies of honour as were due to them: I do believe that your Holinesse hath set their examples before my eyes, to the end I might imitate them in all  
my

my actions, for in truth they have often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the holy Chair; and the courage with which they have assaulted the enemies of the Crosse of Jesus Christ, hath not been lesse then the care and thought which I have, to the end that the peace and intelligence which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a true and strong concord: for as the common enemy of the peace watcheth alwaies to put hatred and dissention amongst Christian Princes, so I believe that the glory of God requires that we should endeavour to unite them: And I do not esteem it a greater honour to be descended from so great Princes, then to imitate them in the zeal of their piety. In which it helps me very much to have known the mind and will of our thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the holy intentions of his Catholique Majestie to give a happy concurrence to so laudable a design: for it grieves him exceedingly to see the great evils that grow from the division of Christian Princes, which the wisdom of your Holinesse foresaw, when it judged the marriage which you pleased to design between the Infanta of *Spain* and my self, to be necessary to procure so great a good; for 'tis very certain, that I shall never be so extreemly affectionate to any thing in the world, as to endeavour alliance with a Prince that hath the same apprehension of the true Religion with my self: Therefore I intreat your Holinesse to believe, that I have been alwaies very far from Novelties, or to be a partisan of any faction against the Catholick, Apostolick Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have sought all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest upon me, and that I will imploy my self for the time to come, to have but one Religion and one Faith, seeing that we all believe in one Jesus Christ. Having resolved in my self, to spare nothing that I have in the world, and to suffer all manner of discommodities, even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing unto God: It rests onely that I thank your Holinesse, for the permission you have been pleased to afford me, and I pray God to give you a blessed health and his glory after so much pains which your Holinesse takes in his Church.

Signed,

*Charles Steward.*

*The*



*The Pope to the Duke of Buckingham.*

*Gregorie P. P. XV.*

*Nobleman, health and the light of Divine Grace.*

**T**He authority wherein we have understood your Nobleneſſe to flourish in the *Brittiſh* Court, is accounted not onely the reward of your merits, but alſo the patronage of virtue; certainly an excellent renown, and every way ſo worthy, that the people deſire a diuturnity to be annexed unto it. But it is almoſt ineffable, what an increaſe of glory thoroughout the world would be annexed unto it, if by Gods favour it ſhould become the defence of Catholique Religion.

Certainly you have gained an opportunity by which you may infer your ſelf into the Councils of thoſe Princes, who obtaining an immortal name, have attained the Celeſtial Kingdom.

Suffer not then (O Nobleman) this occaſion preſented to you from God, and commended by the Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſlip out of your hands.

You that are privie to their royal Councils cannot chooſe but know in what eſtate the affaires of *Brittain* at this time ſtand, and with what voyces of the Holy Ghoſt (ſpeaking in them) they daily found in the ears of your Princes. What Glorie would redound unto your Name, if by your exhortation and perſwaſion, the Engliſh Kings ſhould again recover their Celeſtial inheritance of that Glorie left unto them by their Anceſtours in thoſe Kingdomes in abundant manner, by providing for the increaſe of Gods Worſhip, and by not only defending, but propagating the jurisdiction of the Pontifical authority. There have been many, and ſhall be hereafter, whom the bonntie of Kings hath enriched with fading riches, and advanced to envied titles, and yet mindful poſterity will not celebrate your name with eternal Prayſes for having attayned theſe: but if your Councils ſhould rednce thoſe moſt powerſul Kings and people unto the boſom of the *Romane* Church, the name of your Nobleneſſe would be written in the book of the living, whom the torment of Death toucheth not, and the Monuments of Hiftories, ſhall place you amongſt thoſe wiſe men in whoſe ſplendor Kings walked; but with what comforts in this life, and what rewards in the life to come, God who is rich in mercy would reward you, they eaſily ſee, who know the art, and force by which the Kingdom of heaven is conquered. It is not only our Pontifical charity (to whoſe care the ſalvation of mankind pertaineth)

taineth) but also the piety of your Mother, who as she brought you into the world, so she desireth to bear you again to the *Romane* Church, which she acknowledgeth for her mother, that moved us to desire, that you were made Partakers of so great felicity. Therefore when our beloved son the religious man *Didacus de la Fuente*, who hath wisely administred the affaires of your Princes in this City) prepared his journie for *Spain*, we commanded him to come unto your Noblenesse, and present these our Apostolical Letters, by which the Greatnesse of our Pontifical charity, and the desire of your salvation may be declared. Your Noblenesse may therefore heare him as the interpreter of our mind, and as one indued with these virtues which have won him the love of forraign nations being a Catholique, and religious priest: He certainly hath reported those things of you in these parts of the world, that he is worthie to be imbraced of you with singular affection, and defended by your authority being a servant to the Glorie, and salvation of the *Brittish* Kings, and people. This thing truly will we pray for to the father of mercies that he will open to your Noblenesse the gates of his Coelestial kingdom, and afford you frequent Documents of his Clemency. Given at *Rome* at *St. Marie the Greater* under the Ring of the *Fisberman* the 19. of May. 1623. and of our *Popedom* the third,

*John Champolus.*

To his Sacred Majestie ab ignoto.

*My most Gracions King,*

THESE things which your Majestie did lately command to be spoken unto you, and now to be repeated in writing, are not such as they can be made by legal and Judicial proofes, both because they by whose testimony they may be confirmed, do for fear of a most potent adversarie withdraw themselves. And also because they think it a crime to come into the Embassadours house, yea even they are afraid to do it, who have commandement from your Majestie; but neither was it lawful for the Embassadours themselves to speak these things, especially not to such as they directed, when the order of the affaires required it, because they had never the freedom to speak unto your Majestie, and no audience was given or granted

them in the absence of the Duke of *Buckingham*. An example certainly unusual with other Kings, and never to be taken in good part, unless it be perhaps, when the King himself wanting experience, and being of weak judgment and no wisdom, some one, that is familiar, and inward with the King, a man wise and circumspect, of great judgment and no less experience, supplies the Kings place. But here, when all things go preposterously, and the King himself being a most prudent, and experienced Prince, he that is familiar, or favorite doth in all things shew himself, a rash, headie young man, a Novice in managing of business, and to the Crown of *Spain* most offensive. Certainly by all just right, this man was to be kept away from the audience of the Embassadour of the State. We may also be bold to say, that his presence so earnestly desired of him doth argue a great fear in him, and a great distrust in him, as well of his own upright conscience, as also the Kings wisdom. Hence therefore it is come to passe, that your Majesties most faithful Vassals dare not so much as indirectly disclose their minds to the King, though they take it in very ill part, that a very good King should be driven into such streights. And that a man pleasing himself in his own designs, should use the favours of Princes so sinisterly, that he doth of set purpose stir up breach of friendship, and enmity between most Mighty Kings.

Besides, who can without a discontented mind endure, that the greatest affaires, and of greatest moment (if any in the Christian world can be so termed) shall be ordered, or concluded at the pleasure of your Parliament, and from thence all things carried on with a headlong violence, at his will and pleasure, and a most deadly war to be preferred before a most happy Peace. When as neverthelesse, I am not ignorant, that not so much the restitution of the *Palatinate*, as the very claime to it, will very difficultly be obtained, or recovered by force of armes. Let your Majestie exactly consider as it useth to do, whether this be not an evident argument of that I have said, that the conference, or treatie about the *Palatinate* was taken from the Council of State, a society of most prudent men, only for this cause, that almost everie one of them, had with one consent approved the proposition of the most Catholique King, and did not find in it any cause of dissolving that treaty. Hereupon the Parliament of this Kingdom was procured by the Duke, because he thought his plots would be most acceptable to the Puritans, not without great injury to your Council of State, from which he fled, and disclaimed by way of an appeale, and with such successe, that we may be bold to say, that the Parliament is now above the King; Nay, which is more, that this daring



daring Duke propounded many things to the Parliament in the Kings name, your Majestie being neither acquainted with them nor willing to them. Yea and that he propounded many things contrary to your Majesties service. Who is there that doth not see, and commend the royal disposition of the Prince, adorned with so great endowments, of his mind, that he doth not in them all shew, and approve himself to be a very good son, of a very good King. And yet nevertheless, that the Duke doth so much presume upon his favour, that he contemneth all men, as knowing that those, who are obedient to his Highnesse, will also subject themselves to his will. I would to God, he did direct those his actions, to the good of the Prince. But that is a thing so far from the opinion of good men, that they rather believe, that he, who hath overthrown the marriage with *Spain*, will be of no lesse power to the breaking of any other marriage, and that is it which many do prophesie.

They knew in *Spain*, that very same day, that he had received Letters from the most illustrious Prince *Palatine*, that he caused the procuration to be revoked, and in a few dayes after, when the coming of the foresaid Princes Secretarie, and the confirmation of his hope of having his Daughter married to her Highnesse son, all things were utterly dashed in pieces. Let your Majestie have a care of your self, and the Prince, and foresee the hurts, and damages, which a man of such a turbulent humour may stir up; whose headie spirit your Majestie saith you have noted, and have desired to mittigate.

A man (I say) that is ambitious of popular ayr, as plainly appeared in Parliament, when the casting of all odious matter upon your Majestie, he did arrogate the thanks of all things that were acceptable, to himself, being stiled the redeemer of his countrie. I say again, a man that hath envied so great a good to the Christian world, and principally to the kingdomes of *England* and *Spain*, having used some certain meanes, which do argue, that he aymed at such an end, as many already do fear, and to prophesie in it the worst event that can be, if the Puritans desire a kingdome (which they do against their wills) they wish it not to the most illustrious Prince, the best and true Heir of your Majestie, but to the Prince *Palatine*, whose spie and Scout *Mansfelt* is, what shew soever he makes. He that makes these things known to your Majestie dischargeth the part of a good man, as well towards God, as your Majestie, and the illustrious Prince, whom it now standeth in hand to foresee the vengeance of God provided by the Dukes plots, and the furie of the Parliament, there having been so many, and so great testimonies published against *Spain*



contrarie to truth, so many, and so frequent infamous Libels begotten and brought forth, and many such other things so full of bitterness, and ignominie, that they cannot be read even of our enemies, without some taint upon the English Nation.

It is most apparent, and stories will testifie, that here Leagues have been broken by the will and pleasure of them, whom it especiallie concerneth to provide for your peace, and quiet, and to wish from the bottom of their hearts, that after many, and these most happie, yeares, that Motto of yours (blessed be the Peace-makers) might be verified in Letter of the person of your Majestie, and to propound the same Counsel to the most illustrious Prince to be imitated, which your Majestie hath done to the whole world to be commended, and admired. A happie Prince will he be, if he comes, and succeeds peaceably into the hereditarie possession of his kingdom, and which will be of no lesse advantage to him, having his peace established with those Princes, whose friendship and amitie your Majestie hath procured, and deserved. He would certainly love and commend those that had given him those Counsels of peace. Peace and tranquillitie are by hereditarie right devolved to the most illustrious Prince, in as much as he is born of the Father, who hath with so much industrie procured them, not onely to this Island, but to the continent also, esteeming them at a higher value, then his kingdoms themselves.

Which since it is thus, and that the blood of his Father, which is in him, and the love wherewith he is carried towards your Majestie, and the experience of this your most happie Government, and that great example wherewith your Majestie hath drawn, and won the Christian world to an admiration, and love of you, did all direct the most illustrious Prince with a kind of connatural motion to the same Counsel, and purpose of peace, as might have heretofore been likewise hoped. Certainly this Machination is very strong, violent, and mighty, which doth suddainely labour to turn him into a clean contrarie course.

And questionlesse if the very entrance into a war, the war it self if it want justice, it will want also happie successe. It cannot be unknown to your Majestie, that the Duke of *Buckingham* carrieth himself so lofty; that he would have all men perswaded that he hath, and doth exercise a kind of dominion, over the will of your Majestie, and of his Highnesse. All things shall be made manifest to your Majestie, if you will have them so; for there are not meanes wanting, whereby you may free your vassal from fear and diffidence, who

will

will otherwise dare nothing, nor say nothing, which certainly appears so far to be true, that when all things standing as they do, it is an easie matter to find who will speak against your Majestie, yet there is none that dare speak against the Duke.

Let your Majestie call some certain men unto you, and sift out of them, the opinion of the more moderate Parliament, and enquire of those that come out of *Spain*, who did first give the first cause of falling out? whether the Complaints against the King of *Spain* be true, or no? whether that foresaid King were not desirous to satisfie the desire of the Prince his Highnesse? Whether he did not faithfully endeavour to effect the marriage? Whether the Duke of *Buckingham* did not many things against the authoritie and reverence due to the most illustrious Prince? Whether he was not wont to be sitting, whilest the Prince stood, and was in presence, and also having his feet resting upon another seat, after an undecent manner? Whether when the Prince was uncovered, whilest the Queen, and Infanta, looked out at the Windowes he uncovered his head, or no? Whether sitting at the Table with the Prince he did not behave himself unreverently? Whether he were not wont to come in to the Princes Chamber with his cloathes half on, so that the doors could not be opened to them that came to visit the Prince from the King of *Spain*, the Door-keepers refusing to go in for modesties sake? Whether he did not call the Prince by ridiculous names? Whether he did not dishonour and prophane the Kings Palace with base and contemptible women? Whether he did not divers obscene things, and used not immodest gesticulations and wanton Tricks with Players in the presence of the Prince? Whether he did not violate his faith given to the *Conde Olivares*? Whether he did not presently communicate his discontents, offences and complaints to the Embassadors of other Princes? Whether in doing of his businesse, he did not use frequent threatenings unto the Catholique Kings Ministers, and to Apostolical Nuns? Whether he did not affect to sit at Playes presented in the Kings Palace after the manner and example of the King, and Prince, being not contented with the honour that is ordinarily given to the High Steward, or *Major domo* of the Kings house. Besides all these things which have heretofore been told your Majestie, there is yet this more, that is new:

That the Duke of *Buckingham* (with what intention let others judge) hath divulged in Parliament some secret Treatie negotiated betwixt your Majestie and the King of *Spain* touching the affaires of *Holland*; the secrecie whereof, neverthelesse your Majestie had so recommended.

*To the King, ab ignoto.*

recommended, that besides the King, and the *Conde of Olivares*, no man in *Spain* knew of it.

If the Duke do not appear guilty of all these things, let him be still your Majesties most faithful servant, and let your Majestie yet confer upon him greater Honours, if you can. For I would have these things conceived to be spoken for the securitie of your Majestie; not for the hurt of him, to whom I wish prosperitie, if by him the Christian world might be in prosperitie.

It onely remaineth, that your Majestie will be pleased to take in good part this my service and obedience shewed to your Commandements.

*To the King, ab ignoto.*

*Best, and most excellent King,*

**Y**OU will wonder that he who at first protesteth to be neither Papist nor Puritan, *Spaniard* nor *Hollander*, or yet in any *delirium* fit, should presume in this Libel-like way, to lay down to your Majestie the strong zeal he beareth to the safetie of your Majestie, and his Countrie, by shewing in this dark Tablet (drawn by the worst Painter) the common opinion of all those which are not possessed as above.

They say, the businesse of greatest consequence, that ever your Majestie handled, is now at point to go well, or ill. The marriage, or none, and (as it is carried) a present War, or a continued Peace. The match of your son, they wish you may perfect in your own time, and think that for the quiet of your self and Kingdomes, the shortest time the best: And that this already traced will far sooner piece, then any new one have beginning and accomplishment.

They fear this suspension carried by *Killegrew* was brought by *Buckingham*, not for what he pretends, and plainly say, It was not onely to prevent his Highnesse marriage there, but any where.

Whereby, 1. His particular greatnesse may still stand absolute.

2. His Wife, and Tribe still present the Princeesse person.

3. And your Majestie be, and remain their Pupil.

The Parliament so much urged, they say, is to be a marrying his Mightinesse unto the Common Weal, that as your Majestie is his good

good Father, It may be his Mother, and so he stand not only by the King, but by the People, and popular humour, that he hath lately so earnestly courted, and especially from those who are noted to be of the most troubled humour.

How your Majestie should gain upon a Parliament they cannot imagine, seeing all are resolved to sell your Courtesies at the dearest rate both by ill words, and for double as much again, the humour of it being so inconstant, that twenty to one, but those very tongues, which in the last did cry *War, War, War*, will now curse him that urgeth for one poor Subsidie to raise a War. And miserable is he, that is to make a War, or to defend against it, with money that is to be given, and gathered from them.

They say, our Great Duke hath certainly a brave desire to War, but in that also, he hath some great end of enriching himself, which he too well loveth, being carried away with that sweet sound, how *Nottingham* gained yearly during that sicknesse 40000 l. by his Admirals place; but what his Majestie gained, they find not in the Exchequer or Kingdome.

Somewhat also they fear this his Graces precipitate humour, and change of humour, hath of pride, to shew his power as great here, as is *Olivares* his there, as also of revenge against him in particular. For were it love to his now much beloved Countrie, they say, there was as much reason for breach both of the Match, and Peace when the Parliament urged it, as there is now.

They say, There is a rumour of his Graces, a match for his *Mary* with the young *Palatine*. It is no *Gorgon*; and will concern his Highnesse, if they that are now our best friends the *Hollanders* should change their Copie.

In this his Highnesse coming off from *Spain*, they say, He hath advised him to no worse then he did himself; for how many did he desflour, abuse, and coulsen with marriage, by his grace in Court, and power with your Majestie?

In short, your Subjects that have sence of your estate, do most earnestly beseech your Majestie, to have more especial care of your own preservation, then ordinarily you have, both in respect of the desperate staggering which their Priests now stand in, and of your own *Phaeton* himself, who in truth wanteth nothing of man enough but a good nature, and being in custome to carry all with a high hand, must be desperate if he fail in any *Punto* of his violent will.

We know your Majestie according to the sweetnesse and virtue of  
your



your Nature, agreeing with Gods blessed Will, hath long preserved your people in all peace and plentie. And all good and sensible people pray you even for Gods sake not to be coufened of your own life and liberty. Oh be not mislead to trouble your own Kingdoms quiet, but that after many and many a happie year you may die happily in peace.

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*To his Sacred Majestie, ab ignoto.*

*May it please his most excellent Majestie to consider,*

**T**HAT this great opposition against the Duke of *Buckingham* is stirred up and maintained by such, who either maliciously, or ignorantly and concurrently seek the debasing of this free Monarchie, which because they find not yet ripe to attempt against the King himself, they endeavour it through the Dukes side. These men though agreeing in one mischief, yet are of divers sorts and humours, *viz.*

1. Medling, and busie persons, who took their first hint at the beginning of King *James*, when the union was treated of in Parliament. That learned King gave too much way to those popular speeches, by the frequent proof he had of his great abilities in that kind.

Since the time of *H. 6.* these Parliamentary discourfings were never suffered, as being the certain symptomes of subsequent rebellions, civil Wars, and the dethroning of our Kings. But these last 20 years most of the Parliament men seek to improve the reputation of their wisdomes by these Declamations, and no honest Patriot dare oppose them, lest he incur the reputation of a Fool, or a Coward in his Countries Cause.

2. Covetous Landlords, Inclosers, Depopulators, and Justices of the Peace, who have got a habit of Omniregencie, and an hope to extend the same against the King in Parliament, as they do on his Subjects in the Countrey. Hereby the King loseth 24000 l. in every whole Subsidie; for *Anno 1600.* it was 80000 l. and now it is but 56000 l. which cometh by the decay of the yeomandry, who were three and four pound men. And these Gentlemen (most of them of the Parliament) do ease themselves to afflict those who are the true Commons, and yet perswade them, that the grievances are caused by the Duke, and the ill government of the King.

3. Recu-

3. Recusants and Church Papists, whose hatred is irreconcilable against the Duke for the breach of the *Spanish Match*. The *French Lady*, though as zealous a Catholique, doth not please him, for they were tyed to *Spain* by their hopes of a change of Religion that way. All the Priests are sent from the *Spanish* Dominions, and the sons and daughters of the Papists remain as hostages of their fidelities in the Colledges and Nunneries of the King of *Spain*. And though the Papists have no place in the house of Commons, yet privately they aggravate all scandals against the Duke, to kindle a separation between the King and his people, and avert them from enabling the King to resist, or be avenged of our great enemy. Remember the course held by these men in the Parliament of undertakers; also Dr. *Egleham* and all the Priests daily practice libelling against all great men about the King.

4. Needy and indebted persons in both Houses, who endeavour by these Parliamentary stirres not so much the Dukes overthrow, as a rebellion, which they hope will follow if it be not done. This is much to be suspected, as well by their Calumniation against his Majesty, as for their own wants; many of them being outlawed, and not able to shew their heads, but in Parliament time by priviledge thereof and they know, that there are enough to follow them in the same mischief.

5. Puritans and all other Sectaries, who though scarce two of them agree in what they would have, yet they all in general are haters of Government. They begun in Parliament about *Anno 23. Eliz.* and spit their venom not only against the Bishops, but also against the Lord Chancellour *Hatton*, and others, the Queens favourites, and Councillours, as they do now against the Clergie and the Duke. But their main discontentment is against the Kings Government, which they would have extinguished in matters Ecclesiastical, and limited in Temporal. This is a fearful and important Consideration. because it pretends Conscience and Religion, and they now more deadly hate the Duke, because he sheweth himself to be no Puritan, as they hoped he would at his return from *Spain*.

6. Malecontents censured or decourted for their deserts, as the kindred and dependants of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and of Sir *Henry Yelverton*, *Coke*, *Lake*, *Middlesex*, though all of them (the last excepted) were dejected by King *James* without any Concurrence of the Duke. Others because they are not preferred, as they do imagine that they deserve, as the Lord *Say*, Earl of *Clare*, Sir *John Eliot*, *Selden*, and *Glanville*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Lincoln*.

These, and many others, according to the nature of envy, look upon every one with an evil eye, especially upon the Duke, who either hath, or doth not prefer them to those places, or retain them in them, which their ambition expecteth.

7. Lawyers in general, for that (as Sir *Edward Cook* could not but often expresse) our Kings have upholden the power of their Prerogatives, and the rights of the Clergie, whereby their comings in have been abated. And therefore the Lawyers are fit ever in Parliaments to second any Complaint against both Church, and King, and all his servants, with their Cases, Antiquities, Records, Statutes, Presidents, and Stories. But they cannot, or will not call to mind, that never any Nobleman in favour with his Sovereign was questioned in Parliament, except by the King himself in case of Treason, or unlesse it were in the nonage, and tumultuous times of *Rich. 2. Hen. 6. or Edw. 6.* which happened to the destruction both of the King and Kingdom. And that not to exceed our own, and Fathers memories, in King *Hen. 8.* time *Wolfies* exorbitant power and pride, and *Cromwells* contempt of the Nobility and the Lawes, were not yet permitted to be discussed in Parliament, though they were most odious and grievous to all the Kingdom. And that *Leicester's* undeserved favour, and faults; *Hatton's* insufficiency, and *Rawleigh's* insolence far exceeded, what yet hath been (though most fallly) objected against the Duke: yet no Lawyer durst abet, nor any man else begin any Invectives against them in Parliament.

8. The Merchants and Citizens of *London* convinced (not by the Duke, but) by *Cranfield* and *Ingram*, to have deceived the King of Imposts and Customs, and deservedly fearing to be called to account for undoing all the other Cities and good Towns, and the poor Colonie of *Virginia*, as also for transporting of our silver into the *East-Indies*; these vent their malice upon the Duke in the *Exchange, Pauls, Westminster-Hall*, with their suggestions, and therein they wound, both to Subjects and strangers the honour of his Majestie, and his proceedings.

9. Innovators, *Plebicola*, and King-haters. At the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth* it was a phrase to speak, yea to pray for the Queen and State. This word (*State*) was learned by our neighbourhood and Commerce with the Low-Countries, as if we were, or affected to be governed by States. This the Queen saw, and hated. And the old Earl of *Oxford* his Propositions at her death, they awakened King *James* to prevent this humour, and to oppose the conditions and limitations presented unto him by the Parliaments.

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The Lawyers, Citizens, and Western men (who are most hot infected with Puritanisme) stood strong against him under a colour of Parliaments, and Parliamentary priviledges. His Majestie therefore strengthened himself ever with some Favourite, as whom he might better trust then many of the Nobility tainted with this desire of Oligarchie. It behoveth without doubt his Majestie to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but decourted, it will be the Corner stone on which the demolishing of his Monarchie will be builded. For, if they prevail with this, they have hatched a thousand other demands to pull the feathers of the Royalty, they will appoint him Councillours, Servants, Alliances, Limits of his expences, Accompts of his Revenue, chiefly if they can (as they mainly desire) they will now dazle him in the beginning of his reign.

10. King *James* and King *Charles* lastly, are the Dukes Accusers; (my meaning is, with all humble reverence to their Honours, and Memories, and to speak in the sence of the House of Commons) both their Majesties are *Conjuncta Persona* in all the aspersions that are laid upon the Duke. For instance, The Parliaments money destined for the Wars, spent in the Treaties, Messages, Embassadors, and Entertainments of the Kings marriage, and the burial of his Father, and the War in the name of the Count *Palatine*, the Breach of both the Treaties, which then Canonized the Duke, but now is made evidence against him; the Honours and Offices conferred upon him by King *James*, That his Majestie might with his own Councils direct their managing, the setting forth of the Navy, though to the Duke's great charge by both their Commandments; the Match with *France*, and generally whatsoever hath not been successeful to mens expectations. All these, though the Acts of the Kings, are imputed to the Duke, who if he suffer for obeying his Sovereigns, the next attempt will be to call the King to accompt for any thing he undertakes, which doth not prosperously succeed as all men would desire it.

If it please his Majestie to remove, and set aside all these disadvantages, He shall find the Charge laid against the Duke will prove very empty, and of small moment. And for them, if his Majestie and the Duke's Grace think it no impeachment to their Honors, all that the Parliament hath objected against the Duke, is pardoned at the Kings Coronation, which benefit every poor Subject enjoyeth. Three things onely excepted which may most easily be answered.



## Mr. Ch. Th. to the Duke of Buckingham.

*My Lord,*

IT is intimated to your Lordship, first, that you would procure his Majestie to desire the Lords to choose six ( or so many as you shall think fit) of whom they have most confidence to attend him to morrow morning, to whom his Majestie may be pleased to declare; That he hath endeavoured to divert the charges against your Lordship, because his Majestie hath had sound knowledge, and experience of the service, and fidelity (though in outward shew the contrarie might justly appear) and because also he saw, it was urged with a great deal of private spleen, and perhaps not without some Papistical device of troubling his Majesties businesse in Parliament, but seeing no suite, or perswasion could prevail to appease the distempered course, his Majestie is now forced, and so pleased to reveal some secrets, and *Arcana* of State, which otherwise in the wisdom of Kings were unfit to be opened. Here his Majestie may let them know, that the King his Father finding the *Palatinate* more then in danger to be lost, and after his Majestie being in *Spain*, and there deluded, and his abode, and return, both unsafe. It was a necessity of State to sweeten, and content the *Spaniards* with a hope of any thing that might satisfie and redeem those engagements, and therefore willed your Lordship to yield discretely to what you should find they most desired, and this was chiefly the point of religion; so as in this and all of the like kind, your Lordship (upon his Majesties knowledge) was commanded, and but the instrument trusted by your Master in this exigent, or (if you will) extremitie. And this with other more Potent overtures (such as your Lordship best understands) may Cancel all those objections of that nature. Upon this same ground, though not in so high a degree, the sending of the ships to *Rochel* may be excused (and this is not the least fault objected in the opinion of the wisest.) Touching the vast creation of Nobility his Majestie may ask those six Lords (whereof perchance some of them may be concerned in this article,) whether they conceive any reason of King *James* his doing herein; to which I suppose, they will stand mute. Then his Majestie may say, I will tell you, and therein discover a truth, and a secret of State. My Father who was born a King, and had long experience of that Regiment, especially more traversed in this point, then perhaps ever any King, found that this State inclined much to Popularitie, a thing apparent universallie in all the Courts, viz. in that of Star-chamber, which was

at first erected to restrain the insolence of Great men, in great outrages, but now for every pettie offence, the meanest Tennant may be bold to call thither his Lord. A thing also appearing in the sawcie approaches of the Puritans upon the Bishops &c; and plainly in the boldnesse of the house of Commons against the Kings pattents, and edicts, which in all good times (out of their necessity) have been powerful. And especiallie this humour hath been comforted by the sturdie example of the Neighbour States of the Low-countries, as in their insolencies in the *East-Indies* &c. From this place an inticing voice hath sounded in our eares of libertie and freedom, though indeed a feigned voyce, and (but in sound) unsound. I say when the king my Father had well beheld these things, he could not foresee a remedie more proper, or easier, as being unserviceable and in his own gripe, then to enlarge the number of his Nobles, that these being dispersed into several Counties might as lambs of Soveraigntie, in protection of their own degrees, and at their own charge inure the people with respect, and obedience to greatnesse; and yet not to amate, and discourage them, he thought good to raise some neer, or of their own rank, whereby they might see themselves in possibility of the like honour, if either by virtue, wealth, or honestie they make themselves worthie. This I protest was a child of my Fathers best judgment in this poynt, and the Duke but the instrument thereof. And if you say, that there was many many times given for these Honours, nay if you say, that mony hath been given for places of Clergie, and Judicature; I pray take this of me, that this is so in all other Countries, as in *France*, and *Spain*. And those Councels seem a little to smile at our dulnesse, that we have so lately apprehended their soundnesse herein; for (say they) when men pay well for such places, it is the best kind of security for their honesties, especially when sayling in their dutie, they shall be sure to be as much punished as they were advanced. Howbeit I am not satisfied in this opinion. And if it be said that the King should have had the mony, which the Duke took to his own use; I believe this last is more, then any can prove, neither will I deliver what I know therein. Howsoever, it matters not much being no popular disbursment. Only this I will say, that I know the Dukes particular service, and affection to me, and that he, and his will lay down themselves, and all they have at my Feet. Neither is this bare opinion, since the Duke alone hath disbursed, and stands engaged more for my affaires, and the States, then any Number of Noblemen of *England* whatsoever, and therefore there

there is reason, that from a King he would receive his own and more.

And now (my Lords) since I have thus far opened a Kings Cabinet unto you at least by the measure of this foot of answer, you may discover, what may be said concerning that great bodie, and bulk of accusations of the Highest kind made against the Duke. I desire you would take it to heart, remembring, that it is your King, that speaketh this, who therefore expects your service, and love herein, and who will requite the same assuredly; hoping you will believe me indeed, and do accordingly indeed, and that you will also rest assured, that my spirit is not so young (though a young King) as that I would bring this testimony in mine own wrong, were not that I say, true in my own knowledge. And being so, you also will grant, that it is not for a King to use his Servant, and Instrument as he doth his Horses, which being by hard riding in his service foundred, and lamed, to turn them off to grasse, or to the Cart. I must therefore in right of the King my Fathers Honour and my own, protect a man (though I have said justly seeming guiltie, yet) in mine own knowledge innocent, and free as I have delivered it; will you then deny the King to favour whom he please, which the King hath never denyed you, that are his subjects? will you controule me your Head and Governor in things wherein your selves have taken liberty uncontrolled? would you that I should require accompt of your liberalitie? nay of all your failings, which are liable to my authority? we'll commend me to my Lords, and tell them, that if anything had been formerly done amisse by others, I have power, and will to redresse it, and to prevent the like. I speak it in the word of a King, neither Lords, nor Commons can desire of me any thing that is honest, which I am not ready to give them. Let not therefore the world by these mistakings make Table-talk any longer of your King and his negotiations? nay of his secrets and necessities; for alas what great wrong, or indignity can the Glorie of the State receive, then that the private grudges of subjects (accusing to the ignorant, when in their consciences they could excuse) should be the businesse of our Parliament, and that the King himself should be forced to appear as a partie? No doubt this is a Cocatrice egge, that craftie heads of our enemies seek to hatch, whilest the weightie affaires that in present concern the Honour, and welfare of the King and State, and the peace of all Christendome are by us utterly neglected.



I end, hoping your Lordship (now privy to these things) will be tender of your Sovereigns honour, and will so satisfie, and treat with the rest, that those particular janglings may be by some other course, and in some other place and time discussed and determined, that so our minds and time may be employed in the care of better things, which earnestly invoke our ayd at this instant.

Thus much spoken, or written, or the like, (for I seek but to awaken your Lordships higher spirit and invention) I conceive it may get this effect: That these 6. Lords won by these reasons, and by other the Kings invitations, may deliver to the House, that for their parts, they have received unexpected satisfaction in those greatest points of the accusation against your Lordship, and of such secret nature as are not fit to be published without further deliberation. Wherefore since it pleased their Lordships, to have made choyce of them to be trusted in this employment, they have faithfully served accordingly, and do upon their Honours freely, and without any ingagement or respect, protest the same. And therefore humbly desire their Lordships, that they would intreat his Majestie to be President in advice with their Lordships: What further were to be done in this private Contention betwixt your Lordship and the Lord *Digbie*; which obtained, something may then follow for your Lordships good, by yeelding up that Cause into the Kings hands. And his Majestie hath great reason to bend it that way, because it is conceived, that the Lords will be loath to admit the King to be supream Judge, and Accuser; which point will much touch his Majestie. And his Majestie were better give some ease to the Lord *Digbie*, then permit that dispute.

And now for my self, I beseech your Lordship to pardon my strange boldnesse; I know I am a mere stranger to you, and if ever you have heard of me, it must be as of a friend of such you then did not love. I know it shewes me a medler in businesse, or an insinuator, which are suspicions, that may distast you, and make you suspect my pretences, though they were not altogether witlesse. I know this disadvantage, and am in my own nature offended for putting my self thus into your notions. But yet I resolved to undergo all this; First, because you made my Brother a Captain in *Ireland*, who had otherwise perished. Next, for the favour you did to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and the retiring of disfavour from my Lord of *Somerset*. And lastly, for your firm hand, that advanced the now Lord Treasurer. To all which Lords I am familiarly known, and bound.

Buc.



But (neerest to you) your Lordship may hear of me from the Lord Treasurer.

I am confident of your Lordships noble interpretation, since I seek no ends, no acquaintance, no other thanks, being one that have no Court-suits to your Lordship; but being one that loves not ruines, (which my friends have tasted) nor that the publique should wrestle with a private Inturn of Spleen. And I offer it but as a simplicity, yet with good will enough; for what can a man, that is not privy to the Elements of State, demonstrate any conclusion thereof; yet I hear sometimes how the world goes as other men do.

I conceive I have said something to your Lordship, and though perhaps short, yet enough to occasion, and stir up your deeper thoughts. I also may have deeper, but also I know, that little pinnes of wood do sustain the whole building. More I could have said touching the other points, but these greatest elided, the fall of the others may be easily directed. What I have said against those objections I touched, doth arise from grounds of truth, and they must win, and prevail, and my conceit is fitted to the Kings part, and to the occasions now on foot.

I humbly cease your Lordship further trouble, and wish you all good, desiring your Lordship also to pardon my tedious and hasty scribled hand.

Your Lordships unknown  
servant,

*Ch. Th.*

*Postscript.*

**Y**OUR Lordship shall be pleased to take off some part of my boldnesse, and impute it to the obligation and service I owe this worthy Lady, the Bearer.

*To Count Gondomar.*

*My Lord,*

I Thought my hands bound that I could no sooner have occasion to write unto you, being forced against my will to delay my writing from day to day in expectation of the news of your arrival at that Court, assuring my self, that I should then receive from you some ground whereupon to write. But after a long expence of time before that I could hear of your arrival, and in the Pacquet that his Majesties Embassadour sent thereafter, receiving no Letters nor word from you as I expected, I do now by these break my long silence unto you.

As for news from hence, I can in a word assure you, that they are in all points, as your heart could wish: for here is a King, a Prince, and a faithful friend and servant unto you, besides a number of your other good friends, that long so much for the happy accomplishment of this match, as every day seems a year unto us, and I can assure you in the word of your honest friend, that we have a Prince here, that is so sharp set upon the businesse, as it would much comfort you to see it, and her there to hear it. Here are all things prepared upon our parts; Priests and Recusants all at liberty: all the Roman Catholiques well satisfied, and which will seem a wonder unto you, our Prisons are emptied of Priests and Recusants, and filled with zealous Ministers for preaching against the Match; for no man can sooner now mutter a word in the Pulpit though indirectly against it, but he is presently caught, and set in straight prison. We have also published Orders both for the Universities, and the Pulpits, that no man hereafter shall meddle, but to preach Christ crucified; Nay it shall not be lawful hereafter for them to rail against the Pope, or the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* further then for edification of ours; and for proof hereof you shall herewith receive the orders set down, and published. But if we could hear as good news from you, we should think our selves happy men; but alas! Now that we have put the ball at your feet, although we have received a comfortable Dispatch from his Majesties Embassadour there; yet from all other parts in the world, the effects appear directly contrary. For Mr. *Gage* brings us news from *Rome*, that the dispensation there is at a stand, except a number of new Conditions be granted, which we never dreamed of, and some of them can tend to no other end, but to bring our Master in jealousy with the greatest part of his Subjects; nay

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which

which is strangest of all, we find some points yeilded unto by us, (which would have given the Pope good satisfaction) to be concealed from him by the King your Masters ministers there. We were never more troubled to put a good face upon an ill Game, then we were upon *Gage's* arrival here, which in your phrase is to put a good sauce to an unsavoury dish.

For the whole world being in expectation of bringing the Dispensation with him, we are now forced to make him give it out here to all his friends, that 'tis past in *Rome*, and sent from thence to *Spain*. And from *Brussels* we find, that notwithstanding, both of the King your Masters promises, and undertaking of the Infanta there, who hath long ago acknowledged to have had power from the Emperour for granting of this long-talked of Cessation, yet now after innumerable delays on her part, *Heidelberg* is besieged by Count *Tilley*, and that at such a time, as his Majestie cannot imagine what ground or shadow of excuse can be found for his Commission. For the Treaty hath been twice reformed at her desire, and all the Auxiliaries such as *Brunswick* and *Mansfeld* have taken another course: His Majesties son in law staying privately in *Sedan*, ready to obey all his Majesties directions; and the places in the *Palatinate*, which are not already in his enemies hands, being onely possessed by his Majesties Souldiers. So as now if the War shall continue, it must be directly between the Emperour, and our Master, his Majestie having sent a Commandment to his Embassadour at *Brussels*, that if *Tilley* will needs go on with that siege, that he return hither with all speed. For his Majestie in honour cannot endure, that whilest he is treating for a cessation of Arms at *Bruxels*, the Wars should go on in the *Palatinate*, especially when they have no body to invade, but his Majesties own Subjects and servants; And indeed his Majestie thinks he is very ill dealt withal, for all that great sincerity and candour, where-with he hath constantly carried himself from the very beginning of this businesse, that no lesse can satisfie the Emperours revenge then the utter extermination of his children both of honour and inheritance, and not without a direct breach of his former promise, avowedly set down in his last Letter to his Majestie.

And now let me I pray you in the name of your faithful friend, and Servant, beseech you to set apart all partialitie in this case, and that you would be pleased indifferently to consider of the streights we are driven into, if the Emperour shall in this fashion conquer the *Palatinate*, the antient inheritance of his Majesties children: what can be expected but a bloudie and unreconcilable war between the  
Emperour,



Emperour, and my Master wherein the King of *Spain* can be an Auxiliarie to the Emperour against any other partie but his Majestie. And therefore as my Master lately offered to the Infanta for satisfaction of her desire, that in case the Auxiliaries would not be contented with reason, but still perturb the treatie, he offered in that case to assist the Emperour and her against them ; so can he in justice expect no lesse of the King your Master, that if the Emperour will contrarie to all promises both by his Letters, and Embassadours, proceed in his conquest, and refuse the cessation, that the King your Master will in that case, and in so just a quarrel assist him against the Emperour, in imitation of the King my Masters just and reall proceedings in the businesse from the beginning, who never looked (as you can well be witnesse) to the rising, or falling hopes of his son in Law his fortunes, but constantly keep on that course, that was most agreeable to honour and justice, to the peace of Christendom ; and for the fastning of a firm & indissoluble knot of amity, and alliance betwixt the king your Master and him, which was begun in the time of the treatie with *France*, and then broken at your desire, that we might imbrace this alliance with you ; you are the person, that many times before your departure hence, besought his Majestie once to suffer himself to be deceived by *Spain*. We therefore do now expect to find that great respect to honour in the King your Master, that he will not take any advantage by the changing of fortune, and successe of time, so to alter his actions, as may put his Honour in the terms of interpretation. You see how all the rest of Christendom, envie and maligne this match and wished conjunction ; How much greater need then hath it of a hastie and happie dispatch ? And what comfort can the Prince have in her, when her friends shall have utterly ruined his Sister, and all her babes ? you remember how your self prayed his Majesties wisdom in the election of so fit a Minister, as Sir *Richard Weston* in this businesse, but you saw what desperate Letters he writes from time to time of their cold and unjust treating with him in this businesse ; you could not but wonder at any spark of Patience could be left us here ; and to conclude this point in a word, we ever received comfortable words from *Spain*, but find such contrary effects from *Bruxelles*, together with our intelligences from all other parts of the world, as all our hopes are not only cold, but quite extinguished here. Thus far for the By, and yet such a By, as may put by the main, if it be not well and speedily prevented. As to the Main, which is the match, his Majestie, and we all here, thought we had done our part, and put the ball at your



foot, when wee agreed upon the twentie, and five Atticles more; whereupon as your self often answered, and assured us the best Divines in *Spain* concluded that the Pope, not only might, but ought to grant a dispensation to this marriage, but now we are surcharged with a number of new Articles from *Rome*, and in the mean time the Dispensation is as far off as ever it was.

His Majestie hopes that you are not ignorant, that the treatie is between him, and your Master; He hath no treatie with *Rome*, neither lyes it in his way to dispute with them upon this question; yet that his readinesse to imbrace your Masters friendship may the better appear, he is contented to yield to so many of their demands, as either his Conscience, Honour, or safetie can permit, if so the King your Master shall think it necessaric. But on the other part we three remember, that when as you first moved this match unto him, and perswaded him to break off with *France*, you then promised, that he should be pressed to nothing in this businesse, that should not be agreeable to his conscience, and honour, and stand with the love of his people. As to the particular Articles new added at *Rome*, I will not clogg this paper with them, which I fear without them, will be too troublesome unto you. For what his Majesties opinion is of them, his Majesties Embassadour there will particularly acquaint you.

But whereas the Pope desires in the end of his Articles, that he may see what *ponum publicum*, the King our Master will grant unto, that may perswade to grant this dispensation, I will remit it to your conscience and knowledge, whether if the favours his Majestie daily grants to those of his religion, and is resolved still to continue, if not to increase them, if they shall by their good behaviour deserve it, be not a real *bonum publicum*, considering that if the match should break off (which God forbid) his Majestie would be importunately urged by his people (to whose assistance he must have his recourse) to give life and execution to all the penal Lawes now hanging upon their heads.

It only rests now, that as we have put the ball to your foot, you take a good, and speedie resolution there to hasten a happy conclusion of this match. The Prince is now two and twenty years of age, and so a year more, then full ripe, for such a businesse: the King our Master longeth to see an issue proceed from his Loins; and I am sure you have reason to expect more friendship from the posterity that shall proceed from him, and that little Angel, your Infanta then from his Majesties Daughters Children. Your friends here, are all discomforted with this long delay: your enemies are exasperated, and

and irritated thereby ; and your neighbours, that envie the felicity of both Kings, have the more leisure to invent new Plots for the Crosse, and hinderance of this happy businesse ; And for the part of your true friend and servant *Buckingham*, I am become odious already , and counted a betrayer both of King and Countrey.

To conclude all with ; I will use a similitude of hawking (which you will easily understand, being a great Faulkoner;) I told you already that the Prince is (God be thanked) extreemly sharp set upon this Match ; and you know that a Hawke, when she is first dressed, and made ready to flie, having a great will upon her, if the Faulkoner do not follow it at that time, she is in danger to be dilled for ever after.

Take heed therefore, lest in the fault of your delayes there, Our Prince, and Faulcon gentle, (that you know was thought slow enough, to begin to be eager after the Fœminine prey) become not so dull upon these delayes, as in short time hereafter, he will not stoop to the Lure, though it were thrown out to him:

And here I will end to you my sweet friend, as I do in my prayers to God, (*Onely in thee is my trust,*) and say as it is written on the outside of the Pacquets, Haste, Haste, Post-haste.

Conde de Gondomar to the Duke, 13. Febr.

1625.

*Most Excellent Sir,*

**A**T last Sir, the Earl of *Gondomar* goes for *England* ; There will be many good discourses made in *Holland* about this voyage : But the truth is, that the intention of his journey is not to offend any one, but only to desire, and procure peace, and the publique good. And onely with this intent the King my Master Commands me to go thither, and I go with a great deal of joy as well for this as for to kisse his Majesties and his Highnesse his hands, and your Excellencies in particular.

And therefore I do appoint for the field of our Battail your Excellencies Gallerie over the *Thames*, where I hope your Excellencie shall see, that the Earl of *Gondomar* is an honest man, and that he hath been, is, and ever will be, a faithful and true servant and friend

to

to Sir George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, whom God preserve many happy years.

The Countesse my Wife, and my self, kisse my Lady the Countesse, and my Lady Dutchesse their hands.

Your Excellencies

Constant and faithful  
servant,

*Gondomar.*

Padre Maestre at Rome to the Spanish Embassadour in  
England, 12. June, 1621.

*My Lord,*

I Have received two Letters from your Lordship, the one of the 15<sup>th</sup>. of *March* brought me by Mr. *George Gage*, and the other of the 30. of *April* which came by the Ordinarie. In both which Letters I have received a special favour from you, and much comfort. The coming of Mr. *Gage* hath given me infinite contentment, then which there could nothing have happened more fitly and to the purpose, for the matter which is in negotiation, nor any man have come hither that could better advance the businesse then he, as well in respect of his good affection, as for his wisdom and dexterity in all things. And if the King of Great *Brittain* will withal help now a little, the businesse will be quickly done, and in a good manner. I beseech your Lordship preach to him a Christian Sermon as is most needful: for there comes from thence divers wayes such reports thither, that I am ashamed, and out of countenance in the streets as I go, and they do me a favour, that they do not stone me, knowing that I am treating, and labouring this businesse at the same time, when the poor Catholiques are so cruelly used in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And when I excuse it, that it is not by the Kings order, but by the abuse and malice of some ill affected Ministers, it will not be received; neither do they want Replies. Besides, there is a rumour all over *Rome*, that the King in a Speech which he made at the beginning of the Parliament, affirmed publiquely, *That for all this marriage with Spain,*

Spain, the Catholique party in England should not be in one jott better condition then they are.

But I cannot be yet discouraged ; My confidence is in the King, and in the desire which I know he hath to procure a good Wife for his Son. And now that the time is come, let him play the part of a Courageous Wooer, and frustrate the intentions and desires of all those, that are adverse to it. It is a comfort unto me, that I do not find here an impossibility ; but that though there be difficulties, yet I find many here that desire to overcome them. And above all, I hope that God will assist this businesse as his own Cause. I am going to prepare my self for the Congregation of the Cardinals, and a Consultation of Divines, to whom I understand we shall be remitted this next week. I shall give your Lordship an account punctually of all things that happen in those Conferences. Ous Lord, &c.

Your Lordships, &c.

*Padre Maestro.*

*Don Carlos to the Lord Conway,*  
3. September.

S I R,

I Have understood by Mr. *Strada* with particular contentment the newes of your good health, which God continue for many years. I see by yours received by *Strada*, what his Majestie hath been pleased to order concerning the ships of the *Indies*, which is as much in effect as could be hoped for from so great a King, so zealous of Justice and Equitie.

In the Conduct of this businesse, we will observe the order given by his Majestie, in confidence that the Subjects of the King my Master shall obtain their ends, and his Catholique Majestie receive the contentment to know, that the excesses of those that shall be convicted have been punished.

By the last Currier of *Flanders*, we received neither from the *Infanta*, nor any other person any other newes, then what Mr. *Trumbal* sent by his Letters.

I confesse freely, that the Marquesse, and my self have been much troubled, both of us being exceedingly desirous, that his Majestie should



should receive in every thing (even in words, and formalities) the same satisfaction, which we hope he shall receive in the effects. Nevertheless in discharge of her Highnesse, I will say that which is fit for me as I am her servant, and which I pray you from me to deliver unto his Majestie; but thus understood, that it is onely my own particular discourse.

By the displeasure his Majestie hath been pleased to testifie unto me upon many occasions of the Prince *Palatines* refusal to sign, and ratifie the Treatie of suspension of Armes; He may be also pleased to judge how it may have been taken by the King my Master in *Spain*, and the Infanta in *Flanders*, and the rather because of the continual reports, that at the same time went up and down and increased (as ordinarily it falls out) of the descent of *Alberstat* with a mighty Army of 20000 foot, and 6000 horse, not any more to make war in *Germany*, but to joyn with the Prince of *Orange*, and fall upon those Provinces in obedience to his Catholique Majestie, which was no other but directly to ayme at the vital parts of the *Spanish* Monarchie.

If for these just fears (which cannot certainly be held vain, being considered with those of the year past, proceeding from one and the same Cause, both of which have been scattered by the Almighty hand of God, in his secret Judgments) it hath not onely been lawful, but also necessary to conserve the ancient alliances, and procure new, I leave it to the judgment of every man of understanding, not doubting but for this respect you will be of the same opinion with me: And much more his Majestie, whom God hath endowed with so great knowledge, and royal qualities, as are known to all the world.

Morover, let us see if in the Law of gratitude, the Infanta could do lesse then acknowledge towards the Duke of *Bavaria*, the valour wherewith his Army had resisted the pernicious designs of *Alberstat*, having hazarded his own estate to hinder the imminent danger of the King my Masters.

Again let us consider if the Infanta sending to visite, and give him thanks could excuse her self from giving him all those titles, which the Duke of *Bavaria* gives himself, and desires should be given him. And if he might not, if she had done otherwise have thought the ingratitude the greater, then the acknowledgement. And therefore things being in this state, the Infanta could not excuse her self from sending to visite him, seeing he had succoured her in a time of need, and in visiting him to give him that, which he desired should be  
given

given him. And the like is to be said for the King my Master in case he hath done the like as Mr. *Trumbal* writes the Infanta should tell him, and with a great deal more reason because the Countries are his own. And therefore since his Majestie of Great *Brittain* is so great a King, and hath so great a reputation of the exact performing of his royal obligations, I doubt not but he will judge, that in this formality, the King my Master, and the Infanta his Aunt, have but acquitted themselves of their obligations. For the rest, if at the conference of *Cullen*, which his said Majestie, and her Highnesse have desired, and do yet desire his Majestie of great *Brittain* shall see, that they are wanting on their part to proceed with that sincerity and truth, which they have so often offered, and which the Marquesse of *Ynoiosa* doth still offer on the behalf of the King my Master, so that only the Prince *Palatine* make the submissions due to the Emperour as his natural Lord, and resolve to follow the Paternal counsels of his Majestie of great *Brittain*, his Majestie shall then have reason to complain. And in the mean time the Prince *Palatine* should do but well not to entertain those Amities he endeavours to conserve, nor to solicit those Leagues which he labours to procure, not only with the declared rebels of the King my Master, and of the House of *Austria*, but also with the enemies of all Christendom. I will ingage my head if following this way his Majestie and his son in law find themselves deceived.

You know Sir, that I treat in truth, and freedom, and do therefore hope you will impute my excuses to that, and will not call this libertie of my discourse, rashnesse, but an immortal desire in me in all things to procure the service of our Kings, laying aside all occasions of misunderstandings, now we treat of nothing els, but uniting our selves more by the strickt bonds of love, over and above those of our Alliance.

I do humbly beseech you to say thus much to his Majestie, and to assure him from me, that when he shall be pleased to imploy me in this matter, as in all other, he shall ever find me faithful and real, as I have offered my self, and alwayes continue, being well assured, that even in that I shall serve my Master. And I pray you to believe in your particular that I am, and will be eternallie

Yours &c.

*The Marquesse Ynoiosa to the Lord Conway,*

5. September, 1623.

**I** Answered not long since to both your Letters, and now I will add this, that only the sport, and pleasure that *Don Carlos*, and I consider his Majestie hath in his progresse, may make tollerable the deferring (by reason of that) and not hearing the newes we expect to hear of his Majesties good health. For by that meanes we might not onely satisfie more often our desires in this point (having his Majestie neerer) but also our desire to bring these businesse to an end, which are ordinarily more delayed, and lesse well executed, when they are to passe through the hands of Ministers (though they be very zealous, and well affected to it) as these Lords are with whom we treat here; who are desirous that the King should be known for just, though unnecessarily, when nothing is pretended contrarie to that which is agreed upon. This knowledge whereupon I ground my reasons may perhaps make me (*Sin Embargo*) incurre the Censure of an impatient man; But I am perswaded, that if that which hath been done here, had been settled there by your Honour, and the Lord Count of *Carleil* (whose good disposition, and proceeding is as much to be esteemed as it is prayd by *Don Carlos* and my self) we would have made an end, and those things, which I have seen, and observed here had not happened unto us. For in the conference, in which my Lord Keeper did assist, it was agreed (as we thought) that his Majestie should give order to the Judges and Justices of Peace, Arch-bishops and Bishops signed with his royal hand under the little Seale within three months, or at the Princesse her arival. He hath persisted afterwards, as also Sir *George Calvert* in that (though it was plain) that his Majestie would give the said warrant, afterwards, there being no term nor day appointed. Neverthelesse at last we have condescended, that it should be within six months, or at her Highnesse arrival, if she comes afore that time, that we may shew how happie we think our selves in being Servaants to his Majestie, whom God save.

The dispatches that we are to have are contained in the relation here enclosed. I pray you to take order, that those that are to be sent back to that effect, may be subscribed, and Sealed; for I have differed the dispatching of a Currier (with an evident danger that he will now arrive too late, and put in hazard a businesse of mine of consideration,

deration, which obligeth me to dispatch him) that he may not go without them; And that it may not be an occasion to doubt of the assurance we have given of his Majesties good will and intention; whose Royal hands, I, and *Don Carlos* do intreat your Honour to kisse in our name, and to continue us in his Majesties good Favour, and your Honour likewise in yours; for we deserve it with a particular affection, and equal desire to serve you. God save your Honour, as I desire

Your Honours servant,

The Marquesse, *Ynoiosa*.

*Sir Arthur Chichester to the Duke, the*

25. January, 1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**Hen you went last from *White-Hall* I waited on the Prince and you into the Gallery, where your Lordship spake something unto me which I understood not, to wit, *Are you turned too?* As I knew not the ground of the Demand, I could make no present answer; nor now but by Conjecture. When I turn from the Prince, (whom I know to be the worthiest of Princes) or from you, (who by your favours have so bound me to serve you) or from the truth (as I conceive it) God I know will turn from me; until then I humbly pray your Lordship to believe that I am your honest servant.

The Sunday after your Lordships departure, the Embassadours of the King of *Spain* came unto me under the pretext of a visit. I have herewith sent your Grace a brief of what passed between us. I judge some man hath done me an ill office, by insinuating me into their good opinions of me; sure I am, I never spake of them, nor of the affaires they have to manage, but what I have said, when the selected Council were assembled. I cannot be so dull, but to know that they meant your Grace to be the Interposer of their desires, and the Man, whom they wished to be absent when they have their private audience. They are exceeding Cautelous, and I conceive the late Dispatch from *Spain* is like a gilded bayt to allure and deceive;



your Lordship perceiving their Malice, will be warie to avoid their Venom. I am

Your Graces

Humble, and faithful  
Servant,

*Arthur Chichester.*

*The Collections of the Passages and Discourses between the  
Embassadours of the King of Spain, and Sir Arthur  
Chichester, 18. January, 1623.*

*These Passages were sent to the Duke, inclosed in the last foregoing Letter.*

ON Sunday the 18. of this present *January*, the two Embassadors of *Spain* came to visit me at my House in *Drury-Lane*. At their first entrance they took occasion to speak of the profession of Souldiers, and of the *Spanish* Nation, affirming them to be the bravest Friends, and the bravest Enemies. I approved it in the Souldier, and contradicted it not in the Nation.

When they were come into an Inner Room, looking upon the Company as if they desired to be private; I caused them to withdraw, but noting that they had brought an Interpreter with them, I prayed Sir *James Blount*, and *Nathaniel Tomkins* Clark of the Princes Council, ( who doth well understand the *Spanish* tongue ) to abide with me.

Being private, they said they came to visit me, because of the good intention, and well-wishing they understood I had to the accommodation of busineses, and because I stood named by his Majesty for the employment into *Germanie*.

I acknowledged their coming to visit me as a particular Favour, professing my self to be one of those, who was able to do least, but that I must and would in all things conform my self to the will, and good pleasure of the King my Master.

They

They were pleased to remember, and to take for argument of his Majesties good opinion of me, to make me one of the *Junta* (as they called it) of the selected Councillours, and his imployment given me the last year as his Extraordinary Embassadour into *Germany*.

I told them I had been bred a Souldier, as their Excellencies had been, but that I wanted the capacity and abilities which they had, and that for want of Language (not affecting to speak by an Interpreter) I had forborn to wait on their Excellencies, as otherwise I would have done.

To that they returned the like Complement, and then said, Their Master had sent a good answer touching the *Palatinate*, and they assured me, that he would perform what he had promised with advantage.

I said if it were so, I then hoped all things would sort to a good end.

They then asked me how his Majestie, and the Lords were affected, and whether therewith they were satisfied, or no?

I answered, That I conceived their Excellencies knew his Majesties mind as well as the Lords, for that they had so lately audience of him.

They said, It was true, they had so, but not a private audience; nor could they obtain any, though they had much desired the same, but that others were still present.

I said merely that they were two, and I believed that the King their Master had sent as able and experienced Ministers as he had any, and therefore his Majestie might peradventure think fit not to hear them alone.

They said his Majestie might alone hear a thousand Ministers of any Kings, but if he should be otherwise pleased, they well liked of the Princes being present; but they said there were also other great Ministers of the Kings, who wished not well to their Masters affairs.

I said, There might therein be a mistaking, or misunderstanding on their part; for if the King their Master mean so really as they said, I conceived that no body would be willing to remove his Majestie from  
those

those purposes, and that good affection which he bore unto his dear Brother the King of *Spain*.

The Marquesse said in English, The King was a good King, and the Prince a good Prince, but some of their Ministers they doubted were ill willers to them.

I asked if greater demonstrations of reality could be devised, then had been given on the part of the King and Prince, instancing in the Prince his going in Person into *Spain*.

They confessed it, but as the times now were, they said ill offices were done them.

I assured them, That I neither knew, nor understood of any; neither did I ever hear them spoken of, but with due respect had unto them, as to the Ministers of a great King, and his Majesties dear Brother.

They said their meaning was not, that the ill offices were done to their Persons, but to the great Businessses, which a certain Person had shewed a willingnesse to disturb; but they hoped, that the intended amity between our Masters would hold, and proceed neverthelesse.

I professed, that I knew nothing to the contrary, neither understood I the particular at which they aymed.

The Marquesse swore as he was a Christian, he knew that the King his Master did so truly, and really esteem his dear Brother the King of *England*, and the Prince of *Wales*, that if they needed part of his blood, they should have it for their good: But he complained, that they could not have their Messages delivered nor returned from the King of late, but qualified according to the pleasures of others.

I said, They misconceived it, for I thought they had no cause to complain, seeing they now had, or might have (as I supposed) the Kings Ear when they craved it in due, and besitting times.

They seemed to deny it, alledging, That they could not get their Messages and Papers answered as aforetime.

I said, When the Prince was in *Spain*, they had free accesse to his Majestie, whensoever they desired it.

Yea

Yea said the Marquesse in Latine *Tunc* ; but now, he said, the case was altered.

I said the King had given many testimonies to the world of his willingnesse to comply with their Master, and Them : And if either his Majestie or the Prince seemed now more reserved, and deliberate in their actions then heretofore, it might be that his Highnesse had learned that wary and circumspect proceeding in *Spain*, where they are said to use it in matters of far lesse moment.

They smiled hereat, and prayed me to continue my good intentions, and respects towards them, and to the joynt affairs of both our Masters.

I said, I would alwaies serve the King my Master, with a true and faithful heart, and so far as should be agreeable to his desires, and good liking, I would to my small power be ready to serve them.

In Conclusion they said, They came but to visit me, but being come, they could not choose but say something, and touch upon businesse.

*Arthur Chichester.*

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22. of May, 1624.

*Having made visits at sundry times to the Spanish Embassadors, I do here under my hand declare, what passed betwixt them and me; so neer as my memory serveth; lest in my absence any such matter should fall in question, I now intending to travel for a space.*

**V**W Hen his Highnesse was in *Spain*, being upon my journey in *Scotland*, I went to *Elie-Houfe* to take my leave of *Don Carlos*, where *Vanvail* was present, I expressing much joy of the match, which in my mind would without all question be perfected, did find no such humour, nor inclination on their part, which did much astonish me ; for they grumblingly did alleadge, that the King my Master did perform nothing that he promised, or how could any thing be expected the Infanta being here, whereas nothing was performed  
the



the Prince being in *Spain* ? I besought them to do better offices, then without reason to put jealousies betwixt my Master, and theirs, who would never have sent his son to *Spain* without a real intention. Which onely act was reason sufficient to remove all doubts.

Yet did they still continue their challenge of divers Bracks, specially, anent the sending of ships to *Scotland* to bring away the two *Dunkirkers*, and not perfecting such conditions as were promised to *Catholiques*. I did intreat them again, that such conceits of my Master might be removed, for they might be confident of full performance of what he had promised, by reason he had never broke his promise to any. I desired them likewise to consider with what love our Prince was gone, and what a stain it should be to the State of *Spain*, if uncourteously he should return with distast ; Besides, it might fall out to be the worst act that ever they committed, where anent if they had love to their Master they would prove good Instruments. What was spoke by me in English was related in Spanish to *Don Carlo*, so was it to me what they spoke in Spanish. Sometimes *Don Carlo* spoke in French, so that not a word passed which each man did not know.

I went again after the Treaties were given up, and did remember *Don Carlo* of what I had forespoke, when the Marquesse was present and took the speech ; they did demand of me whether I was come of myself, or by Commission, for they professed to account me their friend.

I answered that I came meely of my self, and was sorrie that by their own deserving, they had procured such alterations, and I thought strange of such demands as they had made at *Hampton Court*, which did both expresse much spleen, and lack of good intelligence. They did avow their demands were reasonable ; but, from that time they would make visits to the Duke and love him better then before, because they were in doubt before, but now they know him to be an Enemy. I did answer, that I was sorrie for their proceeding, and was their friend so long as they were friends to my Master.

After a few haughty words, such (as it was a wrong waie to deal with their Master by threatnings, who gave pay daily to 300000. Souldiers that they had followed the wars a long time, and had seen men killed by the Cannon, Musket, Pike, and sword, but never saw men killed with words, they desired me to speak to his Majestie, that they might either be dismissed, or have freedome to go about their businesse with security. They did desire me likewise to speak to his Majestie, that the treatie for the *Palatinate* might continue.

I did demand of them how these two things did agree, both to threaten and intreat? whereupon they passed upon me with odd complaints. I went once more of late to give them a farwel. I said, they proved themselves good Servants to their Master in pressing to raise jealousies in this State, but they were now too well known to do harm. The Marquesse swore, that by this time the Infanta had been here, & the *Palatinate* restored, if the blame had not been on our Part. I did intreat I might be excused not to believe that. I did ask whether they did not condemn their own judgments in accusing the Duke of *Buckingham* of that whereof he was cleared, both by the King, and State. Their answer was, He was cleared by those who were his confederates, all as guiltie as himself.

I demanded, why they should still expresse their malice against the Duke of *Buckingham*. Did they not think but our Prince was a man sensible of what injuries he had received? their answer was, if the Duke were out of the way, the Prince would be well disposed. They said farther, his Highnesse was an obedient son before the Duke guided him, but since, he was not. So that when we speak of his Majestie, they speak with much respect, but for the Prince did not use them kindly, they did make the lesse accompt of him. So after I took my leave and parted.

*Nithisdail.*

**M**uch I have omitted for brevity, wherein they did expresse much respect to his Majestie, much of their threatning to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

*The Lord Nithisdail to the Duke, 22 June,*

1624.

*My most Noble Lord,*

**F**inding matters at great uncertainty when I came hither, I resolved to make farther tryal before I should part from hence. What thanks is due to the Embassadors for their painefull, and discreet Carriage can hardly be expressed.

Matters now being drawn to such a conformity (which I confesse I thought impossibilities, though withall I found much respect al-

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wayes to the Prince with a sensible desire of the Match expressed, both by the King, and those I spake withal) our Embassadours seem still to be discontent, that all things are not remitted to our Masters verbal promise, which though it may be assurance sufficient to all Catholiques, who have the sence to consider, that it must be our Masters, and the Princes gracious disposition must be our safety, more then either word or writ: yet the writ being desired privately (as they pretend) merely to draw the Popes consent (without the which nothing is to be finished) the difference is not so great, their Princely promise being given already.

What cause of jealousie the refusing hereof should procure, you may consider: besides, my judgment failes me, if a more easie way shall be assented unto upon this side. If the Embassadours have bestirred themselves to get this out of the publique Articles, I can bear witness. Thus much I dare avow, that neither time nor place have been omitted by them to do good; though I must confesse, what intelligence I had in the proceeding, hath rather been from the *French* then from them. Their Reasons (as I conceive) was their doubts, that did bring me hither, having neither Letters from the King, the Prince, nor your Grace.

Whereupon to remove these conceits, I shewed them, that I did onely take this in my way, intending to go see the Jubilees, wherewith though his Majestie, nor the Prince, neither yet your Grace were acquainted with at my parting, you will be pleased to make my excuse. I am infinitely beholding to the Embassadours noble Courtesie, which I know hath proceeded from that relation which they know I have to you.

My Lord, let the happinesse which shall come to the Prince by matching with such a Lady, as I protest before God, hath those perfections, to my thinking, can hardly be equalled, be a means to hasten a happy Conclusion; And let not matter of Ceremonie draw delays where the substance is agreed upon. So shall all that belong to our Master be made happy, in general, and you in particular, for that love which they expresse here to your self.

Once more I humbly begg, you will consider particularly upon each one of the Articles, and I hope you shall not find such unreconcilable difference as an affected Puritan may pretend. Whereupon if I have looked more with eyes of a Papist then was fitting, it is my lack of judgment, and not of zeal to my Masters Honour, which of all earthly things shall be preferred. Beseeching God to give a hap-

py successe hereunto, with a sound recovery of your own health, I humbly take my leave.

Your Graces

Faithful servant,

Dated at Compion.

Nithisdail.

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Sir Tobie Mathew to the King of Spain.

**D**On Tobea Mathei Cavallero Ingles y Catholico Romano beseecheth your Catholique Majestie with all humility and reverence, to give him leave to speak these few words unto you.

He understandeth that the *Theologos* have persisted precisely upon the *Voto*, which they gave before, and he findeth clearly that the Prince conceiveth, that he can by no means submit himself thereunto with his Honour. And besides, my Lord the King hath expressly required him to return with all possible speed, in case that *Voto* should not be qualified. And it is certain that he will depart for *England* within very few daies: And whosoever shall inform your Majestie, that the Treatie of this marriage may be really kept on foot after the departure of the Prince upon these terms, doth deceive your Majestie through the ignorance wherein he is of the State of *England*. So that the Prince departing thus, the Catholique Subjects of all my Lord the Kings Dominions are to be in lamentable case. For although the Prince did yesterday vouchsafe to have Compassion of me in respect of the grief wherein he saw I had upon these occasions, and to say, That although the marriage were broken, yet he would procure that his Catholique Subjects should not fare the worse for that; yet I know that it is morally impossible for that honourable design of his to take place in respect of the People, and the importunitie and malice of the Puritans, and especially because it will now be a case of meer necessitie for my Lord the King, to run in a course of very straight Conjunction with them of his Parliament, that he may be able the better to serve himself of them in other occasions: from which Parliament, as now the case will stand, what Catholique can expect any other then the extremitie of rigour?

In consideration whereof I cast my self with a sad heart at the feet of your Majestie, beseeching you, that you will take into your royal



remembrance the love, which you owe, and procure to paie to our holy Mother, the Church, and that some course may be taken, and with speed (for otherwise it will be too late to give the Prince some foot of ground upon which he may be able to stand in such sort, as that without losse of honour, and breach of that word, which he hath given to the world, and without prejudice to that obedience, which he oweth to the least commandement of the King his Father; his Highnesse may be inabled to comply with the incomparable affection which he beareth the Infanta your Majesties Sister. And that by meanes hereof the two Crowns may be kindly in perfect union, and the Catholique religion may be highly advantaged, not only in the Dominions of my Lord the King, but in many other parts of Christendom, into which the Authority of these Dominions doth flow.

For my part, I take the eternall God to witnesse, whom I procure to serve, and who hath given me a heart, which disclaimeth from all other interestes then to serve God, and my King, that I conceive my self not to comply with a good conscience without laying this protestation under the Eye of your Majestie, that if the Catholique subjects of the King my Lord shall grow liable to persecution, or affliction by occasion of breaking this Match, through the disgust of the King my Lord and his Councel, or through the power, which infallibly the Puritans assembled in Parliament will have with him upon this occasion, that blood, or miserie whatsoever, it may partly be required at their hands who have advised your Majestie not to accept of those large conditions for Catholiques which my Lord the King and the Prince have condescended to, and of that more then moral Securitie which they have offered for the performance thereof.

And on the other side, I undertake to your Majestie, under the pain of infamie, in case that be not made good which here I affirm, that if your Majestie will be pleased to give some such ground to the Prince, as whereupon he may with Honour stay, and perfect the Treatie of the Marriage by any such way, or means, as may occur to your Majesties royal wisdom, the whole bodies of the Catholiques in England both religious, and secular, shall acknowledge it as a great blessing of God, and shall oblige themselves to pray incessantly for your happie Estate &c.

Sir Tobie Mathew to the Dutchesse of Buckingham,

9. June 1625.

Madam,

There was no cause till now, why I should trouble your Ladyship with presenting my unprofitable service to you: but now I shall venture to do it, by reason of the good newes I shall send with it.

For our Queen arrived here yesterday, and I was glad at the heart to see her such, as she had seemed; she is more grown then I had thought, being higher by half the head then my Ladie Mar-quesse. And whatsoever they say, believe me, she sits already upon the very skirts of womanhood. Madam, upon my faith she is a most sweet lovely Creature, and hath a countenance which opens a window into her heart, where a man may see all Noblenesse and Goodnesse; and I dare venture my head (upon the little skill I have in Physiognomie) that she will be extraordinarily beloved by our Nation, and deserve to be so; and that the actions of her self, which are to be her own, will be excellent. Me thought I discerned in her countenance a little remnant of sadnesse, which the fresh wound of parting from the Queen Mother might have made, yet perhaps I was deceived. Her Aattire was very plain, for so Great a Queen can be thought to have nothing mean about her. But I hope that amongst many other blessings, which God, will have provided for us by her means, her example will be able to teach our Countrie wit in this kind.

I had the happinesse to see, and hear her at a short distance, by the Commandement which my Lady of *Buckingham* laid upon me to interpret for her, and believe me, she is full of wit, and hath a lovely manner in expressing it. But I confesse I was sorrie with all my heart, to hear that her courage was so great, as to carry her instantly (after my Ladie of *Buckingham* had taken her leave for that time) to Sea in a poore little boate in the company of her brother, whom yet, I have not had the honour to see. I dare give my word for her, that she is not afraid of her own shadow, who could find in her heart to put her self at the first sight, upon an element of that danger, and diseafe for meer pastime; Unlesse it were perhaps that she might carrie some Steel about her, and that there is some

Adamant

Adamant at *Dover*, which already might begin to draw her that way.

I am extreemly sorrie, that we have lost the hope of seeing the two other *Queens*, for if they had come, we might have had beautie here as well in the preterperfect, and in the present tense, as now we have in the future.

But the *Queen Mothers* indisposition hath arrested her at *Amiens* in punishment of that malice, wherewith she dissembled it too long at the first, through the extreame desire she had of coming hither.

Our *Queen* received my Lady of *Buckingham* with strange courtesie and favour, and now there is no remedy but that the King will needs defray and treat her after a high manner. And I have been told that *Monsieur* will needs descend so much as to visit her in her lodging; and the Dutchesse of *Chevreux* (being that great Princessse, as she is, both by match, and bloud) will perforce give precedence not onely to my Ladie of *Buckingham*, but to my Ladies her daughters also: And I assure my self, that a lesse puissant example then this will serve to convert our Great Ladies, even to exceed in *England* towards the Ladies which are strangers, and do but come, and go.

But the while this Court doth so apply it self to do my Lady of *Buckingham* all imaginable honour, I look on it so, as that I am no way discouraged thereby from bearing devotion to the blessed Virgin, when I see that men, who are sick of love towards the Son, are put even by a kind of Law of nature into pain, till they revenge themselves upon the Mother. I beseech *Jesus*, &c.

*From Bulloign. &c.*

Dr. Sharp to King James.

*The Complaint of Europe our Mother, aged, and  
oppressed,*

TO whom? To the Kings and Princes of *Europe*. Of whom?  
Of the Pope of *Rome*. For what matter? For causing by his  
Catholique League so much blood to be spilt within these few yeares  
in *Europe*. To this effect, as that excellent Poet speaks, with a lit-  
tle change of his words,

*Quis non Europæ sanguine pinguior.*

*Campus sepulchris impia prælia*

*Testatur? audistumq; Turcis*

*Europæ sonitum ruina?*

*Qui gurges aut quæ flumina lugubris*

*Ignara belli? quo Mare Civica*

*Non decoloravere cades?*

*Quæ Caret ora cruore nostro?*

And what further danger is it like to breed? Even to bring the  
*Turk* into *Austria*, *Italy*, *Germany*, into *Vienna*, and into *Rome* it self,  
as it hath brought him into *Pannonia*, and of late into *Pollonia* to the  
great danger of all Christendome. Which danger she doth foresee,  
and lament, and telleth, That no *European* King hath sought to com-  
pound these bloody home-quarrels but the King of Great *Brittain*.  
She most humbly desires the rest of the Princes, that they would  
Commiserate her most afflicted estate; her Cities taken, her houses  
spoiled, her children murdered, her Matrons and Virgins deflowered,  
her waies full of Thieves, her Seas of Pyrates, all the helps of life  
taken from her in many parts, her flocks and herds scattered, her  
Tillage ceased, her Trade decayed, the Lawes silent, Learning fal-  
len, good manners ruined, neither fear of God left, nor care of men,  
that all things seem to tend to the first Chaos, &c. And therefore  
she doth beseech the Princes to whose trust God hath committed, not  
to whose power he hath permitted his two Wards, two Twins, the  
Common Wealth, and the Church as to Guardians, that they will  
look better to their charge.

And first, not suffer the Common Wealth of Christendom by  
their armes (at the Popes secret instigation) to be destroyed, and to  
this



this end she first useth the example of good Heathen Emperours to perswade them as *Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Alexander Severus, Probus*; that they will settle peace at home, and by joynt Forces make War abroad upon the Common enemy of their Kingdomes, and so make the Common-Wealth to Honour them, being made by them, rich in wealth, strong in power, famous in glory, honest in manners, the felicity of every earthly Common-Wealth.

Now for the other Ward, or Twin, the Church, the Heavenly Common-Wealth, because she hath before professed, that as she had been long a Pagan, so now by the Grace of God, hath long been a Christian, and did take this to be her greatest honour, to be the harbour of the Christian Church, she stirres them up to be more careful by the example of the best Christian Emperours, *Constantine, Jovinian, Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, Charlemaign*, and his Sons *Lotharius*, and *Lodovicus*, to defend her from heresies within, and from violence without.

And now she begins to tell them, That as one walking with others in the Sun; not thinking on it, must needs be Sun-burned; so she walking with her reformed children in this new-risen Sun of the Gospel of Christ, did feel her self coloured (as it were) with the Spirit of Christ, by observing the differences between the two Churches with great indifferencie.

Here because she hath before challenged the Pope and the Jesuites of cruelty, and perswading first, that as men they should spare humane blood.

Secondly, as *Europeans* they should spare *European* blood.

Thirdly, as Christians they should spare Christian blood.

She is first thus answered by the Pope speaking for himself, and his Jesuites, That they are not the authors of shedding Christian blood, but hæretical blood: And that her reformed sonnes (as she terms them) are not Christians, because they be no Catholics; And therefore Hereticks to be taken away by death, according to the sentence of St. Paul, *Hæreticum hominem post unam aut alteram admonitionem devota*; *Hoc est de vita tolle*, as Cardinal *Allen* doth expound it, and according to the Decree of the Council of *Lateran*.

And where I pray you was this your Reformed Church before *Luther*? And as for my Jesuites you call them bloody, even as you call your Physicians bloodie, who for driving away a Pestilential Feaver, do take more corrupt and putrified blood from the party then they would:

And

And thereupon, he doth twitt *Enrope* as an old doting *Sibylla*, in her youth, being the Concubine of one *Taurus*, whom she feigned to be *Jupiter*, to cover her fault, with the greatnesse of her lover, who did also give her the name of this divided World, that by the honour of her title, she might excuse the shame of her fact; And bytes the fond Oratour, that put this person upon her, a whelp of *Luthers*, that makes this Minion to accuse him before the Princes of Homicide, or an insensible piece of Earth to plead his Cause.

To which *Enrope* answereth,  
First, for her self;  
Then for the Church.

This Summe I thought good to present to your Majestie, if it please your judgment, I shall bring the whole work to your Majestie when I am recovered.

And thus craving pardon of your Majestie for troubling your greater thoughts, though this tend to the good of Christendome which you intend, I rest

Your Majesties

Most humble Chaplain,

*Leonel Sharp.*

Dr. Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham.

*May it please your Grace,*

**I**T is not my purpose to advise, but to attend what others shall determine of the Match of the *Palatinate*; but if that be broken off, and this not restored according to promise, every one may conceive that Peace must give place to War abroad; but with whom, and where, and how it is to be made, it is for an higher Councel, then for any private man to resolve.

Peace were best, if it had *Nilil insidiarum*, as *Tully* saith; but it is to be feared that the malice of the *Catholique League* doth, and will hinder the work of the Kings most Noble and Christian heart, and then it will be a War wrapt in the name of Peace.

A just War is the exercise of Faith, as *Peter Martyr* well collecteth

out of those Wars which those Worthie Kings and Princes *Heb. xi.* fought for their God and his *Israel* : so war is just which is made for the maintenance of Gods true religion, and for the safety of the Common Wealth, either for the keeping of that we have, or recovering of that we have lost.

Every one therefore doth rejoyce to see the King and his Subjects so joynd in love together, and in the purpose of this defence, every one I mean that is a true Christian, and good subject ; and do wish that two things presently were added, care at home to Coupe up all false-hearted Subjects, that are known, and provision to meet with the secret, and open practises of such forraign Enemies, as are like to abet them

The good policies of the former reign in such times is the best president for this, at this time. The heads were then committed *liberali Custodia*, divided from their inferiour parts, the Papists disarmed, their claws pared, that they might not hurt us, the lawes executed upon the Jesuites and Priests, fire-brands of sedition, and rebellion withal : Or if not blood drawn of them, yet close imprisonment, or banishment enjoyed them..

Large subsidies granted to prepare the Navie, and pay the armies. And a great while no war proclaimed, but brave Adventurers sent forth as to *Portugal*, the *Graine*, to the *West-Indies*, &c. And before Letters of reprisal granted to the Marchants to make up their losses, a *Rowland*, for an *Oliver*, because they had granted Letters of Mart against us. By this meanes Carricks were brought in, the treasure of their *West-Indian* mines laid for at their return, so to make war upon them with their own mony, till they had made the enemy bankerout, and to break with their bankers of *Auspurg*, and *Genua*, that he was not able to pay his Souldiers, and garrisons ; and still the Low-countries strongly assisted, and war made upon the enemy there, or at home, at his own doores, which was more Noble, gainful and safe for us ; for we still had peace and plenty at home, though war abroad.

I know not how the case stands now between us, and the *Spaniards*, but me thinks it should not be very well, when nothing will satisfie him, but the head of him, that spake the truth for the good of the King and kingdom. Certainly if we break with him, as they which sit at the Helm know what is best to do, he is readie to strike, and will peradventure strike quickly before we be fully prepared, therefore our preparations had need to be more speedie, & thorough, lest we fall into the snare. While they were treating of peace in 88.  
they



they did even then invade us. I pray God they have not used this treatie of marriage to as bad a purpose; for it seemes they never did intend it, but for delayes, and to make it serve their turn, they have plainly abused us in the *Palatinate* therereby. But I can say nothing for the present, yet what is to be done, it is proper to an higher judgment; onely I tell what was then, when we were enemies.

I remember in 88. waiting upon the Earl of *Leicester* at *Tilbury Camp*, and in 89. going into *Portugal* with my Noble Master the Earl of *Essex*, I learned somewhat fit to be imparted to your Grace.

The Queen lying in the Campe one night, guarded with her armie, the old Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* came thither, and delivered to the Earl the examination of *Don Pedro*, who was taken, and brought in by Sir *Francis Drake*, which examination the Earl of *Leicester* delivered unto me to publish to the armie in my next sermon. The sum of it was this.

*Don Pedro* being asked what was the intent of their coming, stout-ly answered the Lords, What? But to subdue your Nation, and rooꝑ it out. *Don Pedro's Confession.*

Good, said the Lords, and what meant you then to do with the Catholiques? He answered, We meant to send them (good men) directly unto Heaven, as all you that are Heretiques to hell. Yea but said the Lords, what meant you to do with your whips of cord, and wyer? (whereof they had great store in their ships) What? said he, We meant to whip you Heretiques to death, that have assisted my Masters Rebels, and done such dishonours to our Catholique King, and people? Yea, but what would you have done (said they) with their young Children? They (said he) which were above seven yeares old, should have gone the way their fathers went, the rest should have lived, branded in the forehead with the Letter *L.* for *Lutheran*, to perpetual bondage.

This I take God to witnesse I received of those great Lords upon examination taken by the Councel, and by commandement delivered it to the armie.

The Queen the next morning rode through all the Squadrons of her armie, as Armed *Pallas* attended by Noble Footmen, *Leicester*, *Essex*, and *Norris* then Lord Marshal, and divers other great Lords. Where she made an excellent Oration to her armie, which the next day after her departure, I was commanded to redeliver to all the Armie together, to keepe a Publique Fast.



*Her words were these:*

**M**Y loving people, we have been perswaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit our self to armed multitudes for fear of treachery : but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful, and loving people. Let Tyrants fear, I have alwayes so behaved my self, that under God I have placed my chiefeest strength, and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subiects. And therefore I am come amongst you as you see, at this time, not for my recreation, and disport, but being resolved in the midst, and heat of the battaile to live, or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom; and for my people, my Honour, and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of *England* too, and think foul scorn that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my Realm, to which rather then any dishonour shall grow by me, I my self will take up arms, I my self will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of everie one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardnesse, you have deserved rewards and crownes, and we do assure you in the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my Lievetenant General shall be in my stead, then whom never Prince commanded a more Noble or worthie subject, not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your Concord in the Camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victorie over those enemies of my God, of my Kingdomes, and of my People.

This I thought would delight your Grace, and no man hath it but my self, and such as I have given it to, and therefore I made bold to send it unto you, if you have it not already:

I would I could perswade your Grace, either to read your self, or to command your Secretarie to gather out of the Historie of *Spain* translated into English towards the end five or six leaves, which hath matter of great importance fit for the Parliament, especiallie for two points; the one concerning the settled intention of the State of *Spain* against *England*, whensoever they can get an opportunity; the other concerning the main reasons of state, which moved the Queen, and Councel, then to take upon her the protection of the Low-countries.

They

They were of two sorts, the first inherent in the Person of the Prince then being, which died with her, (as some think) the Quarrel being then between the Queen, and King of *Spain*, *Philip* the second, which are said to be buried in their graves; the other inherent in their estates, which live with them, and remain in the heart of the State of *Spain* against us, whosoever is their King.

And this appeareth by a large Disputation of State had before the King of *Spain*, and blab'd out by their Chronicler in many words, wherein *pro et contra* two do argue. The one, who proves that the *Netherlands* their Rebels are first to be conquered, that it may serve them as a rise to the Conquest of *England*, and the reasons for that project. The other, who proves, that the *English* are first to be conquered, the supporters of those their Rebels, and for a rise to the Empire of Christendome, and the reasons for the project, and specially for that it is more easie now for the disuse of armes in *England*; for that *England* is not now that *England* which it hath been, &c.

And the mean, how they may win themselves into us by a Treatie of Marriage, as *Mariana* blabs it out in general, that which the Prince hath tryed, and your Grace hath uttered in Parliament in special, that *Colloquia de Contractibus*, are with them *Mera ludibria parata tantum Regum animis*, *Ne noceant distingendis, dum ea que ipsi intendunt, perficiantur*. Which *Guicciardine* also doth in general affirm, That the *Spaniards* bring more things to passe by Treaties, and subtilties, then by force of Armes.

And that you may truly understand the full intention of the *Spaniard* to the state of this Kingdom, and Church, I would your Grace would read a notable Discourse of the late most Noble Earl of *Essex*, made by the Commandment of Queen *Elizabeth*, and debated before her Majestie, and her Councel concerning this point, Whether Peace or War was to be treated with *Spain*? The Lord *Buckhurst* speaking for a Treatie of Peace, to the which the Noble Queen, and her old Lord Treasurer inclined: The Earl speaking for War, because no safe peace could be made with that State for 3. special Reasons, which are in that Treatise set down at large, which is not fit for me yet to deliver by writing, but there you shall find them. Your Grace may have the book of divers Noblemen your friends. If you have it not (if I may understand your pleasure) I will get it for you. It was of that effect, that it brought the Queen, and Treasurer contrary to their purpose to his side, for the very necessity of the common safetie.

Your

*The Lord Cromwell to the Duke.*

Your Lordship having angered them, and endeared your self to us, you had need to look to your self; you are as odious to them as ever the Earl of *Essex* was.

The Jesuite *Walpool* set on one of the stable (*Squire*) one well affected to my Lord, to poyson the rests of his Chair. And seeing they strike at the Ministers, which deal effectually for his Church, (witness worthy Doctor *White*) what will they do to such Pillars of State as you are? The Lord preserve your Grace, and watch over you. And thus I rest

Your Grace his most humble  
at Commandment,

*Leonel Sharp.*

*The Lord Cromwell to the Duke, 8. Septemb.*

1625.

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Am now returned from mine own home, and am here at *Fulham* neer Mr. *Burlemachi*, making my self ready to attend your Command in the best manner my poor fortunes will give me leave, and with what speed I may. Some things I have sent to *Plymouth*, and some Gentlemen, so as when I come there, I hope to find that your Lordship hath appointed me a good sailing ship, and one, that shall be able to play her part with the best and proudest enemy, that dare look danger in the face.

Though your Grace hath placed a Noble Gentleman in the Regiment was intended to my Lord of *Essex*, yet I will not despair of your favour, or that you will not give me some taste of it, as well as to any other. I will study to be a deserving Creature, and whether you will please to look on me with an affectionate eye or no, I will love, honour, and serve you, with no lesse truth, and faith, then those you have most obliged. What concerns me, I will not here speak of for fear I offend. My prayers shall ever attend you, and my curses those, that wish you worse then their own soules. Divers I do meet, that say your Grace hath parted with your place of the Mastership of the Horse, which makes the world suspect, that some disfavour your  
Lordship



Lordship is growing into: And that this prime feather of yours being lost, or parted with (be it as it will) it will not be long ere the rest follow.

They offer to lay wagers, the Fleet goes not this year, and that of necessitie shortly a Parliament must be, which when it comes, sure it will much discontent you. It is wondered at, that since the King did give such great gifts to the Dutchesse of *Chevereux*, and those, that then went, how now a small summe in the Parliament should be called for at such an unseasonable time: And let the Parliament sit when it will, begin they will, where they ended. They say the best Lords of the Councel knew nothing of Count *Mansfelts* journey, or this Fleet, which discontents even the best sort, if not all; They say it is a very great burthen, your Grace takes upon you, since none knows any thing but you. It is conceived, that not letting others bears part of the burthen you now bear, it may ruine you; (which heaven forbid.) Much discourse there is of your Lordship here, and there, as I passed home, and back, and nothing is more wondered at, then that one Grave man is not known to have your Ear except my good, and Noble Lord *Conway*. All men say, if you go not with the Fleet you will suffer in it, because if it prosper, it will be thought no act of yours; and if it succeed ill, they say it might have been better, had not you guided the King. They say your undertakings in the Kingdom, and your Engagements for the Kingdome, will much prejudice your Grace.

And if God bleffe you not with goodnesse as to accept kindly, what in dutie and love, I here offer; questionlesse my freedom in letting you know the discourse of the world, may much prejudice me. But if I must lose your favour, I had rather lose it for striving to do you good in letting you know the talk of the wicked world, then for any thing else, so much I heartily desire your prosperitie, and to see you trample the ignorant multitude under foot.

All I have said is the discourse of the world, and when I am able to judge of your actions, I will freely tell your Lordship my mind. Which when it shall not be alwaies really inclined to serve you, may all noble thoughts forsake me. Because I seldom am honoured with your Ear, I thus make bold with your all-discerning eye, which I pray God may be inabled with power and strength, daily to see into them that desire your ruine. Which if it once be, I will never believe, but so good a King will constantly inable you daily with power to confound them.

Many men would not be thus bold and saucie. If I find you distaste  
me



me for my respect to you. I will respect my poor self (who ever hath honoured you) so much as hereafter to be silent. So I kisse the noble hands of your Grace.

Your Lordships servant,  
during life,

*Tho. Cromwell.*

*Sir Robert Philips to the Duke of Buckingham,*

21. August, 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

**B**Efore the receipt of that Dispatch, with which you were pleased to honour me from *Apthorp*, dated the last of *July*, I was fully determined at your return to *Woodstock*, to have presented your Grace my most humble and faithful service, and by that means to have obtained the knowledge in what state and condition of health you had passed this part of the progresse. Your former weaknesse, together with the dangerous temper of the season, giving me cause both to doubt, and pray against the worst; But I found my self then to be more strictly obliged to the performance of this dutie, when I received from your Grace so clear, and abundant a testimonie, as well of your good opinion, as of the trust you reposed in me. Obligations certainly of that nature, and of so large an extent as do with reason deprive me of all degree of libertie, and justly subject me to a perpetual state of servitude, and obedience to all your Graces Commandements.

I have diligently perused my Lord of *Brisfols* answer, which it pleased your Grace to communicate unto me. And although it become me not, neither will I presume to give my opinion of the strength, or weaknesse thereof, yet will I take the liberty to say thus much, That I find in his case that to be verified which I have observed at other times, (to wit) That when able and prudent men come to act their own Parts, they are then for the most part not of the clearest sight, and do commonly commit such errors, as are both discernable and avoidable, even by men of mean abilities.

Being now fallen to speak of this Lord, I humbly beseech your Lordship to give me leave plainly and briefly to set before you some Cogitations of mine own, touching his present occasion.

First,

First, that it may be maturely considered, Whether the tendring him any further charge, unto which he may be able to frame a probable satisfactorie answer, will not rather serve to declare his innocencie, then to prepare his Condemnation, and so instead of pressing him, reflect back with disadvantage upon the proceeding against him.

Secondly, That your Grace would be pleased to consult with your self, whether you may not desist from having him further questioned, without either blemish to your Honour, or manifest prejudice to the service: Considering that you have (to your perpetual glory) already dissolved and broken the Spanish partie, and rendred them without either the means, or the hope of ever conjoyning in such sort together again, as may probably give the least disturbance or impediment to your Graces waies and designs.

And lastly, Although his Lordship in sundry places of his answer, especially in the latter part, doth seem directly to violate the rule of the \* prudent Marriner, who in foul weather, and in a storm, is accustomed (to prevent shipwrack) rather to pull down, then to set up his sailes. Nevertheless as this case stands, it deserves to be thoroughly pondered, which of the two waies will most conduce to your Graces purpose, and is likely to receive the best interpretation and success, either to have him dealt with after a quick and round manner, or otherwise to proceed slowly and moderately with him, permitting him for a time to remain where he is, as a man laid aside, and in the way to be forgotten. A state of being (if I mistake not his complexion) which will be by him apprehended equivalent to the severest and sharpest censure, that possibly can be inflicted on him.

Thus have I over-boldly adventured to present unto your Grace, these few Queries and Proposals, which they might be both enlarged, and more forcibly urged; yet to avoid the being too tedious, I have chosen to omit the further insisting upon them, till such time, as I may have the honour and felicitie of being neer your person. At this present it shall suffice, humbly to beseech your Grace, to be assuredly perswaded, that what I have now delivered in this subject, doth not proceed from any over-indulgent respect I bear either to the person, or fortune of my Lord of *Bristol*; though I should not be sorry, that like a prudent man he might by his discreet application to your Grace, render himself capable to be again readmitted to your love and favour. But the motive which hath induced me principally to use this plainnesse and libertie, is the Consideration, how importantly (as I conceive) the well ordering and disposing this particular, doth

*The Earl of Middlesex to the Duke.*

concern your Graces service. Unto the advancement and furtherance whereof, if I may be able now, or at any time to contribute the least proportion, I shall esteem my self most happie, and more then abundantly rewarded, in case that my right humble endeavours in that kind may receive from your Grace a favourable and acceptable construction.

I will conclude this Letter with a twofold prayer; first to you for my self, that your Grace will be pleased to pardon this boldnesse. Next to God for you, that he will give you health, and length of daies for his Majesties service, and the good and honour of this Commonwealth. I humbly crave leave to remain

Your Graces

Most obedient and devoted servant,

*Rob. Philips.*

*The Earl of Middlesex to the Duke.*

*Right Noble, and my most honoured Lord,*

**I** Have received divers Letters from your Lordship since your going from *Theobalds*, which though they concern severall men, and in sundry kinds, yet they all conclude upon diminution of his Majesties estate, contrary to your general ground, when his Majestie delivered me the Staffe, and contrary to your Lordships private directions given me at *Theobalds*, with which I did your Lordship the right to acquaint the King.

I have of late had cause to take into consideration the miserable condition of my present estate, who since I received the staffe, have led such a life, as my very enemies pity me, which I foresaw, the distraction of the Kings estate, and burthen of that place, would of necessitie throw upon me. Yet my dutie, love and thankfulnesse to his Majestie, and my love and thankfulnesse to you, contrary to my own judgment, and advice of my friends, made me undertake it, little expecting these Crosse accidents, which have lyen heavy upon me, and more troubled me, then the continual cares and vexations of my place.

I do most freely and willingly acknowledge one man cannot be more bound unto another, then I am to your Lordship; and if I do not make a thankful return, let me be held an ungrateful Monster, which is the worst of Villains.

I have been so ambitious as to desire to extend my gratitude so far, as that the King may have cause to thank you for preferring me, and that your Lordship may blesse the time you did it. To effect that, I shall delight to live a miserable life for a time. The course which must of necessitie be held to do it, I will acquaint your Lordship with very shortly, which I hope you will be pleased to approve, and assist me in. And then I will expresse my thankfulnesse to you that way: If that course shall not like you, I will not onely deliver you up my places, but whatsoever I hold from the King, and live privately upon mine own estate. For I will never sell so good and gracious a Master, nor so noble and constant a friend ruined, and undone. God blesse you, and send you your hearts desire. As for my self, I never desired to quit the World, and all the fooleries in it, till now.

Your Lordships

Faithfullest servant, and  
Kinsman,

*Middlesex.*

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*The Earl of Middlesex to his Majestie,*

26. April, 1624.

*Sacred Majestie, and my most gracious Master,*

**Y**Our goodnesse is such to me your oppressed servant in this my time of persecution, as I know not how to expresse my thankfulnesse otherwise then by pouring forth my humble and heartie prayers to the great God of heaven and earth, to grant your Majestie all happinesse here, and everlasting happinesse hereafter.

Between 5. and 6. of the clock upon Saturday in the evening, I received my Charge from the Lords assembled in Parliament, with an Order, by which I am commanded to make my appearance at the Bar upon Thursday next by 9. of the clock in the morning



with my answer : And in the mean time to examine my witnesses.

This Charge of mine hath been in preparing, by examining of witnesses upon oath, and otherwise, 23. daies. And hath been weighed by the Wisdom of both Houses, and doth concern me so neerly in point of honour, and faith to your Majestie to answer well, as I value my life at nothing in comparison of it.

I may grieve, though I will not complain of any thing my Lords shall be pleased to Command ; but do hope, that upon a second consideration they will not think three daies a fitting time for me to make my Answer, and to examine witnesses in a cause of such importance, and so neerly concerning me, when twenty three daies hath been spent almost from morning until night in preparing my Charge.

I know the House (whose Judgment I shall never desire to wave) is the proper place for me to move to be resolved herein, and therefore shall upon Wednesday morning make my humble motion there to have 7. daies longer time, as well to make my answer, and appearance, as to examine my witnesses, which are many, and upon several heads.

But because the Prince his Highnesse, and many of the Principal Lords are now with your Majestie at *Windsor*, my most humble suit to your Majestie is, That you would be pleased to move them on my behalf, to yield me so much further time, that my Cause may not suffer prejudice for want of time to make my just defence, that which I have propounded being as moderate as is possible.

With my most humble and heartie prayer to Almighty God for continuance of your health with all happinesse, I humbly kisse your Royal hands, and will ever rest

Your Majesties most  
humble, &c.

*Middelfex.*

*The Earl of Carlile to his Majestie, 14. February.*

1623.

*May it please your most Excellent Majestie,*

**T**Hough my present indisposition deprives me of the Honour to attend your Majestie with the rest of the Commissioners, with whom your Majesty was pleased to associate me ; yet I most humbly beseech your Majestie to give me leave in all humility to represent unto your Majestie, what my heart conceiveth to be most for your Majesties service in the present conjuncture of your affaires. During this time of my distemper, I have been visited by divers Gentlemen of quality, who are Parliament-men, none of those popular, and plausible Oratours, but solid, and judicious good patriots, who fear God, and honour the King. Out of their discourses I collect, That there are three things, which do chiefly trouble your people.

The first, that for the subsidies granted, the two last Parliaments, they have received no retribution by any bills of Grace.

The second, that some of their Burgeesses were proceeded against after the Parliament were dissolved.

And the third, that they misdoubt, that when they shall have satisfied your Majesties demands and desires, you will nevertheless proceed to the conclusion of the Spanish match. It would be too much importunity to trouble your Majestie with the several answers which I made to their objections, and would be too great presumption in mee to advise your Majesties incomparable wisdom what should be fittest to be done for your Majesties honour, and the contentment of the people ; yet if it would please my Lord the King to give his humblest Creature leave to give vent to the loyal fervour of his heart, restlesse, and indefatigable in continual meditation of his Gracious Masters honour and service, I would thus with all humble submission explain my self. That there is nothing which either the enemies of this State, or the perverse industry of false-hearted servants could invent more mischievous, then the misunderstandings which have grown between your Majestie, and your people : nothing that will more dishearten the envious Maligners of your Majesties felicity, and encourage your true hearted friends, and Servants, then the removing of those false feares, and jealousies, which are meer imaginarie Phantasmes, and bodies of ayre easily dissipated, whensoever it shall please the sun of your Majestie, to shew it self clearly in its native brightnesse, lustre, and goodnesse.

God

*The Earl of Carlile to his Majestie.*

God and the World do know the scope, and the end of all your Majesties pious affections, and endeavours to have been no other, then the setting of an universal peace in Christendom; (a felicity only proper for your Majesties time, and only possible to be procured by your incomparable goodnesse, and wisdom) but since the malice of the Divil, and deceitful men, have crossed those fair wayes wherein your Majestie was proceeding, abusing your trust, and goodnesse, (as Innocencie, and goodnesse are alwayes more easily betrayed then wilinesse, and malice) you must now cast about again, and sail by another point of the compasse, and I am confident your Majestie will more securely, and easily attain, your Noble and pious end, though the way be different.

The meanes are briefly these three.

First let your Majesties enemies see, that the Lion hath teeth, and claws.

2. Next, imbrace and invite a strict, and sincere friendship, and association with those whom neighbourhood and alliance, and common interest of state and religion have joyned unto you.

3. And last of all, cast off, and remove jealousies, which are between your Majestie and your people.

Your Majestie must begin with the last, for upon that foundation, you may afterwards set what frame of building you please. And when should you begin (Sir) but at this overture of your Parliament by a gracious, clear, and confident discovery of your intentions to your People. Fear them not (Sir) never was there a better King, that had better subjects, if your Majestie would trust them. Let them but see, that you love them, and constantly rely upon their humble advice, and readie assistance, and your Majestie will see, how they will tear open their breasts, to give you their hearts, and having them, your Majestie is sure of their hands, and purses. Cast but away some crums of your Crown amongst them, and your Majestie will see those crums will make a miracle, they will satisfie many thousands. Give them assurance that your heart was alwayes at home, though your eyes were abroad; invite them to looke forward, and not backward, and constantly maintain, that with confidence you undertake, and your majestie will find admirable effects of this harmonious concord. Your Majestie as the head directing, and your people as the hands and feet, obeying and co-operating for the honour, safety, and welfare of the bodie of the State. This will revive, and reunite your friends abroad, and dismay, and disappoint the hopes of your enemies, secure your Majesties person, assure your estate, and make your memorie glorious to posterity.

Pardon

Pardon I most humbly beseech your Majestie, this licentious freedom, which the zeal of your safetie and service, hath extorted from a tongue-tyed man, who putteth his heart into his Majesties hand, and humbly prostrateth himself at your Royal feet, as being

Your Majesties

Most humble, most obedient  
obliged Creature, Subject,  
and Servant,

*Carlile.*

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*The Earl of Carlile to the Duke, the 20. of  
November, 1625.*

*My most Noble dear Lord,*

Since my Last to your Lordship by Mr. *Endimion Porter*, there hath not happened any matter of great moment, or alteration here, saving the resolution (which his Majestie hath taken by the advice of his Councel) for the disarming of all the Popish Lords. In the execution whereof there fell out a brabble at the Lord *Vaux* his house in *North-hampshires*, wherein there were some blowes exchanged between the said Lord, and Mr. *Knightly*, a Justice of the Peace, who assisted the Deputie Lievtenant in that action. Whereof complaint being made, his Majestie was pleased himself in Councel to have the hearing of the businesse, and upon examination to refer the judgement thereof to the Star-Chamber the next Term. But at the issuing out of the Councel Chamber, the Lord *Vaux* taking occasion to speak to Sir *William Spencer*, (who with the rest had given information in favour of Mr. *Knightly*,) told him, that though he neglected his reputation before the Lords, yet he doubted not, but he would have more care of his oath when the businesse should come to Examination in the Star-Chamber. Herewith Sir *William Spencer* finding his reputation challenged, presently complained, and thereupon the words being acknowledged, the Lord *Vaux* was committed prisoner to the Fleet.

In the disarming of the Lords-Recusants, there was as much respect had of some, who have relation to your Lordship, as you your self would desire.

The



*The Earl of Carlile to the Duke.*

The Papists in general here do give some cause of jealousie by their Combinations and Murmurings, wherein it is suspected, that they are as fondly, as busily encouraged by the pragmatical *Monsieurs*. But his Majesties temper and wisdom will be sufficient to prevent all inconvenience, which their follie or passion may contrive. There is one Sir *Thomas Gerrard* a Recusant brought up hither out of *Lancashire*, being accused of some treacherous design against his Majesties Person. *Rochel* is so straightly blocked by Sea and Land, as no Intelligence can be sent into the Town. We have not as yet any clear Categorical answers touching the restitution of our ships. As soon as any thing more worthy of your Lordships knowledge shall occur, you shall not fail to be advertised from him that is eternally vowed

Your Graces

Most faithful friend, and most  
humble servant,

*Carlile.*

*The Earl of Carlile to the Duke.*

*My most Noble dear Lord,*

I Must ever acknowledge my self infinitely obliged to your Lordship for many Noble favours; but for none more, then the freedome, and true cordial friendship expressed in your last Letter touching my son; And I shall humbly beseech your Lordship in all occasions to continue that free and friendly manner of proceeding, which I shall ever justly esteem as the most real testimonie of your favour towards me. Your Lordship will now be pleased to give me leave with the same freedom and sinceritie to give your Lordship an account, that it is now 4. moneths since the Count of *Mansfelt* made the proposition to me, to nominate my son to be one of his Colonels, as he did likewise to my Lord of *Holland* for his Brother Sir *Charles Rich*; which at the first (I must deal plainly with your Lordship) I took for a piece of art, as if he knowing, that next to the benefit and assistance he received from your Lordships favour and protection, we were the most active instruments employed in his businesse, and therefore he sought

sought to ingage us so much the farther by this interest. But afterwards I found, that under the shadow of this Complement put upon me, he had a desire to gratifie Sir *James Ramsey*, whom he designed to be my sons Lieutenent, having regard to his former deserts, and the courage and sufficiencie he hath found in him. I professe unto your Lordship sincerely, that he received no other encouragement, or acceptance from me then a bare negative; Insomuch as he afterwards sent a Gentleman to tell me, That he perceived whatsoever he should expect from me in the furtherance of his businesse, must be onely for the respect I bare to my Masters service, and nothing for love of his person, since I accepted not the proffer of his service. My Lord of *Holland* can justifie the truth of this assertion, who alone was acquainted with that which passed: for I protest upon my salvation, that I neither spake of it to any creature living, not so much as to my son, neither have I written one word thereof to the Count *Mansfelt*, neither knew I any thing of his proceedings, till by the last Currier Mr. Secretarie was pleased to acquaint me with the nomination of my son. If I had seriously intended any such thing, I want not so much judgment and discretion, as not first to discover my desire to my gracious Master, humbly craving his leave, and allowance: And I should not have failed to have recourse to your Lordships favourable assistance therein. And thus (my Noble Lord) have I given you an account what entertainment I gave to the Count *Mansfelts* Complement. And I will be bold also to give your Lordship this further assurance, that no particular interest, or consideration of mine own shall have power to alter my constant course of serving my gracious Master faithfully, and industriously. And so humbly submitting all to his Majesties good pleasure, and your Lordships wisdom, I remain eternally

Your Graces most faithful friend,  
and humble servant,

*Carlile.*

*Postscript.*

I Most humbly beseech your Lordship that this unfortunate Complement put upon my son, may be no prejudice to the deserts of Sir *James Ramsey*.

*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.**My Noblest Lord,*

I Find the Queen Mother hath the onely power of governing in this State, and I am glad to find it so, since she promises, and professes, to use it to do careful, and good offices in the way of increasing the friendship that is between us, and this State, and likewise to relieve, and assist the united provinces, the which they are preparing to do fullie, and bravely; for she hath now a clear sight of the pretensions of the King of *Spain* unto the Monarchie of Christendom; during the absence of the King, who went out of this town earlie the next day after I arrived here (before I was prepared to attend him) I have been often at the *Louvre*, where I had the honour to entertain the Queen Mother. She was willing to know upon what terms stood our Spanish alliance; I told her that their delays had been so tedious, that they had somewhat discouraged the King, and had so wearied the Prince, and State, which the dilatorie proceedings in it, as that Treatie (I thought) would soon have an end; She streight said of marriage, taking it that way; I told her I believed the contrarie, and I did so the rather, because the Spanish Embassadour hath given it out since my coming, that the Alliance is fully concluded, and that my journey had no other end, then to hasten his Master unto it, only to give them Jealousies of me, because he at this time feares their dispositions stand too well prepared to desire, and affect a conjunction with us. And truly his report, and instruments have given some jealousies to the persons of power in this State, especially since they find I can say nothing directly unto them; yet thus much I have directly from them, *Monsieur de Vieville*, and others, (but he is the chief guider of all affaires here) That never was the affection of any State so prepared to accept all offers of amitie and alliance, so we will cleerly, and as disingaged persons seek it, as is this; but as a wise minister he saies, that until we have whollie, and truly abandoned the treatie with *Spain*, they may lose the friendship of a brother in law, that is already so, in hope of gaining another that they may fall of. But when we shall see it reallie by a publique Commission, that may declare all dissolved, that touches upon the way of *Spain*, we shall then understand their hearts not to be capable of more joy, then that will bring them. And the Queen Mother told me she had not lost those inclinations, that she hath heretofore expressed to desire her Daughter may be given to the Prince, with many words of value unto the King, and person of the Prince, and  
more



more then this she could not (she thought) well say, it being most natural, for the woman to be demanded and sought. It is most certain, that under-hand *Spain* hath done all that is possible to procure this State to listen to a crosse-marriage, but here they are now so well understood, as this baite will not be swallowed by them. This I have from a grave, and honest man, that would not be brought to justifie it, therefore he must not hear of it. It is the *Savoy* Embassadour, that is resident here, a wise, and a Gallant Gentleman, who vowes this to be most true. So general a desire was never expressed, as is here for alliance with us: and if the King and Prince have as many reasons of State at this time, besides their infinite affection here, to have it so continued, let it be roundly, and clearly pursued, and then I dare promise as respective, and satisfactorie a reception, as can be imagined, or desired. And if it were not too much saucinesse for me to advise, I could wish that the propositions of a league, and marriage may not come together, but may be treated apart. For I doubt whether it may not be thought a little dishonourable for this King to give his sister conditionallie, that if he will make war upon the King of *Spain* his brother, we will make the alliance with him; on the other part, if the league should be propounded here, with all those reasons of State, that are now pressing for them to make it, they have causes to doubt, and so have we too, that we may both be interrupted in that; for certainly the King of *Spain*, will (if he can possibly) please one side, the which they think here may be us, with the restitution of the *Palatinate*, and we may likewise fear may be them, with the rendring of the *Valholme*, these being the only open quarrels we must ground upon. Now as long as these doubts may possesse us both, this will prove a tedious, and jealous work of both sides; But if we fall speedily upon a treatie, and conclusion of a marriage, the which will find (I am perswaded) no long delayes here: neither will they strain us to any unreasonableness in conditions for our Catholics (as far as I can find) then will it be a fitt time for to couclnde a league, the which they will then for certain do, when all doubts, and feares of fallings off, are by this conjunction taken away, and the necessity of their own affaires, and safety will then make them more desire it then we, and so would they now, if they could think it so sure, and so honourable for them. For the King of *Spain* hath so imbraced them of all sides, as they fear, and justly, that he will one day crush them to their destruction. My Lord, I do not presume to say any thing immediately to the King, thorough your hands, this I know will passe unto him, and if he should find any weaknesse in



*The Lord Kensington to the Prince.*

this that I have presumed to say, let the strength of your favour exercise those accustomed Noblenesses that you have alwayes expressed unto

Your Graces most humble and  
obliged Servant,

*Kensington.*

*Postscript.*

**W**ithin these few dayes your Grace shall hear again from me; for as yet I have not seen the King, no otherwise then the first night I arrived here. This night he is come unto the Town again.

*The Lord Kensington to the Prince, 26. February,*  
1624.

*May it please your Highnesse,*

**I** Find here so infinite a value of your Person, and virtue, as what Instrument so ever (my self the very weakeſt) having ſome commands (as they imagine) from you, ſhall receive exceſſe of honours from them. They will not conceive me, ſcarce receive me, but as a publique Inſtrument for the ſervice of an Alliance, that above all the things in this world, they do ſo earneſtly deſire. The Queen Mother hath expreſſed, as far as ſhe thinks is fit for the honour of her Daughter, great favour and good will in it. I took the boldneſſe to tell her (the which ſhe took extreamly well) that if ſuch a propoſition ſhould be made, your Highneſſe could not believe, that ſhe had loſt her former inclinations, and deſires in it; She ſaid, your truſt of her ſhould find great reſpect; there is no preparation I find towards this buſineſſe but by her, and all perſwaſions of amitie made light, that look not towards this end. And Sir, if your intentions proceed this way, as by many reaſons of State, and wiſdom there is cauſe now rather to preſſe it, then ſlacken it) you will find a Ladie of as much Lovelineſſe and Sweetneſſe to deſerve your affection, as any creature under Heaven can do. And Sir, by all her faſhions ſince my being here, and by what I hear from the Ladies, it is moſt viſible to me, her infinite value, and reſpect unto you. Sir, I ſay not this to be-  
tray

tray your belief, but from a true observation, and knowledge of this to be so ; Itell you this, and must somewhat more, in way of admiration of the person of Madam, for the impressions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amazement extraordinary to find her, as I protest to God I did, the sweetest Creature in *France*. Her growth is very little, short of her age ; and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her Mother, and the Ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion, and quicknesse. She dances (the which I am a witnesse of) as well as ever I saw any Creature ; They say she sings most sweetly, I am sure she looks so. Sir, you have thousands of servants here, that desire to be commanded by you, but most particularly the D. of *Chevereux*, and Mounsieur *Le Grand*, who seek all opportunities to do you service, and have Credit and power to do so. Sir, if these that are strangers are thus ambitious of your Commands, with what infinite passion have I cause to beg them, that am your Vassal, and have no other glory but to serve you ; as your Highnesse, &c.

*Kensington.*

*Postscript.*

Sir, The obligations you have unto this young Queen are strange, for with that same affection, that the Queen your sister would do, she asks of you with all the expressions that are possible, of joy, for your safe return out of *Spain*, and told me, that she durst say, you were wearie with being there, and so should she : though she be a *Spaniard*, yet I find she gives over all thought of your Alliance with her sister. Sir, you have the fortune to have respects put upon you unlookt for ; for as in Spain the Queen there did you good offices : so I find will this sweet Queen do. Who said, She was sorry, when you saw them practise their Masques, that Madam her sister (whom she dearly loves) was seen at so much disadvantage by you, to be seen afar off, and in a dark room, whose person and face hath most loveliness to be considered neerly. She made me shew her your Picture, the which she let the Ladies see with infinite Commendations of your Person, saying, She hoped some good occasion might bring you hither, that they might see you like your self.

*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.**My Lord,*

Yesternight being Sunday, I arrived safe here at *Paris*. I was informed as soon as I came, that the King was resolved after sight of the Queens Masque (that was to be performed that same night,) that he would go a private journey for 5. or 6. daies to *Shautelie*, a house of Mounſieur de *Memorancies*.

Being deſirous therefore to kiſſe his hands before his going, and to ſee the Court in that glory and luſtre, as muſt for certain be found upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion, I went to the *Louvre* to the D. of *Chevreux* Chamber, where I found him and his Ladie apparelled themſelves for the Masque, and in ſuch infinite riches of Jewels, as I ſhall never be a beholder of the like worn by Subjects. I had not been there above an hour, but the Queen and Madam came thither, where they ſtaid a great while. And it was obſerved, that Madam hath ſeldom put on a more cheerful then that night. There were ſome that told me, I might gueſſe at the cauſe of it. My Lord, I proteſt to God, ſhe is a lovely, ſweet, young Creature. Her growth is not great yet, but her ſhape is perfect, and they all ſwear, that her ſiſter the Princeſſe of *Piemont* (who is now grown a tall and a goodly Ladie) was not taller then ſhe is at her age. I thought the Queen would have put a faſhion of reſervation upon me, as not pleaſed with the breach, and diſorder of the Spaniſh Treatie; but I found it far otherwiſe. She is ſo truly *French*, as (it is imagined) ſhe rather wiſhes this alliance, then with her own ſiſter. The King (that was ſo early to go out of the Town) took his reſt, while the Ladies were making themſelves ready; but as ſoon as he waked, he ſent for me, and purpoſed to have received me as an Embaſſadour. But I intreated the D. of *Chevreux* before I went, to let him underſtand, that I came as an humble and thankful ſervant onely to kiſſe his Maſteſties hands, and had no other end then to do him ſervice. He then received me with much freedom and cheerfulneſſe, with many queſtions how the King is ſatiſfied with his Preſent by Mounſieur de *Bonevan*, who when I related the Kings liking, and value of it, he was infinitely pleaſed. He commanded me to attend him to the Masque, which was danced by 16. of the greateſt Princeſſes of *France*, St. *Luke* only being by the Queen received amongſt them, to put a ſingular honour, and value upon her. The King with his Brother had danced a Masque the laſt Tueſday, with the ſame number of perſons of the beſt quality; who this night were to caſt Lots, who ſhould dance with the ſixteen Ladies,



Ladies, they onely being allowed to dance with them. And all those were so infinitely rich in Jewels, (embroiderie of gold and silver being here forbidden) as they had almost all imbroidered their cloathes as thick with Diamonds, as usuaily with purl.

I cannot give your Lordship any particular account of my service in any thing, yesternight being an unproper time for any such thing: But I am advised by the Prince *Jervile* to stay here till the Kings return, and I shall understand how all things stand, and that no mans affection is so straight and true for the service of the King and Prince as his is, who of himself falls into passionate wishes for an Alliance, but tells me in much libertie, they have been informed the cause and plot of my journey was to set an edge upon Spain, rather to cut off their delaies, then to cut the throat of the businesse. But I gave him great satisfaction in that point.

My Lord, these are passages of my first nights being here, matters of ceremonie; and yet I omit much of that. I thought these too slight to trouble his Majestie, or the Prince with, yet I thought it fit since this Messenger goes, to let you see this outward show, and face of this Court, to have as much sweetnesse, smoothnesse, and clearnesse towards our designs as is possible. My next Letters shall inform you of a further search made by me, the which I am confident will be of the same nature. And I conceive it the rather, because I find them in a great alarum at the newes, that they have received from *Leige*, that the King of Spain makes a Fort upon the ruine there to command both that, and the Town. This they say hath made them more clearly see his vast ambition to enlarge his Monarchie, and do all speak the careful and honest language of our Lower house men how it may be prevented.

I have said enough, the Messenger I dare say thinks too much; yet this I will add, That I will study to make it appear to the world, and your self, by a thankful heart, and to God himself in my prayers for your Lordship, that I am

Your Lordships

Most devoted, and most  
humble servant,

*Kensington.*

*Postscript.*



*Postscript.*

**I**F the *French* Embassadour, or my Lord of *Carlile* wonders I have not written unto them, I beseech your Lordship, let them know this Messenger is not of my sending, and in such haste as he cannot be stayed.

*The Lord Kensington to the Prince.*

*May it please your Highnesse,*

**I** Cannot but make you continual repetitions of the value you have here, to be (as justly we know you) the most Compleat young Prince and person in the world. This reputation hath begotten in the sweet Princeesse Madam, so infinite an affection to your fame, as she could not contain her self from a passionate desiring to see your Picture, the shadow of that person so honoured, and knowing not by what means to compasse it, it being worn about my neck; for though others, as the Queen and Princeesses would open it, and consider it, the which ever brought forth admiration from them, yet durst not this poor young Ladie look any otherwise on it then afar off, whose heart was nearer it then any of the others, that did most gaze upon it. But at the last (rather then want that sight the which she was so impatient of) she desired the Gentlewoman of the house where I am lodged, that had been her servant to borrow of me the picture in all the secrecie that may be, and to bring it unto her, saying, She could not want that Curiositie as well as others towards a person of his infinite reputation. As soon as she saw the party that brought it, she retired into her Cabiner, calling onely her in; where she opened the picture in such haste, as shewed a true picture of her passion, blushing in the instant at her own guiltinesse. She kept it an hour in her hands, and when she returned it, she gave with it many praises of your person. Sir, this is a businesse so fit for your secrecie, as I know it shall never go farther, then unto the King your Father, my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, and my Lord of *Carliles* knowledge. A tendernesse in this is honourable; for I would rather die a thousand times, then it should be published, since I am by this young Lady trusted, that is for beautie and goodnesse an Angel.

I have received from my Lord of *Buckingham* an advertisement,  
that

that your Highnesse opinion is to treat of the General league first, that will prepare the other.

Sir, whatsoever shall be propounded will have a noble acceptation; though this give me leave to tell you, when you are free, as by the next newes we shall know you to be, they will expect, that upon those declarations they have here already made towards that particularitie of the Alliance, that your Highnesse will go that readier and nearer way to unite and fasten by that knot the affection of these Kingdomes.

Sir, for the general they all here speak just that language that I should, and do unto them of the power and usurpation of the *Spaniards*, of the approaches they make to this Kingdom, the danger of the *Low-Countries*, the direct Conquest of *Germany* and the *Valtoline*. By which means we have cause to joyn in opposition of the Ambitions, and mightinesse of this King. The which they all here say cannot be so certainly done as by an Alliance with us. This they speak perpetuallie, and urge it unto my consideration.

Sir, unlesse we proceed very roundly, though they be never so well affected, we may have interruptions by the arts of Spain, that make offers infinite to the advantage of this State, at this time. But they hearken to none of them, untill they see our intentions towards them. The which if they find to be real indeed, they will give us brave satisfaction.

But Sir, your Fathers and your will, not my opinion must be followed; and what Commandments your Highnesse shall give me, shall be most strictly obeyed by the most devoted,

Your Highnesse

Most dutifull and humblest  
servant,

*Kensington.*

*The Lord Kensington to the Duke, the 14. of*  
March, 1624.

*My Lord,*

**I** Have already acquainted your Grace how generally our desires are met with here, much more cannot be said then I have already for that purpose. There was never known in this Kingdome so intire an agreement for any thing, as for an Alliance with *England*, the Count of *Soysons* onely excepted, who hath had some pretensions unto Madam, but those are now much discouraged, upon a free discourse the Cardinal of *Rochfalcourt* made unto the Countesse his Mother, telling her, That if she or her son believed, or could expect, the King would give him his sister in marriage; they would (as he conceived) deceive themselves: for he imagined upon good grounds, that the King would bestow his Sister that way, that might be most for her honour and advancement, and likewise for the advantage of his Crown and Kingdom; and he professed for his part, although he much honoured the Count as a great Prince of the blood, yet was he so faithful unto his Master, as he would advise him to that purpose.

The Queen Mother and Mounseur *Le Grand* have advised me to say something unto the King concerning my businesse. I told them, I could say nothing very directly unto him, and yet would I not so much as deliver my opinion of the King my Masters inclinations to with an alliance with him, unlesse I were assured, his answers might make me see his value, and respect unto him. They then spake unto him, and assured me, I should in that be satisfied. Having that promise from them, I told the King, that I had made this journey of purpose to declare unto him my humble service and thankfulness for all his Honours and favours, the which I thought I could not better expresse, then by informing his Majestie, that our Prince whom he had ever so much valued, would be as I conceived free, and disingaged from our Spanish Treatie, by reason that the King could not find them answer his expectation in those things that made him principally desire their Conjunction; the which your Lordship seeing you have exercised your interest and credit with the King your Master, and the Prince to convert those thoughts towards his Majestie, from whom, you were perswaded nothing but truth and honour would be returned, the which at this time more then ever, would be an infinite advantage to both these Kingdoms, and that I believed if his Majestie

He would shew a disposition, as affectionate to receive Propositions to this purpose, as the King my Master had to make them, a long time would not passe before the effects of this might appear, the which would shew the report raised here of the ends of my coming to be false, and me to be free of all other designs, then those which I had expressed unto him. He told me, that he had not heard, that the Spanish Match was yet broken, the which justly might give him cause to be reserved; yet thus far he would assure me in the general, That whatsoever should be propounded unto him from the King of Great Britain, he would most heartily and affectionately receive it: but this was with such a fashion of Courtesie, as shewed that he desired cause to have said more, and I am fully satisfied not onely from him, but the Queens, and most of all of Madam her self, who shewes all the sweetnesse and contentment that may be, and likewise from all the Officers of the Crown, and State, that they can desire nothing equal with this alliance. A better and more large preparation then this my instructions cannot make, and I wonder to see it thus fair, considering the hinderances and defacings the Spanish Embassadour desires to cast upon it, who besides the *Rodomontado's* and threatenings of the preparations of his Master, doth here take a contrary, but cunning way, letting them know, that the Prince cannot have two Wives, for their Infanta is surely his, onely to create a jealousy and shienesse in them towards me, that he suspects labours to do offices that are not to his liking.

You will therefore I hope speedily put this State out of these doubts, and clearly and freely proceed with them. Upon my credit and reputation, they are all of that disposition, that we can wish them to be, and it appears by their tender care of the States, and their resolution to ayd them: And likewise in sending Captain *Coborn*, that came from the Duke of *Brunswick* to demand a supplie of men, who is returned with answer unto him, that he shall have double what he required, and great satisfaction to the Count *Mansfelt*, that sent a Gentleman hither, to let the King know, he was not yet in such disorder, but that he could assemble his Troops to such a number, as might do his Majestie good service, if he would be pleased to take him into his protection and favour.

And the King hath sent a Gentleman of the Religion a *Sedanois* to *Leige*, to give information to this State of the proceedings of the *Spaniards* there, and to be ready to receive (if the Town shall seek it) the protection of them. But these passages I am sure you continually understand from our Embassadour, the which makes me omit



*The Lord Kensington to the Secretary.*

many particularities in this kind that I could inform you of. I have sent this Bearer of purpose, the which I beseech your Grace return with some speed, and with him the resolutions of our dear and Sacred Master, whom God ever blesse and keep to our glorie and comfort.

My Lord I am

The humblest and most obliged of all your Graces servants,

*Kensington.*

*The Lord Kensington to the Secretary the Lord  
Conway.*

*Right Honourable,*

According to his Majesties order which your last of April the 14. derived unto me, I have represented such reasons to the King, and his ministers of State here, against the sending of any person, in what quality soever, to the Duke of *Baviers*, as they acquiesce in them; speciallie for that they come commanded under his Majesties desire, which they professe to be very willing to comply with, not only in this, but in any other occasion wherein his Majestie may directly, or indirectly be any way interessed.

I took the same opportunity of preparing the way a little farther to a formal treaty of alliance, by feeling once again their pulse in matters of religion, and find, that it beats so temperately, as promises a very good Crisis of any thing that may concern that particular.

I dealt plainly with the Marquesse *de la Veiville* touching the course that his Majestie may be driven to hold against Jesuites and Priests, of banishing them the Kingdom; and of quickning the lawes against the other Catholiques, as well out of necessity of reducing them within the bounds of sobriety and obedience, as of keeping good intelligence with his Parliament, without which he could not possibly go thorough with such a weighty work, as he is now to undertake. He approved of the course for the ends sake; under hope notwithstanding that his Majestie would not tie his own hands  
from

from some moderate favour hereafter, which is all they pretend unto, and desire it may flow from the mediation of this State upon an alliance here, for the saving of their honour, who otherwise will be hardly reputed Catholics.

In representing a facility in these things, I leave no other difficulties to be imagined.

Their good inclination to the match in general they are willing to demonstrate, (as by many other evidences, so), by the care, they are now under of lodging, and defraying my Lord of *Carlisle*, and my self in a more splendid and Magnifique manner, then ever yet they did any Embassadour whatsoever, for such is the language that *Ville-aux-Clères* holds to me upon that subject.

The Count of *Soissons* sees it, and stornes, and manifests his discontent towards me (who am the instrument) more fellie then discreetly. I encountred him the other day, and gave him the due that belonged to his rank, but instead of returning me my salute, he disdainfullie turned back his head. I was somewhat sensible thereof, and I told *Monsieur de Grandmont* of it, and as he, and I were discoursing of it the day following, *Soissons* offered himself full butt upon us a second time. I again repeated my courtesie, and he is childish in civility. *Grandmont* found it strange, and intimated to the *Marquesse de la Valette* a familiar, and confident of the Counts both my observation, and his own distaste of such an uncivil kind of proceeding. *Valette* conveyes the same to *Soissons* himself, who answered that he could not afford me a better countenance, not for any ill will he bore unto my person, but to my errand and negotiation; which (were it not in the behalf of so great a Prince) went so near his heart, as he professed, he would cut my throat if he could. Nay, were any Prince of *Savoy*, *Mantova*, or *Germany* here in person to sollicite for themselves in the like nature, he would hazard his life in the cause. Such is the language that despaire brings forth, which put me into an expectation of no lesse then a challenge to decide the quarrel. And I once verily believed it sent, for the Count *de Lude* came very soberly to me, and told me, he had a message to deliver me from a great Personage, which he intreated he might do without offence.

I desired him to speak freely what it was, and from whom He told me he was sent by the Count of *Soissons*, and I presently replied that nothing should come amisse from him. In conclusion the errand was to signifie an extream liking, that the Count took to one of my Horses, which he was desirous to buy of me upon any rate. I answered

ed.

ed, that if the Count would expresse to me his desire himself, and receive him of guift, he should be at his service, otherwise he should remain still as he was. Since that I have met him, & been prevented with a very courteous salute from him. I have been thus ample in these particular passages betwixt the Count and my self, that by the trouble you find in his disconsolate breast, you may judge of the constancie of Madams heart towards our Prince, upon whom assuredly it is most strongly set, (as she continually expresses upon all occasions.) Yesterday I had the honour to entertain her two hours together, and received so many testimonies of respect, as witnessed very warm affections towards the Personage I did represent. Amongst other discourse, She fell to speak of Ladies riding on horseback, which she said was rare here but frequent in England, and then expressed her delight in that exercise.

There is lately arrived here a French Gentleman (*Duport* by name) with commission from the King of *Bohemia* to sollicite this Kings favour (in consequence of his Majesties generous, and Gracious declaration in his behalf) for the recovering of his rightful inheritance, to intreat that *Baviers* may no wayes be countenanced in his unjust pretensions, and to crave (in this his extreamity) a reimbursement of the remainder of that sum, which his father lent to *Henry* the fourth in the times of his necessities, which may arise to the sum of 30000 Crownes; the facilitating of this negotiation is recommended unto me, who contribute what I can to the good successe thereof. There hath happened here this last Munday a dispute between the *Marquis de Courtenvant* one of the first Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, and the Colonel *de Ornano* (*Monsieurs* Governour) about a lodging, which this pretended unto as most convenient for him, in regard that it adjoynd to that of *Monsieurs*; but the other claimed a right unto it by a former assignation, and possession. *Ornano* at the first prevailed, till the other complained to the King, who commanded the Colonel to quit the lodging to him; which his people refusing (out of a presumption perhaps, that the commandement was rather formal then real) the King sent 3. or 4. of his guard to reiterate the commandement, and in case of refusal to obey, to cast out all the stuff, and to kill all such as should oppose. Thus *Courtenvant* got the day; perhaps by *Vieilles* recommendation in opposition of *Toirax*, between whom, there hath been lately a little contestation upon this occasion. *Vieville* being desirous to strengthen himself, and to stand upon the surest bottom he could, endeavoured to joyn a confident of his in equal commission with the *Garde des Seaux*, that so he might  
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in time work it out, and prevail himself of that office at his devotion. The *Garde des Seaux* finding feeble resistance in himself, addressed his course to *Toirax* to seek under his Covert shelter from that disgrace, and injurie. *Toirax* undertakes his defence; *Vieville* expostulates the matter with him, and alleadges many reasons to justify his intentions, which the other gaine saying, with some little warmesse, hath occasioned by that heat, a coldesse of affection between them ever since, and that so far forth, as it hath grown to be notorious.

To the same original, I reduce the Cardinal *de Richlieus* introduction into the Councel of the Cabinet by the favour of *Vieville* (being made also an Instrument thereunto by the Queen) that by making his own partie strong in Councel, he may the more easily crush any adversarie, that shall grapple with him. Yesterday he was admitted; so that now that Councel is composed of the Queen Mother, the Cardinal *de la Rouch-foucant*, *Richlien*, the Constable *Vieville*, and the *Garde des Seaux*.

Before I had finished this Letter, I had occasion to visit the Constable, to whom I used the same language, that formerly I had done to *la Vieville*, and with the like approbation. And when I touched upon the point of dispensation, how it might be passed over, he assured me in general, that such was the disposition of this King, and State to give the Prince content, as he might be (in a manner) his own Carver how he pleased.

This is the account I can give you of the publique: but how shall I expresse the deep sense I have of my obligations to your favour in particular? shall I multiply in thanks? It is too ordinary a payment for so many Noble expressions of your love. I will rather endeavour by my deeds constantly and continually to witnesse unto you, that I intirely rest

Your most faithful and most  
Humble Servant,

*Kenfington.*



*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.**My most dear, and Noble Lord,*

**B**ESIDES that joynt Letter to your Lordship from my Colleague, and my self, I think fit to add this particular account of what passed yesterday at *Ruel* betwixt Queen Mother, and me; whither going to give her double thanks; as for the libertie, she had given me of access to all times to Madam, to entertain her henceforth with a more free, and amorous kind of language from the Prince; so for having so readily condescended to an humble suit of mine in the behalf of my Lord of *Carlile* for a favourable Letter for him to your Lordship; she was pleased to oblige me farther in telling me she did it meerly for my sake. I redoubled my thanks, and added, that I knew your Lordship would esteeme it one of the greatest happinesses that could befall you to have an occasion offered, whereby you might witnesse, how much you adored her Majesties royal virtues, and how infinitely you were her Servant, readie to receive law from her, whensoever by the least syllable of her blessed Lips or Penn, she should please to impose it. And this I did (as on the one side to gratifie my Colleague, who would be infinitely sensible of the disgrace he apprehends in the misse of the *Ribbon*, being thus brought upon the Stage for it) as also to help to mesnage that your Gracious favour which *Monsieur de Fiatts* to my Lord represents unto him, by giving you meanes withal to oblige this sweet & blessed Queen, who hath your Lordship in a very high account, and would be glad to find occasions how she may witnesse it. The mention of my Lord of *Carlile* upon this occasion refreshed her remembrance of the late falling out betwixt the Cardinal and him; and though she were sufficiently informed of the particulars by the Cardinal himself, yet she would needs have a relation from me, who in a merrie kind of fashion obeyed her command, and salved every thing the best I could. She would needs know my opinion of the Cardinal, who so magnified to her his wisdom, his courage, his courtesie, his fidelity to her service, his affection to our businesse as pleased her not a little. Neither did my heart and my tongue differ, for I esteem him such. This discourse she left to fall upon a better subject, the Prince, concerning whose voyage into Spain, the censure of *Italie* (she said) was, that two Kings had therein committed two great errors. The one in adventuring so precious a pledge to so hazardous an enterprize, the other in badly using so brave a guest. The first, Madam, (answered I) may be excused from the end, the common good of all Christendom,

dom, which then standing upon desperate tearmes, had need of a desperate remedie. The second had need of a better advocate then I, to put any colour of defence upon it.

But his Highnesse had observed as great a weaknesse and follie as that, in that after they had used him so ill, they would suffer him to depart, which was one of the first speeches he uttered after he was entered into the ship. But did he say so? said the Queen. Yes Madam I will assure you (quoth I) from the witnesse of my own eares. She smiled, and replied, Indeed I heard he was used ill. So he was (answered I) but not in his entertainment, for that was as splendid as that countrie could afford it, but in their frivolous delayes, and in the unreasonable conditions, which they propounded, and pressed (upon the advantage they had of his Princely Person.) And yet (smilingly added I) you here (Madam) use him far worse. And how so? presently demanded she? In that you presse (quoth I) upon that most worthie, and Noble Prince, (who hath with so much affection to your Majesties service, so much passion to Madam sought this Alliance.) The same, nay more unreasonable conditions then the other, and what they traced out for the breaking of the match you follow, pretending to conclude it very unreasonably in this Conjunction of time, especiallie when the jealousies, that such great changes in state, are apt to beget, are cunningly fomented by the Spanish Embassadour in *England*, who vaunts it forth, that there is not so great a change in *La Vieilles* particular person, as there is in the general affections, which did but follow before the stream of his Greatnesse and credit.

Thus casting in the Kings mind the seed of doubts, whereunto the *Conde de Olivares* in Spain hath been willing to contribute by this braving speech to our Royal Masters Embassadour there, That if the Pope ever granted a dispensation for the match with *France*, the King of Spain would march with an armie towards *Rome* and sack it. *Vrayement nous l'en empescherons bien* (promptly answered She) *Car nous lui taglierons assez de besongne ailleurs. Mais qu'est-ce qui vous presse le plus.* I represented unto her the unfitnesse of the seventh Article (even qualified by that interpretation, hat it is) and the impossibility of the last which requires, and prescribes an oath. And desired that the honour of the Prince (with whom she pretended a will to match her Daughter) might be dearer to her, then to be balanced with that, which could add nothing to their assurance. I also humbly besought her to imploy her Credit with the King her son, her authority to the Ministers for a reformation of those two Articles

especially, and a friendly, and speedy dispatch of all.

And if we must come to that extremitie, that more could not be altered, then already was, yet at least she would procure the allowance of this protestation by the King our Master, when he should swear them, that he intended no further to oblige himself by that oath, then might well stand with the safety, peace, tranquillity, and conveniency of his State. This shee thought reasonable, and promised to speak with the King and Cardinal about it. And if you speak as you can (replied I) I know it will be done, Though when all is done, I know not whether the King my Master will condescend so far yea, or no. Here I intreated I might weary her Majestie no further, but take the libertie she had pleased to give me in entertaining Madam with such Commandments as the Prince had charged me withall to her. She would needs know what I would say. Nay then (smiling quoth I) your Majestie will impose upon me the like Law that they in Spain did upon his Highnesse. But the case is now different (said she) for there the Prince was in person, here is but his Deputie. But a Deputie (answered I) that represents his person. *Mais pour tout cela (dit elle) qu'est ce que vous direz? Rien (dis-re) qui ne Soit digne des oreilles d'une si vertueuse Princeesse. Mais qu'est ce?* redoubled she? Why then Madam (quoth I) if you will needs know, it shall be much to this effect; That your Majestie having given me the libertie of some freer Language then heretofore, I obey the Prince his Command, in presenting to her his service, not by way of Complement any longer, but out of passion, and affection, which both her outward, and her inward beauties (the virtues of her mind) so kindled in him, as he was resolved to contribute the uttermost he could to the Alliance in question, and would think it the greatest happinesse in the world, if the successe thereof might minister occasion of expressing in a better, and more effectual manner his devotion to her service; with some little other such like amorous Language. *Allez, Allez, Il n'y a point de danger en tout cela* (smilingly answered she) *je me fie en vous, je me fie en vous.* Neither did I abuse her trust, for I varied not much from it, in delivering it to Madam, save that I amplified it to her a little more, who drank it down with joy, and with a low Curtesie acknowledged it to the Prince; adding, that she was extreemly obliged to his Highnesse, and would think her self happie in the occasion, that should be presented of meriting the place shee had in his good Graces.

After that, I turned my speech to the old Ladies that attended, and told them, That sith the Queen was pleased to give me this liberty, it would



would be henceforth fit for them to speak a suitable Language. I let them know that his Highnesse had her Picture, which he kept in his Cabinet, and fed his eyes many times with the sight, and contemplation of it; sith he could not have the happinesse to behold her person. All which and other such like speeches, she (standing by) took up without letting any one fall to the ground.

But I fear your Lordship will think I gather together too much to enlarge my Letter thus far: but it is, that by these Circumstances your Lordship may make a perfect judgment of the issue of our negotiation, which I doubt not but will succeed to his Majesties, his Highnesse, and your Lordships contentment: And so yeeld matter of triumph to you, and infinite joy to me

Your Lordships

Most most humble, most obliged,  
and most obedient servant,

*Kensington.*

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*The Lord Kensington to the Duke.*

*My most dear Lord,*

**T**HIS Bearer your Cousen's going is in such haste, as what you receive from me must be in very few words. I was yesterday with the Marquesse *de Vieville*, whom I find cordial to do good offices between ours, and this Kingdome; and he assures me by all the promises and protestations that may be, he will ever use his credit and power to do so, knowing these Kingdoms can (as the King of Spain's power and ambition increases) have no true safetie and good, unlesse we joyn in friendship and alliance. He is very free to me, telling me, That to prevent this, the King of Spain offers now the largest conditions of satisfaction and friendship that can be imagined, but their thoughts here are wholly bent towards us; And although as yet, the King cannot with honour or wisdom say more then he hath done, yet we may be assured when we are free, to be satisfied in all we can desire.

This day I understand the Earl of *Argile* is like lightning passed by



*The Earl of Holland to the Duke.*

for *Spain*, and by a special Command from the King it is to put us in more terrour; That he will use his service in *Scotland*, where I believe he hath little credit and power to offend us. But howsoever they omit nothing that may dishearten us, but we are of too noble and constant a temper, either to fear their cunning or power.

My Lord, give me leave to beseech you, not to defer our businessse, for never can this State be found so rightly and truly inclined in love and affection towards us. And the rather hasten it, because all the art that may be is daily used from *Spain* to prevent us, and if we go not roundly and clearly with them here, they may have jealousies and discouragements that may change them: Take them therefore now, when I dare promise they are free, very free from those thoughts. My Lord, pardon the haste of this Letter, that hath no more time given me but to tell you, that you never can have any servant more devotedly yours, then is

Your Graces

Most obliged and most  
humble servant,

*Kensington.*

*The Earl of Holland to the Duke.*

*My dearest Lord,*

WE have made a final conclusion of this great Treatie. Upon what terms the dispatch at large will shew your Grace: We have concluded honourably, that which we could not do safely; for to receive words, that obliged not, would have appeared an unwise, and imperfect Treatie of our part, and no way worthy of the greatnesse of our Master, nor the passion of his Highnesse, the which now hath a brave expression, since his Mistresse is only considered, and desired, and the only object of our Treatie. But I must tell you, that since we have proceeded thus, they say, they will out-go us in the like braverie, doing tentimes more then we expect, or they durst promise, fearing the World would conceive all their doings conditionally; the which would be dishonourable for Madam. But that being safe, they now say their interest is greater then ours for the recovering of the *Palatinate*, and they will never abandon us in that action.

action. I hope we shall shortly have the honour and happinesse to see your Grace here; where you will be (as justly you deserve) adored. You must make haste, for we are promised our sweet Princeesse within six weeks. I beseech you let me know your resolution, that I may contrive which way I may best serve you against your coming. I have carefully laboured according unto your Commands in that which the Marquesse *de Fiat*. You may assure him of a speedie and good successe in it, the which he will more fully understand, when Mounseur *de la Ville-aux-Cleres* shall be in *England*. He begins his journey from hence within 3. daies. He is worthy of the best reception that can be given him, having throughout all this Treatie carried himself discreetly and affectionately. I beseech you put the Prince in mind to send his Mistris a Letter: And though I might as the first Instrument employed in his amours, expect the honour to deliver it; yet will I not give my Colleague that cause of envie. But if his Highnesse will write a private Letter unto Madam, and in it expresse some particular trust of me: And that my relations of her, have increased his passion, and affection unto her service, I shall receive much honour, and some right, since I onely have expressed what concerned his passion and affection towards her. If you think me worthy of this honour, procure a Letter to this purpose, and send it me to deliver unto her, and likewise your Commands, the which I will receive for my greatest comforts: living in unhappinesse untill I may by my services expresse how infinitely, and eternally I am

Your Graces

Most humble, and most obliged  
and devoted servant,

*Holland.*

*Postscript.*

**T**He Presents that the Prince will send unto Madam, I beseech you hasten.

*The*

*The Earl of Holland to his Majestie.**May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

**V**VE are in all the pain that may be, to know what to answer to the malicious and continual complaints made by *Blanville* of wrongs and violences done him, even to the assaulting of him in his own lodging, the which he hath represented with so much bitterness, as it took great impression here in the hearts of all, especially of the Queen Mother, whom yesterday I saw in the accustomed priviledge hath ever been given me, to have at all times my entrance free into the *Louvre*. And I the rather went, because I would not shrink at all their furies and clamours, and it came to such a height, as Petitions were given by *Madam de Blanville*, that she might for the injuries done to her husband his Embassadour, have satisfaction upon our persons. But she was (as she deserved) despised for so passionate a follie, yet was it in consideration (as I suspect) by a word that the Queen Mother uttered in her passion to me, who with tears before all the World, being accompanied by all the Princesses and Ladies, told me, (but softly) That if your Majestie continued to affront, and suffer such indignities to be done to the Embassadour of the King her Son, your Majestie must look that your Embassadours shall be used *a la pareylie*. I confesse this stirred me so much, as I told her, That if the intentions of your Majestie were no better considered by the King here, your Majestie commanding us for the good and happiness of his Kingdom, to endeavour to bring, and give him (the which we have done) the greatest blessing in this World, Peace in his Countrie, then to be ballanced with a person, that in requital hath stirred up, and dailie desires to do it, disputes, and jarres, even between your Majestie, and the Queen, we had reason to believe your Majestie most unjustly, and most unworthily requited. And it might take away upon any such occasion, the care, that otherwise you would have had to do the like. And for my part, it took from me all desire ever to be employed upon any occasion hither, where our Actions, that their acknowledgments have been acceptable but a few daies past, are now of so little consideration, as we are of no more weight, then the unworthiest Minister that ever was employed. Upon that I found, she was sorrie for having expressed so much. But this day we had from her a more favourable audience, and from the King the effects and circumstances of that which we have in our Dispatch presented unto my Lord *Conway*.

Sir,

Sir, the malice of this *Blanville* is so great unto your worthie servant my Lord Duke, as he hath written a private Letter unto the King, the which I saw by the favour of a friend, that he is in a condition of danger to be ruined by the furie and power of the Parliament. And to confirm him in that opinion, hath sent all the passages amongst them that concern my Lord Duke; adding to that, of great factions against him at the Councel Table, and naming some Lords, the which makes me see, he hath intelligence with all those, that he believes may contribute any thing towards the mischieving of him. But those that know the magnanimitie and noblenesse of your Majesties heart, know that so noble a vessel of honour and service as he is, shall never be in danger for all the storms that can threaten him: when it is in your Majesties hands not onely to calm all these tempests, but to make the Sun, and beams of your favour to shine more clearly upon his deservings then ever, the which upon this occasion your courage and virtue will no doubt do, to the encouragement of all deserving, and excellent servants, and to his honour and comfort that is the most worthie that ever Prince had: And so affectionate, that the world hath no greater admirations, then the fortunes that the Master and servant have run together. And certainly our good God will ever preserve that affection, that in so many accidents, and one may say afflictions, hath preserved your Persons.

Sir, this boldnesse, that I take, proceeds not from the least doubt these foolish rumours give me of changes, but out of a passionate meditation of those accidents, that your courage and fortune hath carried you through, blessing God for your prosperitie, the which will be by his grace most glorious, and lasting, according to the prayers of

Your Majesties

Most humble, and most obedient  
Subject, and servant,

*Paris 27. March,*  
1625.

*Holland.*

*The*



*The Earl of Holland to the Duke.**My dear Lord,*

THIS Messenger is so rigid, and such an enemy to all *fantaisie*, as by him I will not send any news in that kind; but when the little *Mercurie* comes, you shall know that which shall make you joy, and grieve that you cannot enjoy what your fate and merit hath so justly destined unto you. We have such daily alarms here out of *England* from *Blanville*, of the beating of his servant, and at the last the danger, that of late he himself hath been in, of being assassinated in his own house; for the first word that his servant said unto the King, and the whole Court was, The Embassadour had run such a hazard of his life, as no man that heard him believed he had escaped with lesse then 5. or 6. wounds. Insomuch as your friend *Bouteve* asked, *Fait un belle fine*: And this hath so animated this Court, being (as your Lordship knowes) apt upon all occasions to be fired, and stirred up, as the King hath been moved to forbid us our entries, and liberties here. And yesterday *Madam de Blanville* did openly petition the King to imprison us for the wrongs and injuries done unto her husband, and his Embassadour, that she feared was by this time dead. But that had no other effect but to be laughed at. I never (I confesse) saw the Queen Mother in so much distraction and passion, for she never speaks of her Daughter but with tears, and yesterday with some heat and bitterness to me about it: the Circumstances I have taken the boldnesse to present unto his Majestie. That which distracts me infinitely, is to hear, that they do traduce you, as the cause of all these misfortunes, and that you stirre up the King to these displeasures. And so much impression it hath made into the Queen Mother, as this day at the audience she told me, That you had made the marriage, and were now, as she imagined, and was informed, resolved to destroy your work. I asked her what particularitie could make her say, and believe so against the general, and continual actions and endeavours, that the whole world ought to be satisfied of your infinite care, and affection, to fasten and tie together a good, and constant intelligence and friendship between these Crowns. She told me, that you intreated *Madam de St. George* to do some service for you to the Queen, the which she did, and instead of giving her thanks, you threatned the sending of her away. I told her, Though I had as yet heard nothing of this particularitie, yet I knew your nature to be so generous, as you would never do any action unjust. I told her, that she

he must distinguish between what you say as Commanded by the King, and what you say of your self: for if it be his pleasure to make the instrument to convey his will upon any occasion of his displeasure, you are not to dispute, but to obey his Command in that, and in all other things. I told her farther, that I saw the continual malice of the Embassadour, that invents daily injuries and falshoods of your Lordship, to unload himself from his insolencies and faults; but I hoped that nothing should light upon your Lordship, but what you deserved, the which to my knowledge was more value and esteem, then any man in the world could, or can ever merit from this Kingdom. And I desired her, not to entertain the belief of these things too hastily, until we had newes out of *England*, that we knew would contradict all these malicious discourses. And I must tell your Grace, that by a friend (whom I am tyed not to name) I was shewed the private Lettser that *Blanville* wrote to the King, in the which he sent him the whole proceedings of the Parliament; and concludes they will ruine you, naming great factions against you, and as it were a necessity to destroy you. But I hope he, and the whole world here will fall, before any misfortunes should fall upon so generous, and so noble a deserver of his Master, and so excellent a friend and Patron unto

Your Graces




Most humble, and most obedient servant,


*Holland.*

*Postscript.*

**T**Hough the Embassadour deserves nothing but contempt and disgrace as *Blanville*, yet I hope as Embassadour he shall receive (for publique Honours and accustomed respect to Embassadors) all possible satisfaction, and it will be conceived a generous action.

*My dearest Lord,*

ALL the joy I have, hath such a flatnesse set upon it by your absence from hence, as I protest to God, I cannot rellish it as I ought; for though beautie and love I find in all perfection and fullnesse, yet I vex, and languish to find impediments in our designs and services for you: first in the businesse, for I find our mediation must have no place with this King concerning a Peace. We must only use our power with those of the Religion, to humble them to reasonable Conditions, and that done, they would as far as I can guesse have us gone, not being willing that we should be so much as in the Kingdom, when the Peace is made, for fear the Protestants may imagine, we have had a hand in it. For our Confederation, made by you at the *Hague*, they speak so of it, as they will do something in it, but not so really or friendly as we could wish. But for these things, you allow me, (I trust) to refer you to the general Dispatch: I come now to other particulars; I have been a careful Spie how to observe intentions, and affections towards you. I find many things to be feared, and none to be assured of a safe and real welcome. For the  continues in his suspects, making (as they say) very often discourses of it, and is willing to hear *Villanes* say, That  hath infinite affections, you imagine which way. They say there is whispered amongst the foolish young Bravado's of the Court, That he is not a good *Frenchman* that suffers  to return out of *France*, considering the reports that are raised, many such bruits flie up and down. I have since my coming given Queen Mother by way of discourse occasion to say somewhat concerning your coming, as the other night when she complained to me, That things were carried harshly in *England* towards *France*; I then said, That the greatest unkindnesse and harshnesse came from hence, even to forbid your coming hither, a thing so strange, and so unjust, as our Master had cause, and was infinitely sensible of it. She fell into discourse of you, desiring you would respect, and love her daughter; and likewise that she had, and would ever command her to respect you above all men, and follow all your Councils (the matter of her Religion excepted) with many professions of value and respect unto your Person; but would never either excuse what I complained of, or invite you to come upon that occasion.

sion. But though neither the businesse gives me cause to perswade your coming, nor my reason for the matter of your safetie; yet know you are the most happie, unhappie man alive, for  is beyond imagination right, and would do things to destroy her fortune, rather then want satisfaction in her mind. I dare not speak as I would, I have ventured I fear too much, considering what practises accompany the malice of the people here. I tremble to think whether this will find a safe conveyance unto you. Do what you will, I dare not advise you; to come is dangerous, not to come is unfortunate. As I have lived with you, and only in that enjoy my happinesse, so I will die with you, and I protest to God for you, to do you the least service, &c.

*Postscript.*

**H**Ave no doubt of the partie that accompanied me, for he is yours with his soul, and dares not now (as things go) advise your coming.

*Mr. Lorkin to the Duke, the 30. of  
August, 1625.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**F**ROM an honest and truly devoted heart, to receive the sacrifice of most humble thanks, which come here offered for that excesse of favour, which I behold in those gracious lines, that you are so nobly pleased to honour me withal; and which derive unto me farther, the height of all contentment, his Majesties gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours; which howsoever they cannot shoot up to any high matter from so low an earth, yet (in their greatest force) are eternally vowed (with the price of my dearest blood) as to his Masters faithful service in the first place, so to your Graces in the next; who have received I doubt not ere this, what my former promised in the *Savoyard* Embassadours behalf, and that as well from his own pen, as mine. But this State is very *Euripus*, that flowes, and reflowes 7. times a day, and in whose waies is neither constancie, nor truth. The changes your Grace will find in my Letters to my Lord *Conway*, where-



whereunto I therefore make reference, because I suppose, there will be but one Lecture thereof to his Majestie, and your self.

Therein likewise your Grace will see a suddain comandement laid upon *Monsieur de Blanville premire Gentilhomme de la chambre du Roy* speedily to provide himself to go extraordinary Embassadour into *England*. The cause thereof I rove at in my dispatch, taking my aime from two darke speeches to Queen Mother, and the Cardinal. I have since learned the interpretation of the riddle, not from the Cardinals lips (who yet being sounded by me, pretended a further end then *Ville-aux-cleres* had done, viz; to entertain good intelligence betwixt the Queen of *England*, and your Grace, and to do you all the best offices, and services that are possible;) but from the Duke *de Chevereux*, who (whatsoever pretexts may be taken) makes the true ends of that Voyage to be, first, to try whether this man can mend what (they conceive here) the Duke hath marred, in shewing himself more a servant to the King of *England*, then to his own King and Master. Secondly, to spie and discover what he can; and (according as he shall find cause) to frame Cabals, and factions, whereunto he is esteemed very proper, being charactarized with the marks of a most subtile, prying, penetrating, and dangerous man.

And therefore as an Antidote against the poison he brings, the Duke gives this Caveat aforehand, That every one keep close, and covert towards him, and avoid familiaritie with him, though (otherwise) he wishes a kind and honourable entertainment.

Thus much I received from the Dukes own lips yesternight; (*Bonocil* being witnesse, perhaps Counsellour of all that passed) he promised a memorial in writing this day, which I have attended till this evening, and even now receive it.

I have not touched the least syllable hereof to my Lord *Conway*, because I think both your Graces, and the Duke *de Chevereux's* will may concur in this, that these things be not subject to many eyes.

Even now the *Savoyard* Embassadour sends an expresse Messenger unto me to hasten to *Fountain Bleau*. Perhaps it may be to facilitate the Treatie with *Rochel*, by either some Letter, or Journey of mine thither.

But upon the conference I have had with the Duke *de Chevereux*, I shall temporise, till I hear his Majesties pleasure, or see good evidences

dences of generous effects like to ensue. Being desirous to shape my course so, as may be most acceptable to his Majestie, and pleasing to your Grace, whose virtues I adore, in qualitie of

Your Graces

Most humble, most faithful, and  
most obedient servant,

*Theo. Lorkin.*

*Postscript.*

**T**He Duke de Chevreux expects the Cypher from your Grace, if I be not deceived.

---

Mr. Lorkin to the Duke 17. September, 1625.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**O read and consider two contrary advertisements ; the one given me on Munday evening by *des Porches*, who repeating what he had told me before, (*D'avoir destrompé la Roine mere en mil, es mil choses*) assured me, that her thoughts were now so far changed from what they were, as she remitted every thing to his Majesties pleasure to do what he list, (provided, that he attempted not upon the conscience of the Queen her Daughter, which was the only point she was tender in, and scrupulous) that she had written a very sharp Letter, full of good lessons, and instructions to her, that she had as clear a heart to your Grace, as was possible ; had sent for *Blauvil* expressly to alter his instructions, and that howsoever he (like a hollow-hearted man) had uttered in confidence to a friend of his, That he would perswade the Queen of England to put on a reconciled countenance for a time, till the way should be better prepared to give your Grace a dead list, yet the Queen Mothers intentions were assuredly sincere and good. The *Savoyards* Embassadours voyage was not then resolved, but his Secretarie prepared to make it in his room. Of whom *Pocheres* (by the way) gave this touch, That there was a great correspondence between *Mademoiselle de Truges*, and him (contracted upon occasions of frequent visits, that had passed betwixt her Mother, and the Embassadour) and that therefore a careful eye was to be had of him.

Another

Another (who must be namelesse) sent for me yesterday in the fore-noone to tell me, that *Pere Berule's* errand hither was only to make out-cries against the decree, or proclamation against the Catholiques, and to accuse your Grace as the Principal, if not the only author, who was now of a seeming friend become a deadly foe. That the Earl of *Arundel* had (out of his respect unto this State) purposely absented himself, that he might not be guilty of so pernicious a Council. That your Grace and my Lord of *Holland*, had both but very slippery hold in his Majesties affections; that if this King would imploy his credit as he might, it would be no hard matter to root you both out thence, that there were good preparatives for it already, and that my Lords *Arundel*, and *Pembroke* would joyn hands and heads together to accomplish the effect. Whereupon *Blainville* was sent for back to be more particularly instructed in the waies how to compass it; and would speedily post away in diligence. The same party added, that the propositions which the Marquesse *de Fiatt* had made bout the League, and Fleet, were before *Brule's* arrival somewhat well tasted, but since slighted, as those, that became cheap (by their offer to divers others, as well as them) that the said Marquesse should have visited *Blainville* at *Paris*, and sounded him about his errand after this manner.

First, whether he had order to disnestle *Madam de St. Georges*? Whereunto the answer was, No; and that it was against all reason of State so to do; and when the other replied, that the world was come to a bad passe, if reason of State descended as low as her, *Blainville* remained silent.

Secondly, whether he had commission to introduce the *Dutchesse of Buckingham* and the Countesse of *Denbigh* into the *Queenes* bed-chamber. Answer was made, that it was a nice, and tender point, and if that were once condescended to, they would be continually whispering in the *Queenes* ear, how dear she would be to the King her Husband, how plausible, and powerful among the people, how beloved of all, if she would change her religion, against which they were in conscience here bound to provide, and therefore conclude with a refusal of that likewise.

Thirdly, whether he carried any good instructions about an offensive, or defensive league whereunto the negative was still repeated; but that he carried brave offers for the entertainment of *Mansfeldt*. And when the Marquesse replied, that if that were all the contentment he carried, he feared she would find but a very cold welcome; the other added, that perhaps he might be an Instrument to make the

the Queen and Duke friends. This were good (quoth the Marquesse) if the Queen had not as much need of the Dukes friendship, as the Duke of hers, and upon these terms they parted. The same lips that uttered all this, gave caution likewise against the *Savoyard* Embassadour, as a cunning, deep, hollow-hearted man. And being felt by me, how his pulse beat towards *Porcheres*, told me he was a mercenarie man, and no wayes to be trusted. In the issue of all this, his Councel was, That your Grace would consider well your own strength, and what ground you have in his Majesties favour, If it be solid, and good, then a Bravado will not do amisse (may be powerful here, to make them to see their own errour, and to walk upright) so it end with a good close : but if your station be not sure, then he Counsels to prevent the storm ; for to break with all Spain, *France*, Puritanes, Papists, were not wisdom ; And desires that by any meanes you instantly dispatch a Currier to me to represent the true state of things at home, and how you desire matters should be ordered for your service here abroad, so that there may be fabriqued a more solid contentment to your Grace whose, hands I most humbly kisse in quality of

Your Graces

Most humble, most faithful, most obedient, and most obliged Servant,

*Tho. Lorkin.*

*Postscript.*

**I**F my stay be intended long, it will be necessary that I use a Cypher, which I humbly beseech your Grace to send me, or to give me leave to frame one as I can.

As I was closing up my Letter, Mr. *Gerbier* arrived, who hath been somewhat indisposed in his health by the way, but now is reasonably well God be thanked. His coming is very seasonable, and I assure my self will be useful.

By the discourse, I have had with Mr. *Gerbier*, I see a little clearer into the state of things here, and think *Porcheres* his advertisement may be truer, as being perhaps grounded upon knowledge, the other springing only upon conjecture, built upon *Berules* clamours, and overtures, and the suddain sending for *Monsieur Blanville* back. Your Grace will see day in all shortly. But assuredly the latter advice comes from a heart that is affectionately devoted to your Graces service.



vice. This Bearer will kisse your Graces hands from the Authour, and thereby you will know his name, which he stipulated might not come in writing.

*The Lord Herbert to his Majestie.*

*My most Gracious Sovereign,*

**N**OW, that, I thank God for it, his Highnesse according to my continual prayers, hath made a safe, and happie return, unto your Sacred Majesties presence, I think my self bound by way of Compleat obedience to these Commandements I received from your Majestie, both by Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, and my Brother *Henry*, to give your Majestie an account of that sence, which the general sort of people doth entertain here concerning the whole frame and Context of his Highnesse voyage. It is agreed on all parts, that his Highnesse must have received much contentment, in seeing two great Kingdomes, and consequently in enjoyning that satisfaction, which Princes, but rarely, and not without great peril, obtain. His Highnesse discretion, diligence, and Princely behaviour every where likewise is much praised. Lastly, since his Highnesse journey hath fallen out so well, that his Highnesse is come back, without any prejudice to his person, or dignity, they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the Council. This is the most common censure (even of the biggest party, as I am informed) which I approve in all, but in the last point, in the delivery whereof I find something to dislike, and therefore tell them, that things are not to be judged alone, by the successe, and that, when they would not look so high as Gods providence, without which no place is secure, they might find even in reason of State, so much, as might sufficiently warrant his Highnesse person, and liberty to return.

I will come from the ordinary voice to the selecter judgement, of the Ministers of State, and more intelligent people in this Kingdom, who, though they nothing vary from the above recited opinion, yet as more profoundly looking into the state of this long treated of Alliance betwixt your Sacred Majestie, and Spain, in the persons of his Highnesse, and the Infanta, they comprehended their sentence thereof (as I am informed) in three Propositions.

First, that the protestation which the King of Spain made to his Highnesse upon his departure, whereby he promised to chafe away,  
and

and disfavoure all those, who should oppose this marriage, doth extend no further, then to the said Kings Servants, or at furthest, not beyond the temporal Princes, his Neighbours, so that the Pope being not included herein, it is, though his consent must be yet obtained, and consequently, that the businesse is in little more forwardnesse then when it first began.

Secondly, that the Pope will never yield his consent, unlesse your Sacred Majestie, grant some notable priviledges and advantage to the Roman Catholique religion in your Sacred Majesties Kingdomes.

Thirdly, that the said King of Spain would never insift, upon obtaining those priviledges, but that he more desires, to form a party in your Sacred Majesties Kingdomes, which he may keep alwaies obsequious to his will, then to maintain a friendly correspondence between your Sacred Majestie, and himself. I must not in the last place omit to acquaint your Sacred Majestie, very particularly, with the sence which was expressed by the *bons Francois*, and bodie of those of the Religion, who heartily wish, that the same Greatnesse which the King of Spain doth so affect over all the world, and still maintaines even in this country, which is to be Protector of the Jesuited, and Bigott partie, your Sacred Majestie would imbrace, in being defender of our faith. The direct answer to which, though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this Counsel was much fitter, when the union in *Germany* did subsist, then at this time? Yet do I think my self obliged to represent the affection they bear unto your Sacred Majestie. This is as much as is come to my notice, concerning that point, your Sacred Majestie gave me in charge, which therefore I have plainly layd open, before your Sacred Majesties eyes, as understanding well, that Princes never receive greater wrong, then when the Ministers, they put in trust, do palliate and disguise those things, which it concerns them to know. For the avoiding whereof let me take the boldnesse to assure your Sacred Majestie, that those of this Kings Council here, will use all meanes they can, both to the King of Spain, and to the Pope (In whom they pretend to have very particular interest) not only to interrupt, but if it be possible to break off you Sacred Majesties Alliance with Spain. For which purpose the Count de *Tilliers* hath strict command, to give al punctual advice, that accordingly they may proceed. It rests, that I most humbly beseech your Sacred Majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion, or interest; but faithfullie to perform that service,

*Mr. Edward Clark to the Duke.*

and dutie which I owe to your Sacred Majestie, for whose perfect health, and happinesse, I pray with the devotion, of

*From Merton Castle  
the 31. of October,  
1623. Stil No.*

Your Sacred Majesties most obedient, most  
Loyal, and most affectionate Subject  
and Servant,

*Herbert.*

*Mr. Edward Clark to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Have been hitherto very unfit (by reason of my sicknesse) to give your Lordship any account of my time at *Madrid*. So that without your Lordships favourable construction, I may be thought forgetful of the trust committed to my charge, and the rather, in that as yet your Lordship hath only heard what I have done, but not why. I presume I have faithfullie followed the Princes direction, and on such probable inducements, as will I hope both in your Highnesses and your Lordships opinion plead my excuse at least. The verie day the Prince arrived at *St. Anderar*, my Lord of *Bristol*, seeing me verie weak, told me he was verie sorrie, I was not able to perform the jounie for *England*, for that now there was an extraordinary occasion of a dispatch, not only in respect of the ratification come the night before; but because also they were almost come to a final conclusion of all articles, which were to be engrossed, and signed the next day. Hereupon I was inquisitive to know what assurance he had the Ratification was come: He answered, that, that verie day, he had been summoned to attend the *Junto*, and that there they had earnestlie pressed him, that the Articles might be speedilie drawn up, and signed, since they had now received full warrant to authorize them to proceed; And that the next day was appointed accordingly. Thereupon unwilling to omit the present opportunitie, conceiving withal the purpose of the Princes Letter to be, either to expresse his Highnesse further pleasure before the meeting of the *Junto*, or to prevent the concluding of some other particular Article they might otherwise fall upon: I delivered his Letter to his Lordship (pretending it came to my hands amongst other Letters that same day) I found him exceedingly troubled in reading it, nor did he forbear to tell me, it must for a time be concealed; for he feared

feared, if they should come to the knowledge of it they would give order to stay the Prince. Upon these motives, and in this manner I parted with it, wherein I humbly submitting my self to his Highnesse Construction, I remain

Your Graces humblest servant  
to command,

Madrid, 1. Octob.

1623.

Ed. Clark,

Mr. Edward Clark to the Duke.

My Lord,

THE Infanta's preparation for the *Disposorio* was great, but greater sorrow (good Ladie) to see it deferred. It hath bred in them all some distraction. The multitude know not what to conjecture, what to say, but cry *Piden el Palatinato*. They confesse the demand just, but unseasonable, and do publish, that (the *Disposorio* past) the Infanta on her knees should have been a suitor to the King to restore it, making it thereby her act, and drawing the obligation wholly to her. I must confesse, I want faith to believe it, and the rather, because I see it reflect secretly, and maliciously upon your Lordship, who are made the authour of all the impediments that happen, not by your enemies onely, but by those that should suppress it. Which troubles me so much, that I hasten all I can my return, since I know no other then to be

Your Graces faithfullservant,

Madrid, 6. Sept.

1623.

Edw. Clark.

Sir Anthony Ashley to the Duke.

May it please your good Lordship,

IF any thing had happened worth your knowledge, I had either come or sent to *Theobalds* in your absence, being ascertained that your Lordship had been already particularly informed of what passed in the Higher House betwixt the Earl of A. and the L. S. which is the onely thing of note, and is thought will beget some noveltie.

Your Lordship may be most assured, that your Adversaries con-



*Sir Wa. Rawleigh to the Duke.*

tinue their meetings and conferences here in *Holborn*, how to give his Majestie some foul distaste of you, as making you the onely authour of all grievances and oppressions whatsoever for your private ends. And I hope to be able within few daies (if promise be kept) to give you good overture of a mutual oath taken to this purpose amongst them.

The rumour lately spread touching his Majesties untimely pardon of the late Lord Chancellours Fine and Imprisonment, with some other favours intended towards him, (said to be procured by your Lordships only intimation) hath exceedingly exasperated the rancor of the ill affected, which albeit it be false, and unlikely, because very unseasonably; It doth yet serve the present turn, for the increase of malice against you. I can but inform your Lordship of what I understand, you may please to make use thereof as your self thinketh best.

I most humbly intreat your good Lordship to keep Letters of this nature either in your own Cabinet, or to make Hereticks of them: for I am well acquainted with the disposition of some Pen-men in Court. Upon Message even now received of my poor Daughters suddain dangerous sicknesse, I am constrained unmannerly to post unto her, being the onely comfort I have in this world, and do purpose God willing a speedie return. In the mean time, and even with my heartie prayer I commend your good Lordship to Gods merciful and safe keeping. This 12<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 1621.

Your honourable good Lordships  
faithfully devoted,

A. A.

*Sir Wa. Rawleigh to the Duke, 12. Aug.*

**I**F I presume too much, I humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthie a person, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but most happie had I been, if I might have disproved that villanie against me, when there had been no suspection, that the desire to save my life, had presented my excuse.

But my worthie Lord, it is not to excuse my self that I now write: I cannot; for I have now offended my Sovereign Lord: for all past,  
even

even all the world, and my very enemies have lamented my, losse, whom now if his Majesties mercie alone do not lament, I am lost. Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence it self, I had no other intent then his Majesties service, and to make his Majestie know, That my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth, and which with one Ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died; being resolved (as it is well known) to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not onely to recover his Majesties gracious opinion, but to have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that Gentleman whom I so much trusted, (my Keeper) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testifie, and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witnesse: Yea that Gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I desired to save no other Treasure, then the exact description of those places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God I trust, and mine own Actions will dissuade his Majestie. Whom neither the losse of my estate, thirteen years imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon could beat from his service, nor the opinion of being accounted a fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did, ballanced with my love to his Majesties person, and estate, had no place at all in my heart.

It was that last severe Letter from my Lords for the speedie bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late lamented resolution, if his Majesties mercie do not abound: if his Majestie do not pitie my age, and scorn to take the extreamest and utmost advantage of my errours: if his Majestie in his great charitie do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving-natural impulsion, without all ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that your Lordship, remarkable in the world for the Noblenesse of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my Intercessour, whereby your Lordship shall bind an hundred Gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memorie, and bind me for all the time of that life which your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper, and over-bind me to remain

Your most humble servant,

W. Rawleigh.

Sig

Sir Henry Yelverton to the Duke, 15. March,  
1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

**M**Y humble heart and affection hath wrote many lines, and presented many Petitions to your Grace before this time, though none legible but one sent by my Lord *Rochford*, within five daies after your most welcomed arrival from *Spain*.

I have learned the plain phraze of honest speech. My Lord, I have honoured your name long, and your own virtue much. I never found misfortune greater then this, that still sailing after you in all humble desires of dutie, I was still cast behind you. I excuse nothing, where-in your Grace may judge me faultie, but will be glad to expiate my errors at any price.

Your noble heart (I hope) harbours no memorie of what did then distaste you. Your own merits which have so much ennobled you, will be the more compleat, if I may but merit your forgetfulnesse of wrongs past. If I seek your Grace before I deserve it, enable me I beseech you to Deserve, that I may seek. If any, on whom you have cast your eye most, endear himself more to your service, then I shall; let me not follow the vintage at all. Till this day I feared the rellish of sower Grapes, though I have sought you with many broken sleeps. But this Noble Earl, whose honour for this work shall ever with me be second to yours, hath revived me, with the assurance of your gracious pardon, and libertie to hope, I may be deemed your servant.

I protest to God, it is not the affluence of your honour makes me joy in it, nor the power of your Grace, that trains me on to seek it, but let the trial of all your fortunes speak thus much for me, that I will follow you, not as *Cyrus* his Captains and Souldiers followed him, the one for spoil, the other for place: but if with safetie to your Grace, though with peril to my self, I may serve you, let me die if I do it not, rather then want any longer, what my humble love ever led me to, and I still affect the honour

To be yours,

*Henry Yelverton.*

Sir

*Right Honourable,*

**W**ith what affection I have served your Grace, I desire rather it should be read in my actions, then my words, which made me sparing in my last relation to touch those difficulties, wherewith my Letters have been checkt, that they might the more fully speak themselves. I shall not seek to glosse them now, but as they have been, leave them to your Graces acceptance, which I presume so noble, that scandal or detraction cannot decline it. It were an injurie of your worth, which I dare not attempt, to insinuate the opinion of any merit by false colours, or pretences, or with hard circumstances to endear my labours, and might beget suspition, sooner then assurance in your credit, which I may not hazard. My innocence I hope needs not these, nor would I shadow the least errour under your protection. But where my services have been faithful, and not altogether vain, directed truly to the honour and benefit of your place, onely suffering upon the disadvantage of your absence, I must importune your Grace to support my weaknesse, that it may cause no prejudice of your rights and liberties, which I have studied to preserve, though with the losse of mine own. My instance therein hath exposed me to a long imprisonment, and great charge, which still increaseth, and threatens the ruine of my poor fortunes, if they be not speedily prevented. For which, as my endeavours have been wholly yours, I most humbly crave your Graces favour both to my self, and them; In which I am devoted

Your Graces thrice-humble  
Servant,

*J. Eliot.*

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*The Earl of Oxford to the Duke.*

*My Lord,*

**I** Cannot but believe that I have had some undeserved ill offices done me unto your Lordship, otherwise I should not find this difficultie in being preferred, if not afore, at least equally in ballance with my Accusers. It is common unto all mens understanding, that it is not  
the



the guilt of the accused, but the legal and just proceeding, which clears the Kings honour, and this I do, and ever will acknowledge to have been held towards me. Neither was it ever known, that the Kings Grace, the more it came sweetned with his favour, did lessen or diminish his honour, but rather seemed as a lustre to make his goodnesse shine brighter, and oblige the Receiver in a more strict Tye of gratitude. My Lord, it cannot wrong you to oblige me to your service, nor add reputation to you throw me upon Rocks. I appeal to the King, and your own Conscience, whether ever I have harboured any treasonable thoughts, either against his Majestie, or his issue, that should make me incapable of receiving his grace, without imputation to those faithful and dutiful respects, with which I have ever served his Majestie; If it shall please him to line me out my path to death (the period whither we must all travel to) by imprisonment, I shall be far from repining at the sentence, but with all humblenesse, will undergo it, and employ my heartiest prayers for the long continuance of his honour and happinesse.

I beseech your Lordship receive my Character of what I am, and have ever been towards you, not from Conjectures and reports of others, but from my own mouth, and actions. For yet I have reason to suspect your opinion of me, else sure I should have found better fruits of your power. I was alwaies (as much as lay in me) desirous to outstrip, rather then come short of any in doing you service, and the same affections still remain with me, of the truth of which I pray you be confident.

To this onely I will add one request more, which is, That since your Lordship is pleased to mediate with his Majestie for my freedom, you will procure it so free from rubs, as that my obligation may be the greater, which I will ever willingly and faithfully pay unto your Lordship in all respects, like him, who truly is

Your Lordships, &c.

H.O.

*My Lord,*

**T**Hough you may judge what pleasure there is in the conversation of a man in the distemper you see your Brother in; yet the dutie I owe to a husband, and the affection I bear him, (which sicknesse shall not diminish,) makes me much desire to be with him, to adde what comfort I can to his afflicted mind, since his onely desire is my Companie. Which if it please you to satisfie him in, I shall with a very good will suffer with him, and think all but my dutie, though I think every wife would not do so. But if you can so far dispense with the Lawes of God, as to keep me from my Husband, yet aggravate it not by restraining from me his means, and all other contentments, but which I think is rather the part of a Christian, you especially ought much rather to studie comforts for me, then to adde ills to ills, since it is the marriage of your Brother makes me thus miserable. For if you please but to consider not only the lamentable estate I am in, deprived of all Comforts of a husband, and having no means to live of: besides falling from the hopes my fortune then did promise me, for you know very well I came no beggar to you, though I am like so to be turned off.

- For your own honor, and Conscience sake, take some course to give me satisfaction, to tye my tongue from crying to God, and the world for vengeance for the unworthy dealing I have received. And think not to send me again to my Mothers, where I have stayed this quarter of a year, hoping (for that my Mother said you promised,) order should be taken for me, but I never received pennie from you. Her confidence of your Noblenesse made me so long silent; but now believe me, I will sooner begg my bread in the streets to all your dishonours, then any more trouble my friends, and especially my Mother, who was not onely content to afford us part of the little means she hath left her, but whilest I was with her, was continually distempered with devised Tales, which came from your Familie, and withal lost your good opinion, which before she either had, or you made shew of it; but had it been real, I cannot think her words would have been so translated, nor in the power of discontented servants Tales to have ended it.

My Lord, if the great honour you are in, can suffer you to have so mean a thought as of so miserable a creature as I am, so made by too much Credulitie of your fair promises, which I have waited for performance of almost these five years: And now it were time to de-

S f

spair,

*Dr. Donne to the Marquesse of Buckingham.*

spair, but that I hope you will one day be your self, and be governed by your own noble thoughts, and then I am assured to obtain what I desire, since my desires be so reasonable, and but for mine own. Which whether you grant or no, the affliction my poor husband is in, (if it continue) will keep my mind in a continual purgatorie for him, and will suffer me to sign my self no other, but

Your unfortunate Sister,

*F. Parbeck.*

*Dr. Donne to the Marquesse of Buckingham,*

13<sup>th</sup>. Septemb. 1621.

*My most honoured Lord,*

**I** Most humbly beseech your Lordship to afford this ragge of paper a room amongst your evidences. It is your evidence not for a Manour, but for a man. As I am a Priest it is my sacrifice of prayer to God for your Lordship; and as I am a Priest, made able to subsist, and appear in Gods service by your Lordship, it is a sacrifice of my self to you. I deliver this paper as my Image; and I assist the power of any Conjuror, with this imprecation upon my self, that as he shall tear this paper, this picture of mine, so I may be torn in my fortune, and in my fame, if ever I have any corner in my heart, dispossessed of a zeal to your Lordships service. His Majestie hath given me a royal Key into your Chamber, leave to stand in your presence, and your Lordship hath already such a fortune, as that you shall not need to be afraid of a suitor, when I appear there. So that I protest to your Lordship, I know not what I want, since I cannot suspect, nor fear my self for ever doing, or leaving undone any thing by which I might forfeit that title, of being alwaies

Your Lordships, &c.

*J. D.*

*Dr.*

*My Honour'd Lord,*

ONce I adventured to say to the Prince his Highnesse, That I was sure he would receive a book from me, the more gratically, because it was dedicated to your Grace: I proceed justlie upon the same confidence, that your Grace will accept this, because it is his by the same title. If I had not overcome that reluctation, which I had in my self of representing devotions, and mortifications to a young and active Prince, I should not have put them into your presence, who have done so much, and have so much to do in this world, as that it might seem enough to think seriously of that. No man in the bodie of storie, is a full president to you, nor may any future man promise himself an adæquation to his precedent, if he make you, his. Kings have discerned the seeds of high virtues in many men, and upon that Gold, they have put their stamp, their favours upon those persons: But then those persons have laboured under the jealousie of the future Heire; And some few, have had the love of Prince, and King, but not of the Kingdom, and some of that too, and not of the Church; God hath united your Grace so to them all, that as you have received obligations from the King, and Prince, so you have laid obligations upon the Church and state. They above, love you out of their judgement, because they have loved you: and we below, love you out of our thankfulness, because you have loved us. Gods privie Seal is the testimonie of a good conscience, and his broad-Seal is the outward blessings of this life. But since his Pillar of fire, was seconded with a Pillar of Cloud, and that all his temporal blessings have some partial Eclipses, and the purest consciences some remorses: so though he have made your way to Glorie, Glorie; and brought you in the armes and bosome, of his Vicegerent, into his own arms and bosome, yet there must come a minute of twilight in a natural death. And as the reading of the actions of great men, may assist you for great actions, so for this one necessarie descent of dying, (which I hope shall be the onely step of *Lownes*, that ever you shall passe by, and by that late) you may receive some Remembrances, from the Meditations and Devotions of

Your Graces Devoutest Servant,

*J. Donne.*



## Sir John Hipsley to the Duke.

*My Noble Lord,*

I find that all my Lord of *Bristols* actions are so much extolled, that what you command me to say is hardly believed. I will say no more in it, but leave the rest to Mr: *Greibams*, only this, that you have written much to the King in some mans behalf, and Mr. *Gresley* hath a 100. a year given him during his life, all which I think is without your knowledge; And Mr. *Killegrew* hath the like, that came for your sake after the other was granted. Mr. *Greibams* can tell you how that came. My Lord of *Southampton* hath offered his son to marrie with my Lord Treasurers Daughter, and tells him this reason, that now is the time he may have need of friends, but it is refused as yet; the event I know not what that will be.

I have spoken to the King of all that you gave me in command, and he doth protest, that what he hath done, was meerly for your sake, and indeed he is very careful of all your businesse, as if you were here your self; but yet for Gods sake make what haste you may home for fear of the worst. For the carriage of Captain *Hall*, I will not trouble you, till you come home, only this by the way, that my Lord Treasurer hath it; but upon what terms I know not nor indeed desire you should be troubled with it. Sir *George Goring* came home but this last night, and is gone to the Court, and desires to be excused for writing to you. My Ladie *Hatton*, and my Ladie *Purbeck* came home with him from the Hague.

My Lord of *Arundel* hath not been at Court since the death of his son. I fear the newes, that *Charles Gleman* did shew you was true. For I can assure you *Marquesse Hamilton* was much troubled till I had spoken with him. There be some have done no good offices betwixt you. Pray have a care of the Letter, I mean the man Mr. *Gleman* did shew you, and keep as many friends as you may. I have spoken with no man, but my Lord Keeper who is yours, or not his own as he sweares. And Mr. secretarie *Conway* is yours bodie, and soul; I never heard of the like of him, for he flies at all men, that be not yours. Here is much admiration, that they hear not from you, but I thank God, the King is not troubled at it, for I do assure him, that it is the better, that he heares not from you: for now he may be confident, that you keep your day in coming away, which doth much please him. I will write nothing of my own businesse, though there be nothing done in it, but do hope, that you will not see your Servant perish.

If I be too tedious, I pray pardon mee, it is my love that makes me so, and yet I have an humble suite unto you, which is to begg at your hands for patience; for now is the time to shew it or never; for all the eyes of the world are upon you and this is the time to win Honour, and fame; and for Gods-sake carrie the businesse with patience betwixt my Lord of *Bristol*, and you; for here be those that do laugh in their sleeves at you both. I beseech you let me hear from you, what you will command me, for I will do nothing (as near as I can) but what will give content: For you have that power in me, that you need but say, and it is done (if it lie in my power) so shall you ever command

Your faithful, and obedient Servant,  
till death,

London 1. Septemb.  
1623.

*Jo. Hipsey*

Sir Dudley Carleton to the *Marquesse of Buckingham.*

*Right Honourable,*

BY the dispatch of the fourteenth of this present (which I sent by *Jonson* the Post) I advertised your Honour at large in the two several Letters of the occurrents of these parts, and therewith sent a copie of my second proposition which I made the day before in the Assemblée of the States General touching the businesse of *Cleves*, and *Juliers* in conformitie to your Honours Letters of the 30<sup>th</sup>. of the last.

The answer thereunto was deferred until yesterday, and then brought me only by word of mouth from the States by *Monsieur Magnus* of *Zealand*, and *Monsieur Zulestein* of *Utrecht*, and was to this effect, That the States having sent my former proposition of the third of *December* to their several provinces, from which this latter did differ in substance, save onely in respect of the time for the restitution of the Townes, which was prolonged for the space of a month, all they could do according to the constitution of their government, was to send this my second proposition likewise unto their provinces, which they had done the day after I made the same, and until they receive more expresse order from their principals, they were to rest upon their former answer. Wherein they declared their  
good

good intentions to accommodate this businesse, so it might be with safetie to themselves, and satisfaction of their neighbours. And herein they were to expect the resolution of the Elector of *Brandenbergh*, from whom the time did not yet serve to know his mind. Mean while they humbly beseech his Majestie to make a gracious construction of their proceedings.

I was the day before with Mounseieur *Barnevelt*, (who is President this week) to sollicite their answer, who excused himself upon the smalnesse of their number, many of the States being absent, and of two Provinces all the Deputies: So as to give a determinate resolution according as was required, they could not: And to make answer in general terms, since his Majestie rested not satisfied with the former, he doubted another of the same kind would not please him. So as it seems this Message in place of an answer in writing, proceeded of his Council.

By discourse both with him, and those which came unto me, upon this subject, I find their diffidence of the purpose of the *Spaniard* rather increased then otherwise, upon the news of Leavies intended on the Arch-Dukes side, to the number of 9000 foot, and 1000, or 1200 horse; and their delay in taking a determinate resolution, no way dissuaded, but rather counselled by all other Princes, who have interest in this businesse. Their Embassadour at *Paris* having advertised them by reiterated Letters, That *Don Pedro di Sarmientos* his offer to his Majestie touching the execution of the Treatie of *Zanten* is absolutely disavowed by both the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. And this *French* Embassadour Mounseieur du *Maurier*, having made it appear unto them, that at *Brussels* they have the same conceit of it, as a thing done without authoritie. Besides, the Princes of the Union have written lately expresse Letters to the States, wherein they perswade them to extraordinarie vigilance upon the *Spaniards*, and particularly in this businesse of *Cleves*, and *Juliers*, the translated Copies of which Letters, I send your Honour herewith. And the Prince of *Brandenbergh* being young himself, and having his Council divided in opinion, doth nothing absolutely without reference to this State, and he when I put them in mind, how they themselves were the authors and framers of the Treatie of *Zanten*, they stick not to say plainly, *Tempora mutantur, et nos*: so as I am daily more and more confirmed in my former opinion, That there is no way left to accommodate this businesse, but by a private agreement between the Princes Pretendents. But *Sirickius*, the Agent of *Brandenbergh*, being absent at *Cleves*, I do not hear how this Negotiation proceeds.

Amongst



Amongst the particularities which passed in discourse between *Monsieur Magnis*, and my self, I insisting upon restitution of the Townes, as the meanes to prevent an imminent war upon the quarrel, He asked to whom they should restore them, unless the Princes were agreed, and that they might know, which of the Princes should receive him, and whom they should have for their neighbour. Whereby it appeares, this course will on this side remove all difficulties.

It is advertised hither, by *Monsieur Langrack*, the States Embassadour at *Paris*, that the apprehension they had in the Court, to have this businesse ended without the French Kings intervention, caused *Monsieur de Refuges* to be summoned to make an other journey expressly hither, in regard he had formerly the managing thereof, Notwithstanding that *Monsieur de la Nove* was already named for this extraordinarie Embassage: But *Refuges* excusing himself upon his indisposition, sent all his memorial of what passed, when he was here in the treatie of *Zanten*, with his private opinion upon the whole matter to serve as an instruction to *la Nove*.

By the other Letters of the 28. of this present Stil No. *Monsieur Langrack* hath given this State many important advertisements, as first, that he hath obtained of the French King a continuance of the succours of the 3. Regiments of foot, and 2. Troops of horse of that Nation for one year longer, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish, and Arch-Dukes Embassadors, who advised the recalling of them upon occasion of the present troubles in *France*. That there is order given and assignation for 120000 Crownes towards the arrearages of their pay. That a resolution is taken in that Court by the advice of the new Councillours, contrarie to the opinion of the old, to prosecute the Princes by war, and maintain the Kings authority henceforward by force. That to this effect the King desires the State should perform their promises of sending towards the river of *Burdcaux* 5. men of war. That he likewise requires of them in conformity of the last treaties betwixt the Crown, and this State, an assistance of men to the number of the French, which are here in service, under some good Commander; But the French themselves, the King will not have, for fear, when they shall come into *France*, of their revolting to the Princes. That he demands free passage through these Countreies down the *Maine*, and the *Rhene* of 3000. Souldiers, with their armes, which are leaved by the Count *John Giacomo Belicosa* in *Luke-Land*, and thereabouts, and shipping to transport them into *France*.



All these particulars were moved unto him (as he writes) by the Marshal de *Ancre*, to which he adds, That the King is so much incensed against the Duke of *Bouillon*, for seeking to this State for protection, by these Letters whereof I advertised your Honour in my last, that there is a resolution taken to declare him *Criminel de lese Majesté*.

These *Graunter* are so scantie (the continuance of the *French Troops* in the service of the State, being but for a year only, and the payment of them arriving only to the tenth part of what is already due) that they here interpret them to proceed from the *Marshal de Ancre Pour tenir* (as they say) *le bec en Leau*, and the demands are so large and extravagant, that they are thought *iniquum petere, ut equum ferant*; Whereby on the one side to keep this State in devotion to the *French King*, and on the other to prevent the like requests of the Princes: for there is small appearance, they will give passage to so many men through their Countries armed, and commanded by an *Italian*, who hath born armes against them, and is married into the Arch Dukes Country. And when it comes to question of sending forces of their own thither, it is like they will find as good excuses for that point, as they have hitherto done for the sending of the ships, now three months since promised, and still solicited: For howsoever the chief Persons here have been long particularly interested and ingaged (as your Honour knowes) by neer dependance on this Crown, I find them of late very much alienated in consideration that it is so much governed by Spain, which in the end they apprehended will turn to the ruine of this State.

In *France* they are jealous of this coldnesse, and have of late expostulated the matter with *Monsieur Langrack*, as if they here did incline to the Princes, there being, a bruit raised in *Paris*, that Count *Maurice* would go in Person to their assistance; whereof the Queen Regent was very sensible; but I do not find here, that there was any ground for that report.

Here hath been lately a fame spread, and nourished by such as desire to weaken the correspondence betwixt his Majestie and this State, that his Majestie is in neer terms of matching our Prince with Spain. Which report is now the more credited, by an advise out of Spain from a secret Minister, this State entertaines, under colour of soliciting Merchants causes. That this match hath been there, by order of the King of Spain debated in the inquisition, and judged necessarie in regard it would serve for introduction of Poperie into *England*.

This I find to be the *Remora* of my chief affaires with this State, my pressing the restitution of the Townes in *Cleves* and *Juliers* being thought by many of these jealous people to hang on this thread, as a thing very acceptable, and agreeable at this time to the King of Spain, and much advantagious in this present conjuncture to his affaires; and my insisting upon sending of Commissioners to his Majestie in the businesse of our Merchants, they applie the same way, as if the opinion which would be conceived of this Embassage, (howsoever Merchants affaires were pretended, the chief intent was to play *Davus in Comadia*) should according to the use of *Nitumur in Vetitum*, rather kindle, then quench the desire of the Spaniard, and draw the match to a more speedie conclusion.

At my last being with *Mounseur Barnevelt*, I did expostulate the States delay of sending Commissioners to his Majestie upon this occasion, as neither answereth to Sir *Noel Caron's* word and promise to his Majestie, nor to that, which from his mouth, I did advertise your Lordship of the States inclination in general, and the resolution in particular of those of *Holland*. To which he answered me, That with much difficultie and opposition, he had obtained the assent of *Holland*, and that now the matter rested with *Zealand*, but he doubted, that his Majesties restoring the old Company of Merchants, would make a stay of any farther proceeding, as now lesse requisite, howsoever, that Sir *Noel Carone* had advertised, that notwithstanding this change, he thought the sending of Commissioners very necessary.

The Questions here about Religion, rest in the same state as I advertised your Lordship in my last, the Assembly of *Holland* being separated untill the end of *February stil. no.* when they are to meet again. Mean while a provisional order is taken, that the *Contra-Remonstrants* shall continue their preaching in our English Church, which they have accommodated with Scaffolds, to make it more capable of their number.

There was much question in this Assemblie, whether his Excellencie should be present, or no: but in the end he was called by the major part of voices, contrary to *Mounseur Barnevelt's* opinion, and his authoritie over-swayed the matter in favour of the *Contra-Remonstrants* for the continuance of their preaching, which it was proposed to hinder by some violent Courses.

By example of this place, there is the like provisional order taken for preaching at the *Brill*, and *Rotterdam*, and certain of the Burghers are established in *Tergow*, who were put from their Trade and Commerce, for their expostulating with the Magistrate upon this quarrel.

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke of Buckingham.*

I have been spoken unto by divers particular persons well affected in this cause, to procure a Letter from his Majestie to his Excellencie, whereby to comfort and encourage him in his Zeal for the maintenance of the true doctrine, and the professours thereof, against these Novellists and their opinions. Which I most humbly refer to his Majesties wisdom, (in case he judge this office necessarie) whether it be fit to be done by Letter or Message, the former of which, will be of greater vertue, but the latter lesse subject to crosse construction of the Arminian faction, which your Honour knowes how potent it is here amongst those who have chief rule in this State. Thus I humbly take leave, ever resting

Your Lordships most faithfully to  
be commanded,

Hague this 24. Febr.  
1616. *Stil. Vet.*

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke of Buckingham.*

*My most honourable Lord,*

IMmediately upon receipt of your Lordships Letter concerning Sir *John Ogle*, I moved the Prince of *Orange* not onely for his leave for Sir *John* to go into *England*, but likewise for his Letters of recommendation, whereby to give your Lordship subject, upon some such testimonies of his Excellencies good satisfaction, to set him upright in his Majesties favour, both which he granted unto me: though against the first, he alledged the absence of all the *English* Colonels; and touching the latter, he called to mind old matters; which notwithstanding (upon what I undertook for Sir *John's* future intentions) he was content to forget. I did once again upon Sir *John's* instance, put his Excellencie in mind of his dispatch, wherein I found no difficultie. Since I find Sir *John* hath changed his purpose of going, and his excuse will be made at his intreatie by his Excellencie, who hath since let me know, Though he would not deny me his leave, yet he is better content (in regard he is so slenderly accompanied with Colonels, in a time when the State hath need of their service with his stay. So as Sir *John* hath the obligation to your Lordship of a favourable recommendation, and for his not prevailing himself of his leave when it was granted, I must leave to himself to render a reason. For my part,

having



having accomplished what I find by your Lordships Letter, to be agreeable both to his Majesties pleasure, & your Lordships, I thought it my dutie to advertize, That there is an ancient difference between Sir *Horacio Vere*, and Sir *Edward Cecyl*, about the extent of their Commands; whereupon followeth a great inconveniencie to the dishonor of our Nation, (which as it appears when they were last in the field before *Reez*) are divided hereby, and march, and lodge in several bodies, and quarters. Much endeavour hath been formerly used in these parts to reconcile them, but all in vain, by reason of some ill Instruments, who wrought upon both their discontents to set them farther asunder. Now, they are both in *England*, and are both written for, to come over; It were a work worthy of your Lordship to make them understand one another better, and what they will not yeeld to of themselves, to over-rule by his Majesties authoritie. I may not conceal from your Lordship, that I am intreated by the Prince of *Orange* himself to do this office, both with his Majestie, and your Lordship, wherein he would not be seen himself, because having dealt between them fruitlessly heretofore, he doubteth of the like successe now. But when their agreement shall be made, he will acknowledge his obligation to your Lordship, and for the better proceeding therein, I sent your Lordship a Copie of an order formerly set down betwixt them, with the translate of Sir *Horacio Vere's* Commission, (both which I had of his Excellencie) and likewise the beginning, and proceeding of their difference, as I have collected the same in brief out of other mens reports.

The projects I sent your Lordship with my last, of a *West-Indian* Companie having been proposed to the States of *Guelderland* for their ratification (who have the leading voice in the Assemblie of the States general, and were ever least forward in that businesse) hath thus far their allowance, that they will concur therein with the rest of the Provinces. But withal I do understand, they have given their Deputies secret charge not to give way thereunto, in case they find it prejudicial to the Truce. Which makes the matter evident, that the project of the Company (though it be never so advanced) will stand or fall, according to the proceeding of the Truce. The expiration whereof approaching so neer, and here being advertisements from *Paris*, that a *French* Gentleman one *Belleavium* (who was lately employed hither to the Prince of *Orange* about the difference betwixt him, and the Prince of *Conde*) had secret instructions to sound the States, how they stood affected to the renewing thereof. I have



used all diligence to know how far he went ; and am well informed, he hath done nothing therein of Consideration: onely this past between him, and his Excellencie.

He telling his Excellencie from *Monsieur Desdiguieres*, and some of the *French Kings* Council, how acceptable the extraordinarie Embassage intended from hence will be in that Court, and thereupon perswading a speedie imbracing the opportunitie.

From whence (said his Excellencie after his round manner) cometh this alteration ?

To speak plainly (said he) they fear in *France* you will renew the Truce without them, and therefore by your Embassadours, they would interpose themselves.

Here are good advertisements both from *Bruxels* and *Paris*, that the *Spaniards* intent is not to renew the Truce, but to have a Peace proposed with these plausible conditions ; That the King of *Spain* will pretend nothing in the Regiment of these United Provinces, nor require any thing of them in the point of Religion, but leave all in terms as it now stands, with recognition onely of some titular Soveraigntie, which he cannot in honour relinquish.

This is already proposed to *France*, as a glorious work to establish a settled Peace in these parts of the world, but with this condition, That if it be not imbraced here, then *France* shall refuse to give this State any further support, or countenance, of which it is here believed, that *Spain* hath already obtained a firm promise in that Court. And that either the like overture is already made, or will be within few daies to his Majestie.

Under which doth lie hidden many mysteries much to the advantage of the *Spaniard*, and prejudice of this State: for the very proposition of a new Treatie will distract them here very much, in regard of their unsettlednesse, and aptnesse upon any dispute to relapse into faction, besides many Considerations of importance belonging properly to the Constitution of their Government, but the acceptation of the old, by renewing of the Truce upon the former terms, for so many years, more, or lesse, as shall be thought fitting, will (in my poor opinion (which notwithstanding is not slenderly grounded) take place, without much difficultie. The importance of this businesse, hath made me give your Lordship this trouble, and your Lordship may be pleased to let his Majestie understand as well that little as is done by *Monsieur Belleveium*, as what they here conceive

conceive to be further intended by the Spaniard. So I most humbly take leave, ever resting

Your Lordships

Hague this 10<sup>th</sup>. of  
June, 1620.

Most faithful servant,

Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

Most Honourable,

NOT to give your Lordship the trouble of often Letters, I render an account of his Majesties Commandments by the same hand I usually receive them. One I had lately by an expresse Letter from his Majestie, accompanied with another from your Lordship, touching my Lord of *Bucklengh*, to demand full satisfaction of the States, for all his Lordships pretensions, and to that effect to procure Instructions and Commission to be sent to Sir *Noel Carone* to end this businesse.

To which effect I have moved both his Excellencie and the States, and whilest they were treating thereof, Colonel *Brogue* arrived here out of Scotland: with whom they are now handling to put him to Pension, and to give my Lord the Command of his Regiment in lieu of his Pretensions. Which when they come to calculate, my Lord will find a short reckoning of them, and to send accounts out of their accountants hands, and refer them to others, they will never be moved.

Wherefore if the course they now take can be gone thorough with (which Colonel *Brogue* doth most unwillingly hear of) it will be then in my Lords choice, whether he will remain satisfied, or not. And within few daies I hope to return my Lords Secretarie with advertisement of what is done. Mean time I assure your Lordship nothing is omitted in my endeavours to procure him that, which may be most to his contentment.

In the present condition of publique affaires, your Lordship knoweth well how at this instant we have all *buone Parolle* out of Spain, and *Cattivi-fatti* of all the rest of the House of *Austria*. In so much as these Low-Countrie Troops under the governance of the Infanta, assist in the blocking up of a poor town, all which remains of his Majesties

Majesties only Daughters Jointure in the *Palatinate*. And the Emperour not content with having chased her Husband out of the Empire, in the Proposition of the *Diet* of *Ratisbone*, makes this one Article, to make war upon these Provinces, because (amongst other quarrels) they give refuge to the Prince *Palatine*. Where will this persecution cease? And what place in the world to which they are driven from hence (and is easily guessed in all their extremitie, whether they will be forced to flie) is not subject to the same quarrel? within this week that I now write (betwixt Sunday, and Sunday) we were here in that state, if God had not prevented it, this Countrey had been too hot for them to remain in, and it had been a happinesse for them, if they could have got a poore skeveling boat to have transported them else-where. This Bearer my Nephew will inform your Lordship more particularly thereof.

Now, *de agendis*, there rests no more, then question of maintaining the Army of *Mansfelt*, and *Brunswick*, which is lodged at the present in a place, out of which, it can hardly march, and more hardly be removed. If it have pay, and countenance, it may do good service in *Germany*; if not, I will tell your Lordship what I conceive may be the consequence. It will be hedged into *East-Friseland* by *Tillie*, (whose Troops already draw that way) *Cordova* and *Anholt*, against which keeping it self within that Countrey, it will be able to make resistance, as the poore Peasants thereof did heretofore against the *Spanish* Armie, by reason of the difficultie of accessse. From this State it will have all assistance, and though it be kept in by land, it will have the Sea open betwixt *Griett* and *Norden*, (both which places are in *Mansfelts* possession) a Haven fit for a Fleet of Gallions. If by that meanes they, with correspondencie with this State may support themselves, it will be very ill for many important consequences. If they and this State, (which will be forced to run a fortune together) be overcome, much worse; for what can keep the rest of *Europe* from subjection to the *Austriaci*? Wee see how in *Terra firma*, the *Walloons* joyned to *Spaniards*, both make and maintain their Conquests. Joyn the *Hollanders* to them by Sea, they will reap the like service by them. The fruit we have reaped heretofore of the shipping of these Provinces, both for defence in the year 88. and offence in the *Cadiz* journey, sheweth what a strong addition this is to a greater power.

My most honourable Lord, I am so full of such like speculations, that these have broken out *ex Plenitudine Cordis*, furcharged with grief to see in *Plenitudine temporis*, that to come to effect in the publique

lique affaires which was discovered long since, by the Emperours intercepted letters sent by the *Capuchin* into Spain, and to hear the judgment made every where, that the publique opposition of the Spanish Embassadour (*D'Ognates*) words to the Emperours proceeding *de facto*, is but a patelinage, with secret understanding to abuse his Majesties goodnesse. Of which it lyeth yet in his Majesties power to vindicate himself; but there is no time to spare. I humbly crave pardon for this libertie of discourse I use with your Lordship, who am

Your Lordships, most humble, and most  
faithful Servant,

Hague, 31. Jan.  
1622.

Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

Most Honourable,

I Observe in such Letters from the Prince Electour to her Highnesse, with the sight of which, she is pleased sometimes to favour me, a mis-understanding betwixt him, and his Uncle the Duke of *Bovillon*, who groweth wearie of his Guest, doubting least in his Consideration some danger may be drawn upon his Town of *Sedan*; And the jealousie the Prince conceiveth, what may be done with him in case of a Siege; (against which, that is no place to make long resistance) besides the discomforts of living in another mans house, and being ill looked on, makes him wish himself any where else; but chiefly here, where he is as much desired, as missted by her Highnesse, his children, and Familie: And where the Prince of *Orange*, and the States ( apprehending very well his present danger, and incommoditie) will give him very willingly his wonted welcome. Your Lordship may be pleased to make thus much known to his Majesties: And if your Lordship can so dispose of the matter, that with his Majesties good liking, he may return hither again, I know nothing your Lordship can do more agreeable to her Highnesse, though she doth whollie submit her affections and desires to his Majesties pleasure.

The wars were never warmer then they are already, and now likely more and more to kindle in these parts: The Siege of *Ostend*, by those which were present there and are now in *Berghem*, being  
esteemed.



esteemed sport in comparison of the furie is used in disputing the out-works of that Town. Where on Munday last in the night an assault was given, and maintained six hours by the *Spaniards* upon a half Moon kept by the Dutch on the North side; out of which they were three several times repulsed, with the losse of betwixt 3. and 400 men of their best, and on this side under 40. All that they gained being (after the same manner as their former attempt on the other side wherein Colonel *Hynderfon* was slain) to lodge in the foot of the work. Two of our old Captaines, Sir *Michael Everard*, and *Lovelace* (hurt in that, and the like assault given on that side within few daies after) are both dead of their wounds within these two daies. One at *Dort*, the other at *Rotterdam*, whither they were retired to be cured: which is imputed by the Chyrurgeons to some malignity is used to the bullets: but that is not to be believed amongst Christians, yet I have seen some brought hither shot by the Enemy, sufficient to break all quarter.

We shall have now questionlesse many and sharp encounters in the field; Count *Mansfelt* being on his way hitherwards with his Armie, much weakned during his abode in the Frontiers of *France*; but of strength sufficient to march through the open Countries of *Henault*, and *Brabant*. Which course he takes directly with intention to come to *Breda*. And where by computation, he should be by Munday, or Teusday next at the farthest, unlesse he be overtaken by *Don Gonzales de Cordova*, or met with by the Count *Henric Vandenberg*, or the Marquesse *Spinola*, in any of which there is small appearance. *Cordova* going forward at leisure with 16. peices of Canon, and the 18<sup>th</sup>. of this present, when *Mansfelt* passed a bridge at *Marpent* over the *Sambre* in *Henault* (which was the onely passage of difficultie, and that as our advertisements here say, he crossed without resistance) being some hours March behind him, who having three field pieces onely, and small store of baggage, and in effect his whole Armie on horseback, may make great expedition:

If *Vandenberg* stir, he will be followed by the Prince of *Orange*. And the Marquesse *Spinola* cannot go strong enough to incounter him without raising his Siege at *Berghen*, which though he should do, the Campaigne is large enough, and *Mansfelt* lightly laden to take, and leave at pleasure, it being in his power, (if his way to *Breda* be stopped) to fall down towards such places, the State hold in *Flanders*.

The States furnish him with 6000 *Florins* for the time of three moneths, they entertain him and his Army. In which space, the service

vice they hope to draw from him, is, the raising the Siege of *Bergben*, by cutting off the Convoies betwixt *Antwerp*, and the Spanish Leaguer, which can no longer continue in the place it now remains, then it can keep the way of *Antwerp* open, by which only their vituals and Munition is conducted.

This time of three moneths expired, there is small appearance of longer entertainment of *Mansfelt* by this State, who doth then purpose to retire to the Duke *Christien* of *Brunswick's* old Quarter at *Lipstadt*: Where they intend to winter their Army, and augment the same against the next Spring, to return again into *Germany*, if the Peace of those parts be not concluded, or some mischance do not happen in the mean time. Which resolution of theirs, for such it is (as I am very well informed) deserves the more to be cherished, by how much the more disrespect is shewed his Majesties Embassadour in the *Palatinate*, by burning and spoyling her Highnesse Joynture even in his view, as *Don Gonzales* did whilest he remained in those parts) and since besieging his Majesties Garrison *Heidelbergh*; before which place, we understand here by Letters of the 14<sup>th</sup>. from *Frankford*, that Baron *Tillie* began his approaches the 12<sup>th</sup>. of this present.

I have not heard what is the issue of Captain *Brett's* business, but hope the best. Colonel *Hynderfon's* Regiment was given upon the first news of his death to Sir *Francis Hynderfon* by the Prince of *Orange*, with which the States are much displeased, as contrarying their Act. And I have lamented my self to them, as a wrong done my Lord of *Buckleugh*, and his Majestie, in his behalf: which they promise me to repair, as they possibly may be able. And I presse them to it by those means which your Lordship will find contained in an abstract of a Letter I wrote lately to his Excellencie, chiefly to this purpose.

Her Highness having received a fair Present from the Prince her Brother, doth render his Highness thanks by the inclosed. I know not so great a Ladie in the world, nor ever did, (though I have seen many Courts) of such natural affections: An obedient Daughter; A loving Sister; And a tender Wife, whose care of her Husband doth augment with his misfortunes.

Your Lordship cannot therefore shew your care of her more, then by bringing them again together with the soonest. Of which I beseech your Lordship, that with the soonest I may know what hope there is, and that (if your Lordship please) by Mr. *Asburnham*,  
V u whose

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

whose return with a favourable dispatch is daily expected. Thus I most humbly take leave,

Your Lordships

Most humble, and most devoted Servant,

*Hague 23. August,  
1622.*

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**He general knowledge the Queen of *Bohemia* received from your Grace, by my Nephew, of the disposition of our affairs at home, since his Highnesse, and your Graces return out of *Spain*, upon the true understanding you have bred in his Majestie of the Spanish proceedings, being more particularly both for the state of the matter, and the manner fit to be held here in disposing these men to such overtures as are necessarie, expressed unto me by Sir *George Goring* with special caution of secrecie and celeritie.

I have thought fit to set down at large (whilest it is fresh in my memorie) an opportunitie as properly given unto me this day by the Prince of *Orange*, who is the onely person of power and confidence we have here to treat withal) as I hope your Grace will judge it seasonably taken.

And that was an occasion of businesse concerning a mutinie at *Breda*, which drew the Councel of State, (where I have my Seance) to the States general, with whom we found the Prince. That businesse ending in good time, gave him a long hours leisure with me afterwards in his Garden, which he himself desired of me, because somewhat was farther to be digested betwixt us concerning the English Troops, which shewed themselves most in this Mutinie: And hereupon the consideration of the necessity of this State, and impossibility of giving their Troops full contentment, gave us subject of further discourse, both of the means of better payment they have here at home, and the helps they might conceive from abroad, which

which making appear unto me to be coldest from *England*, as long as our Match with Spain is still in treatie, he asked me bluntly (after his manner), *Qui a'il de vostre Mariage?* I told him, it was now at a stay upon this point, That the restitution of the *Palatinate* must be first concluded. And that the Queen of *Bohemia* was not onely well comforted with this assurance, but pleased her self with a further conceipt, that the opportunity was never fairer for this State to regain the King her Fathers favour, and return to the antient support of his Crownes, which by the way of gratitude for her good usage, since she had her refuge into these parts, she could not but admonish his Excellencie of, and advise him not to let it slip. This he did not so suddenly lay hold of, as not first to cast many misdoubts, as if the alienation were too great, and his Majestie too much wedded in affection, if not in Alliance to new friends, to be so soone reconjoynd to his old, as their necessities did require.

Here I took occasion to play my own Part, and to remember unto him how things had passed within the compasse of my experience from the beginning; letting him know what friendship his Majestie had shewed this State, in the making their *Truce*; what sinceritie in rendring their Cautionarie Townes according to contract, when they were demanded; what affection in supporting their affaires during their late domestique disputes; what care in settling our *East-Indian* differences: finallie, what Patience in conniving at all the misdemeanours, and insolencies of their Sea-men, without seeking revenge.

And hereupon concluded, that I found them here in the same error as men are, which put first from Land to Sea, and believe the Land passes from them, not they from the Land, in that the Alienation, which hath long been nourished betwixt his Majestie and this State, sprang originally from them.

First, by *Barneveldt* and his faction of Arminians carrying the State to new Alliances, with the Hans-Townes, and otherwise by themselves, refusing so much as the knowledge of them to my Predecessour in this place, Sir *Ralph Wynwood*, with much scorn, and contempt.

Next, by a harsh and peremptorie stile, used in all we had then to do with them, favouring rather of Pride and presumption, then any due respect or desire of friendship.

Lastly, by a precipitate course taken at Sea by their ships of war and Merchants against his Majesties Subjects, making prize of some, shouldering others out of their places of trade, and entering in the *East-Indies* into open hostilitie, avowed by a publique Act of the



States General. This ill course begun and pursued for some yeares continuance, breeding a deserved distaste in his Majestie on this side; and on the Spanish part fair overtures of friendship, being continually made, and confirmed by the tender of a Match of a potent Prince, None can marvel that his Majestie did imbrace the same, unlesse it should be expected of him, that for love of this State how ill soever deserving, he should lend a deaf eare to all other friendships, that did not concur with the interest of this State. And the remembrance of these things not being so old as to be worn out, they might here very well conceive, that the suspition of Alienation and disaffection, is as strong on our side for their giving the cause of our leaning another way, as on theirs for the effect which hath since followed. And now the cause is removed, the effect may possibly cease in like manner, if we may have good assurance, that breaking with our new friends upon the occasions now presented, we might fasten after the wonted manner with an old : and the King be satisfied in such doubts, he may upon good reason cast, and know certainly what to trust to. To this conclusion he answered (confessing first their many obligations to his Majestie, both for his favour, and sufferance,) that nothing could be more certain, then the affection of this State to a Prince embracing their cause of opposition to Spain. And if his Majestie could take that resolution, he might dispose of them, their lives and their fortunes. I told him, that more (in a case of this importance, when there was question of alteration of the whole course of a great Princes affaires) would be required then bare professions and protestations, and the rather, because he knew I was not ignorant, how many Billets, and Papers have been heretofore brought hither by \* Madam Serclaüs, and others, tending to *Truce*, or peace, and how much such a matter was thirsted after by their Frontier Provinces, which being free for them to take, or leave, after their own humours, it was not likely his Majestie would discharge them of their burthen, to pull it upon his own Shoulders ; But to enter into the common cause of defence, and add a powerful hand in supporting them, might be faisable, in the present conjuncture, upon good assurance, he should never be left single in the quarrel. Whereunto he answered, that true it was, the woman I named, and divers others, had been tampering heretofore about such Treaties, & that he had continually put their Papers into his Pocket, and so suppressed (them with content of some of the States, of whom he was most confident) lest such propositions, being brought into their publique Assemblies, might have driven them into distraction, and

\* An old Papi-  
stish Gentle-  
woman of  
this towne,  
who by passe-  
port on  
both sides  
travels so of-  
ten to and  
fro betwixt  
this and  
Bruxells,  
(where she  
hath private  
accesse to the  
Infanta) that  
she is known  
by the title  
of la Ma-  
querelle de  
la Trêve.

and dispute one with another according to their several affections, either to Peace, or War, and thereby slacken their Contributions, wherewith they pay their Army, and by consequence expose them to the mercie of the enemy.

And that this course of his being finally discovered by the Merquesse *Spinola*, and *Peckins*, their purpose now was ( as he is privately advertized from *Bruxels* ) to steal over some person hither by the usual meanes of Passe-ports for Merchants and Travailers, to make some such like Proposition at the several Assemblies of the States of these united Provinces : which it should be his studie to prevent, because of the mischief may be bred thereby amongst them ; And this he assured me for conclusion, That as their affections and affairs now stand, nothing but despair can bring these Provinces to Peace, or Truce with *Spain*.

To this I yielded, but said, That was not enough because of such changes, to which the world was daily subject. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* undertake their protection upon such bare presumptions, wherefore some further assurance must be thought on ; which he consented unto, as a thing requisite on both sides, and joyned issue with me in this point, That when the King would be to this State, as Queen *Elizabeth* was ; this State would be to him, as it was to Queen *Elizabeth*.

This being *opus unius diei*, not unlike the first day of the Creation of the world in distinguishing light and darknesse, I will give your Grace this further light, of what belongs to negotiation with this State.

The present opportunitie of the Prince of *Orange's* good affection and strength of these Provinces both by Sea and Land, as it yet stands, (but not possible so long to continue) being seasonably laid hold of, his Majestie may have with this State a firm and fruitful alliance.

But if the Prince of *Orange* should die, (as he is much broken, and the last year at this time, we did not think he could live till *May*) or the enemy break into the borders of this State, (as this last Summer, if the *Imperialists* had joyned with the *Spaniards*, they had undoubtedly done ; and unlesse some Change or Alteration happen, as is feared will do this next year) the best link we have for a bond of friendship would fail, and as much difference be betwixt this State, as it now is, and what it is like to be upon any such ill accident, ( as  
was

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

was now feared, and still hangs over them) as betwixt a strong Staffe and a broken Reed. So I cease to give your Grace any further trouble.

Your Graces

*Hague*, 9. Decemb.  
1623.

Most humble, and most  
faithful servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**W**Hat Comfort and Contentment the Queen of *Bohemia* receives in your Graces Message and Letter by my Nephew, I leave to her own expression, which never failes her, when her heart goeth with her hand, as I can assure your Grace, it doth in this subject. And this I will say more, who can say nothing but truth, I never knew your Grace ill with this good and gracious Princeesse; but now you are so well settled in her good opinion and favour, that I know none hath more interest therein.

And this use your Grace may make thereof to his Majesties service, that now this King and Queen are both of them no lesse confident of your affection, then they are of your sinceritie; what you advise them in their affairs will be of much weight to sway them in the balance of their judgment.

Which now a Proposition is made unto them, on which their whole estate doth depend as well for themselves, as their posteritie, full of doubtful circumstances on both sides, (the choice not being, as they conceive, betwixt one thing certain, and another uncertain; but betwixt two unequal uncertainties) it is hard to say which way they incline: but if they be left to themselves, I perceive they will rather stand to the hazard of the latter, with preservation of their honour and lawful pretensions, then submit themselves to the former with shame and disgrace, and no assurance of better dealing then was used to the deported House of *Saxe*, by a better Emperour then  
this

this accounted, of which we have the Héir (one of the worthiest Princes in *Germanie*) here in hard Conditions amongst us. And he serves as a spectacle to these Princes of their fortunes by the same way as his Predecessors took, of submission. Yet other things being before agreed of, and settled in that sort as his Majestie hath alwaies assured these Princes to be his full intention of restitution to their Patrimonial Honours and estate; This King I find will conform himself, to what his Majestie shall think fit, touching a due submission.

But this being a matter of ceremony, the other of substance, he judgeth, that if this precede, (that is, the Submission) the other of restitution will never follow. Neither can it be well seen, how in possibility it may be effected, considering that (whilest things have been held sometimes in terms, alwaies in talk of accommodation) the Electoral is given to *Bavier* by the Emperour, and avowed by a Congratulatory Embassage from *Bruxels*: the upper *Palatinate* sealed in his possession, with some portion to *Newburgh* for his Contentation, and ingagement. A principal part of the lower *Palatinate* (the *Bergstrate*) given to the Elector of *Mentz*, with the consent of those of *Bruxels*, (where he was lately in person to obtain it) though they grossely dissemble it, and promises of parts of the rest made to other Princes.

So as what is now pretended (I must deal plainly with your Grace) is no otherwaies interpreted, then as experience doth teach of these three former years proceedings: Ever new Overtures in Winter, and new Ruptures in the Summer. And as of two former Treaties with this Prince, which passed my hands, (one a Consent to a Submission sent to *Vienna*, the other a Ratification of a Suspension oftentimes sent to *Bruxels*) no other use was made, but with the first to accelerate *Bethlem Gabor* in his Treatie of Peace with the Emperour as then on foot, and with the second to intimidate both the Electours *Saxe*, and *Brandenburgh*, with the Princes of the *Nether*, *Saxe*, and *Creyes* from entering into Armes, to which they were well disposed, upon the discontentment they received of the preposterous courses that were taken in the Diet at *Ratisbone*; (and to this effect Copies of the very projects of the said Treaties were dispersed by the Imperialists, before the Instruments themselves were perfected,) so it is here believed, that now *Gabor* is again in armes, and other Princes ready to imbrace any good occasion of redresse of affaires, time is onely sought to be gained by this new Overture, and the King of *Bohemia's* Credit, with his friends and well wishers in *Germanie* to be weakened,



weakned, if not lost; for if once he submit himself allowing the translation of the Electoral, he shall thereby avow the Emperours undue proceedings in that cause (which have been protested against by *Saxe*, and *Brandenbergh*, and all the other *Germane* Princes, excepting those onely of the Catholique league) and by whom afterwards upon any ill dealing can he expect to be befriended, who forsakes himself and his own cause? This is the discourse of these Princes upon this occasion; but when they are asked, What then can you trust unto? their recourse is to his Majestie. who they hope knoweth the meanes to effect in their behalf, what he hath so long, and so constantly undertaken for them. And though for these three or four years past, affaires on this side have gone in a continual decadence, and now threaten a final ruine, ulesse it be withstood by some Princelie Resolution; (not of pettie, but of great Princes) yet here is no such discouragement: but that it is thought there is yet strength and vigour enough left in the good Party, not onely to subsist, but to rise and flourish again as well as ever. And in this cogitation the King and Queen remain, not prescribing any thing to his Majestie, nor willing to submit themselves anew to the same rod, with which they have been so often scourged.

Your Grace was lately invited with my Lord of *Richmond* to christen their young Son, which being excused by my Lord of *Richmond* in both your names, And the King of *France* undertaking that office, it was performed by that King, and the King of *Swede* yesterday was seven-night (represented by the *French* Embassadour here resident, and the Prince of *Orange*) in the same manner, and the same Church, as the Princessse *Louise*, bearing the same name, was christned the last year: when the Duke *Christien* of *Brunswick* being invited to be Godfather, though absent, and for some respects of precedence could not have a Deputie, was understood notwithstanding to be one of the *Parrins*; and so do the King and Queen hold both your Grace, and my Lord of *Richmond*.

I must now render your Grace my humble thanks for your manifestation of your favour to my self, which you are pleased to do in such ample manner, as to tell me farther for my Comfort who are my friends; And a farther effect of friendship, I could not expect of them, then to procure me the assurance I now receive from your Grace, who have won the reputation by your Constancie to those you take into your Care, that your word is taken for your deed. And though that, which I thought fittest for my self failes me, if your Grace can think me fit for any thing else towards the amendment of  
my

my poor fortune, I shall attend the same with much patience of mind, though great extremitie otherwise, by reason of a small estate charged with great debts, (which are no small burthen to an honest mind,) And ever remain

Your Graces

Hague, 13<sup>th</sup>. Decemb.  
1623.

Most faithful devoted  
servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

THE Queen of *Bohemia* desirous to draw the Prince of *Orange* to more then general professions of service to his Majestie, hath sometimes in my presence, when I waited on her highnesse, given occasion of discourse her self, and at other times I have spoken in her name with his Excellencie to the like effect, as in my former Letter to your Grace: which caused his Excellencie to take three of the States, such of whom he is most confident (one of *Guelderland*, another of *Holland*, the third of *Zealand*) unto him, to strengthen himself by their concurrence in that, which is his own inclination, of carrying this State to a strict alliance with his Majestie, in which he told them, That first their minds must be known, and next such assurance thought of, as not onely must give his Majestie present Contentment, but likewise free him from all misdoubt for the future, that either upon offers from *Spain* to these Provinces, or any sinister accidents of War, they should be induced to make Peace or Truce without his Majesties consent.

Whereunto they answered him, (as I have it from himself this day) That nothing could be more agreeable to their affections, and Interests in all respects, then to be under his Majesties protection; And for assurance of their remaining constant to that course, they doubted not, but when the matter should be treated of, the Provinces would willingly condescend to what should be necessary to that purpose.

His Excellencie in relation hereof unto me went so much further, as to instance in their new resolution here, now finally put in practice

of making Voyages into the *West-Indies* after the same form, as they have done into the *East*; both which joyned together, make them irreconcilable with Spain. Yet if his Majestie will have a further tye on them, they will not refuse it; but he saith, The States will expect that such obligation be mutual, and that they in like manner may rest assured, when they put themselves wholly under his Majesties wings, his Majestie will not flie from them, and make his peace without them.

I told him the case was not equal betwixt his Majestie, and them, they being actually in War, his Majestie in Peace: so as to come to a conjunction, his Majestie must change condition, not they, and therefore hath the more reason to look before he leap out of Peace into War. And so did Queen *Elizabeth*, who had reigned 27 years before she openly took upon her the protection of these Countries; but after continued her War in their Cause to her dying day. This he confessed, but remembered withal, That there was a Treatie of *Burburck*, with which the States were much startled, and he thought that when this businesse should be more particularly scanned amongst them, as they would willingly give, so they would expect to receive good assurance.

In this point of declaration of their affection, and willingnesse to warrant his Majestie sufficiently, I asked him, How far I might go not to be disavowed: so as if his Majestie should take any suddain resolution, according as affaires require, he might confidently build upon the concurrence of this State. He answered me, That a resolution in this kind would require a further proceeding, then was fit, untill his Majestie would be content to make his mind known, by such private means as might seem best to his own wisdom, and then according to his own liking, they would enlarge this matter here, to more mens knowledge, then the small circle, in which it hitherto walked, and guide it in that manner as may be fit for the form of it to his Majesties honour, and for the substance to his full contentment. Which he offered to do now if I would presse him to it; but withal told me his opinion, that it would raise nothing but bruit and noise without effect, when we had here no better ground to work upon, and therefore wished the businesse might expect a return from his Majestie, if he could be content it should be proceeded in. In these terms remains this businesse, not free from many Cautions, and nice Circumstances; and yet on this side, (I can assure your Grace) full of good affection; but these are the true reasons of their coming on no faster. They hold it for a maxime, That *Spain* will never match with  
his

his Majestie for love, but either for hope, or fear. If *Spain* can entertain hope of reducing these Provinces to obedience by the Match, or fear, that unlesse the Match proceed, his Majestie will joyn with these Provinces in opposition to *Spain*: They hold in either of these Cases the Match as made. And therefore lest some use should be made of their presentations of themselves, to their own prejudice, they are thus shie, and circumspect. Besides, as they have had some help of money out of *France* this last year, so they are entertained with hopes of more against the next: which they fear would be excused upon any offer they should make of themselves towards his Majestie, and therefore are loath to adventure the exchange of a substance, for that which appears unto them hitherto, no better then a shadow; And they are indeed very umbragious; for they suspect, that Tentatives of this kind, of which some have been made heretofore amongst them, tend to no other end, then to endear our Merchandize with *Spain*, and let the Ministers of that Crown know, that we refuse in their Contemplation. But when his Majestie shall resolve in his own heart, and be pleased to make himself so understood, it will be no hard matter by his Excellencies means (who is a Prince full of good intentions and real affections to his Majestie, and his royal Family) to make these men lay by their Jealousies, and be as true to his Majestie, and the support of his Crowns, as his own Kingdomes. Which is no more then they owe for the protection which these that are now in Government had of his Majestie, when they were lately sinking under the burthen of a contrary faction; and no more then upon a good knowledge of their Interests and affections I can undertake for them, they will really and readily pay, if the matter be well managed. In which the confidence and freedom I have used with this Noble Gentleman, *Sir George Goring*, may give your Grace some further light, as any doubts shall arise concerning the businesse. So I most humbly take leave,

Your Graces

*Hague*, 18. Decemb.  
1623.

Most humble, and most  
faithful servant,

*Dudley Carleton*



## Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**He businesse of strict conjunction betwixt his Majestie, and this State (touching which the Queen of *Bohemia* hath received his Highnesse, and your Graces Letters, and I your Graces of the 9<sup>th</sup>. of this present) goeth on the right foot (according as your Grace will see more particularly by my Letters to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, and as the matter is here imbraced with much affection, so for the manner I doubt not but it will be well ordered in that sort, as will be for his Majesties honour, and contentment. But in regard of jealousies towards us, and emulations amongst these men in matters of imployment, (to which all men are subject, especially in good and advantagious businesses, some time, will be required, to set all in the right way, yet no illimited time; for I hope within a week all will be resolved of, and within a few dayes more, put in execution fullie to expectation. Sir *Noel Caron* writes, a league offensive and defensive will be imbraced by his Majestie, if it be proposed from hence, with offer of assurance; And I assure my self both the overture, and offer will be made and realie effected, if it be answered on our side with good correspondence. That which busieth my cogitations is, that *tempus agendi* may be lost *Consultando*; and therefore seeing how both his Majestie, and this State stand affected, I will take the libertie to give your Grace two advertisements in matters of action, which will be of exceeding fruit, if they be thought of in time, and for which there is no time to spare.

One is, that your Grace doth inquire after in your Letter to the Queen of *Bohemia* (who excuseth writing either to his Highnesse, or your Grace till the States have resolved of their sending) that is the States preparation for the *West-Indies*, which way, the companie for those parts newlie erected in these, hath set out one Fleet of 32. Sayl now already at Sea, with some Land men amongst them, to put on ground and fortifie as they shall find occasion; for which they have men for the purpose, and all materials readie embarked with them.

A second Fleet they are now preparing against April next, about which all their Admiralties and some of the Deputies of this new *West-Indian* Companie are here at this present. And the design is, for the Admiralties to set out at the charge of the generalitie twelve good ships of war, besides they have already on the coast of Spain and in the narrow Seas, which they will still continue.

To

To these 12. ships they require the *West-Indian* Companie to joyn 12. more, which will make a good Fleet, and this they intend shall be readie (as I sayd) in April next, to attend the coming of the Spanish *West-Indian* Fleet, which here they understand is put into the *Havana*, with intention there to winter as it did the last year.

Now if his Majestie will give leave to his subjects to erect a Companie for the *West-Indies*, and joyn with these men in those Parts, as they do in the East, (and upon more equal conditions, since the businesse is but now in the beginning) it will be here gladlie imbraced. And if he will frame a Fleet betwixt his own ships and his Merchants to joyn with the States Fleet prepared for April next to intercept the Spanish *West-Indian* Fleet, nothing more will be desired by these men, and there is nothing of which for the present they promise themselves greater fruit: for either they hope to take, or to stop the silver of those parts (both which are good services, considering the need of mony, the Spaniards have in these), or else they resolve with the ships which belong to the companie to pursue their voyage of the *West-Indies*.

The second is a Truce with the *Pirates* of *Algier*, such an one as this State hath made in conformitie to their peace with the Grand Seignieur, which will be no more observed for unmolesting all, and every one of our Merchants ships as they are straglingly lighted on, then it is with these men, who suffer many losses in particular; but those are recompensed in the General. For the *Spaniards* are much amazed with this correspondence; And the men of War of this State, or such Merchants, as can make any reasonable defence are most medled withal. Besides, in any matter of offence they concur together; And even now a proposition is made from *Algier* to the Prince of *Orange*, (which I have from his own mouth to acquaint your Grace therewith) that in case this State against the beginning of next sommer will set out twenty Sayl of ships upon any good service against the Spaniards, they will joyn unto them 60. Sayl to pursue the design, whatsoever it shall be of this State. The acceptance of which offer being now in deliberation, it will be suspended till it be seen, how this unexpected businesse with his Majestie may proceed; And then they will here do nothing but that, as may concur with our common Interests. But because the negotiation of this matter with those of *Algier* (that is a Truce betwixt his Majesties subjects, and those men) will require time, your Grace may provisionallie move his Majestie (if the matter be well liked) to use such endeavours

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

deavours as may conduce thereunto. Here they use to write, and send through *France* by *Marseilles* to the Consul they have continuallie at *Algeir*, by whose meanes (if no better present it self) any thing may be proposed, his Majesty shall find fitting.

Other things, I will within few daies remonstrate to your Grace for his Majesties service in this change of affaires, which require all possible industries, and diligences to be used both far and neer; And those not neglected, I doubt not, but they who have so grossely abused his Majesties friendship, will soone repent themselves, and by their harmes see their own errors. Thus I most humbly take leave;

Your Graces

Most humble, and most faithful  
Servant,

*Hague* 24. January,  
1625.

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

According as I advertised your Grace the 24. of the last of the disposition of the Prince of *Orange*, and such of the States, as he called unto him to Councel, they procured the rest soone after to resolve of an Embassage to his Majestie, and now they have dispatched the same with as much expedition, as could possibly be used. The Persons are *Aersens* of *Holland*, and *Joachim* of *Zealand*, both able, and well affected Persons, and both sufficiently known to his Majestie by former employments. They go amply authorised for what they shall treat: but that as yet is an Embrion onely which must receive form, and life from his Majestie, in whose hands it lyeth to preserve this State, and dispose for ever of the whole strength thereof for his own service, and his royal Families. Which after more debates, and distasts, then have passed with all the world besides, I am glad I can say upon good warrantize: whereof this is one proof, that when his Majestie is constrained by the necessity of affaires to send and seek to his other friends, he is sent and sought, and sued to from hence. I doubt not but it will be objected (as hath been formerly) that it is for their own Interest, and that they would gladly ingage his

his Majestie in their quarrel, which it were a follie to deny : but there is alwaies the friendship strongest when the interests are most conjoyned. And if that which is principally for one mans benefit, turn likewise to another mans advantage, *Hoc non facere* (saith an old School-book) *summa est imprudentia*.

The affairs of these parts for matter of Action (which have been more then ordinarily succeeds in this cold season, but have been more coldly pursued then was feared) I refer to this Bearer my Nephew's report, who having the honour to be his Majesties servant, I imploy him the more willingly, as able to give Account of such particularities, either of this Negotiation, or otherwise, of which his Majestie, and your Grace may require knowledge. And I humbly beseech your Grace to give him encouragement by your accustomed noble favour. So rests

Your Graces

Hague, 16. February,  
1625.

Most humble, and most devoted servant,

Dudley Carleton.

Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

I were a sin against the publique service, in which your Grace doth imploy your self so much to the common good, and your own honour, to molest you with Letters in this busie time : which must serve me for excuse of silence, since the beginning of the Parliament. What I write now is by Commandment of the Queen of Bohemia concerning this Bearer Captain Gifford an old Seaman of our Nation, who having a private suite to the States, hath made a journey over hither with recommendation to me from our two Secretaries for advancement thereof, but with a further purpose to be imployed by the Queen against the *Spaxiard* in a matter of no lesse moment, then taking of a Gallion, which usually bringeth the treasure over the Gulph of *Mexico*, from *Nova Spagua* to the *Havana*. Which he designs after this manner : To go out with two Ships and a Pin-

nace,



nace, onely fitted for fight, without more in number, because of the Alarum would be taken at a greater Fleet, and to lie under Covert of a small Island in the entrie of the Gulph of *Mexico*: where the Gallion coming usually alone, unlesse it be accompanied with some Merchants ships, which he sets light by, and which incumbred with goods and Passengers, he think may be mastered, and taken, building upon the securitie in which that Gallion, with the rest of that *Nova Spagua* Fleet, do sayl scattering in the *Gulph*, till they meet with the Fleet of *Terra Firma* at the *Havana*, where he having been heretofore a prisoner made this observation, and doth now offer himself to put the design in execution, with a demand of betwixt 10000 and a 11000 l. for the whole equipage.

The Queen in recompence of his good will returns him with this addresse to your Grace as a man fit for imployment, for so he is generally reputed; but for the particularitie of the Exploit, she doth not entertain any thought thereof, but refers it wholly to your Graces Consideration, and to the opportunitie according as affaires shall succeed betwixt his Majestie, and *Spain*.

Here are come Letters from some of the King and Queens servants on that side, and one to my self from a private friend, advertizing, That there is a readinesse in divers of his Majesties Subjects of good abilities, to put to Sea with Letters of Mart in the name of this King and Queen against the *Spaniard*, and of a likelihood, that if such Commissions were given by these Princes, they would not be ill understood by his Majestie.

Mounsieur *Aertsens* hath likewise written hither in a private Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, that he hath been spoken with to move the States to increase the number, he and his Colleague have mentioned of 10 or 12 Ships to joyn in any good occasion with his Majesties Fleet to 20: And that the purpose is to set out 50 sayl on that side, and that both shall go under the name of the King and Queen of *Bohemia*. Wherein though the motion be not directly made, yet the Prince of *Orange* hath discoursed enough, that when it shall come to issue, they will stretch themselves to furnish to the full what is required on this side. In both these busineses, as well the granting Letters of Mart by these Princes, as their lending their names to any greater Action, they intend to govern themselves onely as they shall understand to concur with his Majesties pleasure, and therefore hope they shall receive advice from his Highnesse, and your Grace, what is fit for them to contribute to such occasions as they

they see much to their Comforts, you advance with so great care and vigilance. Thus I most humbly take leave,

*Hague* 16. April,  
1624.

Your Graces most humble, and  
most devoted Servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

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*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

SUCH Commandments as I received from your Grace by double Dispatches of the 4<sup>th</sup>. of the last, by way of provision whilest Sir *William Saintleiger* lay sick, were prevented by his own presence. He bringing the first of those Packets with him, and thereby had Commoditie to assist at the breaking of the businesse to the States, by virtue of his Majesties Credence given him, and my Lord General *Cecil*: which since, he hath solicited both at the Camp, and in this place with all possible care and industrie, and I have not failed of my utmost endeavours.

But the unsettlednesse of this Government, which still continueth since the late change of Governours, hath bred delay to some, and direct impediments to other points we had in charge: which we have endeavoured to supply by other means. And now in what state he leaves the whole businesse, he will relate to your Grace. Such Patents as your Grace required from the King and Queen of *Bohemia*, I have committed to his delivery in divers forms, with a Blank signed and sealed, wherein to frame such an one as may be better to your minds: But if your Grace make no use of it, you may please to return it to me again, to the end I may restore it.

What concerns my self, I absolutely remit and submit to your Grace; onely I will renew the request I made to your Grace by my Nephew, That your Grace will not prefer any before me in your formerly intended favour, out of belief, that any can be more, then I resolve to rest whilest I live *a toutes Espresses*,

*Hague*, 20. June,  
1625.

Humbly and faithfully devoted to your  
Graces person and service,

*Dudley Carleton.*

Y y

Sir

## Sir Dudley Carleton to the Duke.

*May it please your Grace,*

**A**FTER long attendance the wind is come good for *Plymouth*, which I hope will carry thither speedily and safely the States whole Fleet, though in 3. parts; 12 Ships with the Admiral *de Nassau*, who hath long waited in the *Tessel*; 4 but newly ready provided by those of *Zealand* at *Amsterdam*, and 4 which have layen sometimes before the *Brill*; whereof one is to land the *Marshal Chatillion* in passing by *Calice*; the other three to Convoy the English men: And Armes I send in 10. other Ships I have hired at *Rotterdam*: before which place they have layen 20 daies a Shipboard, by reason of contrary winds, with some impatiencie, but no disorder: which what course I took to prevent, as likewise what may happen in their Voyage, my Lord *Conway* (to whom I give a particular account of all) will inform your Grace.

I have obtained leave for Sir *John Proud* to go the Voyage according to his Majesties Letter, though it was somewhat stood upon by the States, and he hath taken his passage by *Zealand*.

When I call to mind, what Patents I procured of the King of *Bohemia*, and sent your Grace by Sir *William Saint Lieger*, (amongst which was one of submission to any accommodation his Majestie shall at any time like well of for the King of *Bohemia*) I think it necessary to advertize your Grace, that knowledge being come hither of the *Infanta's* sending the Count *Shomburgh* to the King of *Denmark* with a fair Message, and the Count *Gondomar's* overtures to Mr. *Trumbal* tending to reconciliation, and restitution of the *Palatinate*, it is so willingly hearkned unto by the King of *Bohemia*, that there is no doubt of his Consent: but withal he well considers, that if Treatie alone be trusted unto, and thereupon Armes now leaved by his Majestie, and his Friends be laid aside, all will prove as fruitlesse as formerly. For howsoever the King of *Spain* (for more free prosecution of other quarrels, or designs) may be induced to quit what he possesseth in the *Palatinate*, the *shares*, the Emperour, the Duke of *Bavier*, and the two Electours *Majentz*, and *Trovers*, with a great rabble of Popish Priests and Jesuites have therein, will require more then bare negotiation, to wring it out of their hands; and nothing but Victorie, or at least a well armed Treatie can serve that turn.

The

The time seems long both to the King and Queen, and growes very irksome every day more then other of their abode here in this place: which indeed doth prove in all respects very uncomfortable; and that your Grace will gather out of Mr. Secretarie *Morton's* report, and my Letters to my Lord *Conway*. In this very Consideration, I beseech your Grace be the more mindful of

Your Graces

Most humble, and most  
devoted servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Hague, 20<sup>th</sup>. of  
August, 1625.*

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*FINIS.*

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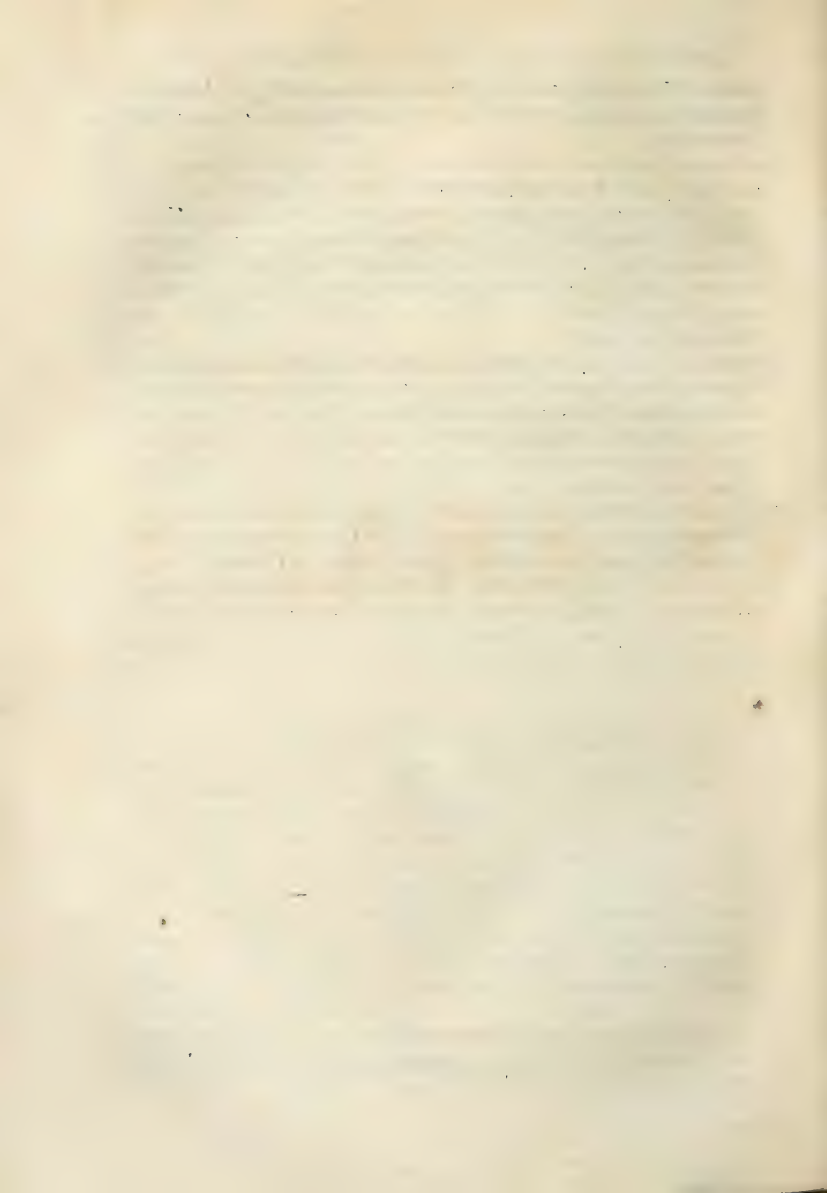
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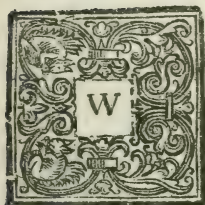
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LETTERS

CARROLL



THE  
STATIONERS  
*To the READER.*



WE cannot suppose here that words will be needed to raise opinion; yet it may be expected we should give some account of what we have done, and we will do it. Not long ago we printed that excellent collection of Letters known by the name of *Cabala*, which the world has seen and approved. Since, another volume of Letters hath come to our hands; a volume which may justly be called a second *Cabala*, not unworthy to keep that company,



## *The Stationers*

pany, a part which must add much to the other, as illustrious in its titles, as considerable and as weighty for the matter. In which, besides not a few noble monuments of the former years from the deserting of the Roman Church by our great *Henry* downward, of his daughter the most glorious virgin *Queens* life and government recorded, some of the same great actions are begun, many continued; much of the policie, contrivances, and workings of the same succeeding Princes and their Ministers, of the carriage of the same things farther prosecuted, and more fully discovered. Like sister-twins of lovely faces they have both apart their native sweetness, their several worths and graces; yet they are not so fully taking, so perfectly beautiful, as where they are drawn together in one frame. In the new more is discovered, not only of the foreign affairs in *Germany*, *Italy*,  
• *France*,

*to the Reader,*

*France, Spain, and other Countries* whether the interest of the late Reignes engaged the Sovereign actors; but of our home-Councils, Orders, and provisions both for the Church and Commonwealth, enough to shew the prudence, judgment, and foresight of those who swayed in chief then, and to let us know now the Ages past have had the honour to be governed by men, who did not permit all things to fortune; who if they could not assure themselves of the events, yet they could command, design, and understand: Their designs and counsels (which will be admirable to some, but ridiculous to others) being ever directed and ruled by equity and justice, ever aiming at honest ends, such as may venture abroad, such as will appear fair and handsom in the light: whereas if we cast our eyes upon the Popes in the same leas, we shall find nothing but combustions,  
no-

## *The Stationers*

nothing but fire, brimstone and alarums to war and blood. If upon the *French*, nothing but inhumane cruelty and violence upon the conscience too. If upon the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, nothing but artifice, nothing but cunning perfidiousness; all their plots and consultations, their cheating Treaties, tending meerly to the advancement of the *Austrian* house, without any respect to piety and justice, faith or honour. A taste of which unworthiness we find in this second Part, where the Spanish Match is first moved by the Duke of *Lerma*, the grand Minion in *Philip* the 3. his reign; this Duke damns himself in oaths for his sincerity and reality toward the Match, which *Olivarez*, the present Kings Favourite, tels his Master here was never intended. It would be too tedious but to touch in passing by, upon the generals in these Letters; upon the calamities and miseries

*to the Reader,*

ries of the Palatine *Germans*, of the *Hugonots*, the siege and taking in of *Rochel*, &c. Heresie and Superstition every where triumphing over truth. To speak of the spirit and worthines of our Hero's were impossible ; we might cull out some Letters here, of which (were there no more) might be said,

— *An hand or eye*

*By Hyliard drawn, is worth a History.*

Of these Letters we may safely be believed, though they come out thus late, and are so little known, their merit will easily weigh down the age and fame of those which have gone before.

*Temple-Gate,*  
*May 1. 1654.*

*G. B.*  
*T. C.*



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## ERRATA.

**P**ag. 13. *movendis* for *moventib.* p. 16. l. 13. dele *Statute of usm.* l. 17. d. *port-corn.*  
p. 21. d. *a few days before my departure.* p. 20. l. 22. d. *opera.* p. 33. l. 22. put in *not.*  
p. 50. *taglaes*, r. *tailles.* 61. *tain*, r. *retein.* 75. *Quadruials*, r. *Quadrivials.* 77. *im*, r. *in.*  
80. r. *cartel.* 81. *Loe*, r. *Lee.* 83. *nos*, r. *eos.* p. 85. l. 14. put in *no less.* l. 17. *Claudius*, r. *Clodius.*  
88. *temeriti*, r. *emeriti.* 93. *Fintons*, r. *Fenton.* 98. *Almonte*, r. *Ayamonte.* 105. d. *nimis.*  
l. 13. *vel quod in villa villa & in incolarum, &c.* l. 17. *dislata*, r. *dilatata.* *tenenda*, r. *tenenda.*  
*aucupandam*, r. *aucupanda.* *obstri&am & reverentiam*, r. *obstri&a est reverentia.* *vetera*,  
r. *veteri.* 124. *Bristol*, r. *Digby.* 130. l. ult. add *requires.* 145. *rewig & einig.* 153. *Inijosa*,  
r. *Inoyosa.* p. 202. d. *Mook* or. 229. *sacrum & sacrum*, r. *sacrum & saxum.* *eadem*,  
r. *iter.* 241. *solely*, r. *fully.*

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King *HENRY* the 8. to the Clergie  
of the Province of *York*, An. 1533.  
Touching his Title of *Supreme Head*  
of the Church of *England*.



Right Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well, and have received your Letters dated at *York* the 6. of *May*, containing a long discourse of your mind and opinion concerning such words as hath passed the Clergie of the Province of *Canterbury* in the Proeme of their Grant made unto us, the like whereof should now pass in that Province. Albeit ye interlace such words of submission of your Judgment, and discharge of your duty towards us with humble fashion and behaviour, as we cannot conceive displeasure nor be discontent with you; considering what you have said to us in times past in other matters, and what ye confess in your Letters your self to have heard and known, noting also the effect of the same; We cannot but marvel at sundry points and Articles, which we shall open unto you, as hereafter followeth.

First, ye have heard (as ye say ye have) the said words to have passed in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, where were present so many learned in Divinity and Law, as the Bishops of *Rocheſter*, *London*, *S. Aſſaph*, Abbots of *Hyde*, *S. Bennets*, and many other; and in the Law the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Bath*; and in the Lower House of the Clergie so many notable and great Clerks, whose persons and learning you know well enough. Why do ye not in this case with your

self as you willed us in our great matter, conform your conscience to the conscience and opinion of a great number? Such was your advice to us in the same (our great matter) which now we perceive ye take for no sure counsel; for ye search the grounds, not regarding their sayings. Nevertheless forasmuch as ye examine their grounds, causes and reasons, in doing whereof ye seem rather to seek and examine that thing which might disprove their doings, then that which might maintain the same, We shall answer you briefly without long discourse to the chief points of your said Letters: wherein taking for a ground, that words were ordained to signifie things, and cannot therefore by sinister interpretation alter the truth of them, but only in the wits of perverse persons that would blind or colour the same, by reason whereof to good men they signifie that they mean only doing their office, and to men of worse sort they serve for maintenance of such meaning as they would imagine: so in using words we ought only to regard and consider the expression of the truth in convenient speech and sentences, without overmuch scruple of super-perverse interpretations, as the malice of men may excogitate: wherein both overmuch negligence is not to be commended, and too much diligence is not only by daily experience in mens writings and laws shewed frustrate and void; insomuch as nothing can be so cleerly and plainly written, spoken and ordered, but that subtile wit hath been able to subvert the same; but also the Spirit of God, which in his Scripture taught us the contrary, as in the places which ye bring in & rehearse:— if the Holy Ghost had had regard to that which might have been perversly construed of these words, *Pater major me est*; and the other, *Ego & Pater unum sumus*. there should have been added to the first *humanitas*, to the second *substantia*. And wherefore doth the Scripture call Christ *primogenitum*? whereupon, and the *Adverb donec*, was maintained the error *contra perpetuam virginitatem Mariæ*. Why have we in the Church *S. Pauls* Epistle, which *S. Peter* writeth to have been the occasion of errors? Why did Christ speak of many words, which the Jews drew *ad calumniam*, and yet reformed them not? as when he said, *Solvam Templum hoc, &c.* meaning of his body, where *Templum* with them had another signification; And such other like? There is none other cause but this, *Omnia quæ scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt*. And by that Learning we ought to apply and draw words to the truth, and so to understand them as they may signifie truth, and not so to wrest them as they should maintain a lye. For otherwise as Heretiques have done with the holy Scripture, so shall all men do with familiar speech; and if all things shall be brought into familiar disputation, he that shall call us *Supremum & unicum Dominum*, by that means, and as goeth your  
argu-

argument, might be reprov'd : For Christ is indeed *unicus Dominus & Supremus*, as we confesse him in the Church daily ; and now it is in opinion that *Sancti* be not Mediators : The contrary whereof ye affirm in your Letters, because of the Text of S. Paul, *Unus est Mediator Deum & hominum*. And after that manner of reason which ye use in the entry, if any man should say, This Land is mine own, and none hath right in it but I ; he might be reprov'd by the Psalm, *Domini est terra* : For why should a man call *terram aliquam* onely his, whereof God is the chief Lord and Owner ? Why is it admitted in familiar speech to call a man dead, of whom the soul which is the chief and best part yet liveth ? How is it that we say this man or that man to be founder of this Church, seeing that in one respect God is only founder ? We say likewise that he is a good man to the Church, a special benefactor of the Church : and that the Church is fallen down, when the stones be fallen down, the people preserved and living. And in all this manner of speech when we hear them, it is not accustomed ne used to do as ye do, that is to say, to draw the word *Church* to that sentence wherein the speech may be a lye, but to take it in that wherein it signifieth truth. Which accustomed manner if ye had followed, you should not have needed to have laboured so much in the declaration of the word *Ecclesia*, in that signification wherein it is most rarely taken, and cannot without maintenance of too manifest a lye be applied to any man. For taking *Ecclesia* in that sense ye take it, S. Paul wrote amiss writing to the *Corinthians*, saying, *Ecclesia Dei qua est Corinthi* : for by your definition, *non circumscribitur loco Ecclesia*. In the Gospel where Christ said *Dic Ecclesia*, must needs have another interpretation and definition then ye make *de Ecclesia* in your said Letters, or else it were hard to make complaint to all Christendom, as the case in the Gospel requireth. *Sed est candidi pectoris verba veritati accommodare, ut ipsam referre quodeorum officium est non corrumpere videantur*. Furthermore the Lawiers that write how *Ecclesia fallit & fallitur*, what blasphemy do they affirm, if that definition should be given to *Ecclesia* which you write in your Letters, wherein albeit ye write the truth for so far, yet for as much as ye draw that to the words spoken of us to the reprobation of them, yet ye shew your selves contrary to the teaching of Scripture, rather inclined by applying a divers definition to make that a lye which is truly spoken, then *genuino sensu addita & candida interpretatione* to verify the same. It were *nimis absurdum*, Us to be called *Caput Ecclesiae representans corpus Christi mysticum, & Ecclesia qua sine ruga est & macula quam Christus sibi Sponsam elegit, illius partem vel oblatam accipere vel arrogare*. And therefore albeit *Ecclesia* is spoken of in these words, touched in the Proeme, yet there is added, *Et Cleri Anglicani* : which



words conjoined restraineth by way of interpretation the word *Ecclesiam*, and is as much to say as the Church, that is to say the Clergie of *England*. Which manner of speaking in the Law ye have professed ye many times finde, and likewise in many other places.

But proceeding in your said Letter, ye have shewed Christ to be *Caput Ecclesie*, ye go about to shew how he divided his power in earth after the distinction *temporalium & spiritualium*, whereof the one ye say he committed to Princes, the other *Sacerdotibus*; for Princes, ye alleadg Texts which sheweth and proveth obedience due to Princes of all men without distinction, be he Priest, Clerk, Bishop, or Lay-man, who make together the Church: and albeit your own words make mention of temporal things, wherein ye say they should be obeyed; yet the Texts of Scripture which ye alleadg having the general words *obedite & subditi estote* contain no such words, whereby spiritual things should be excluded; but whatsoever appertaineth to the tranquillity of mans life is of necessity included, as the words plainly import, as ye also confesse; wherefore *Gladium portat Princeps* not only against them that break his Commandment and Laws, but against him also that in any wise breaketh Gods Law; For we may not more regard our Law then God, ne punish the breach of our Laws, and leave the transgressor of Gods Laws unreformed: so as all spiritual things by reason whereof may arise bodily trouble and inquietation, be necessarily included in Princes Power, and so proveth the Text of Scripture by you alleadged: and also the Doctors by you brought in, confirm the same. After that ye intend to prove, which no man will deny, the ministrati-on of spiritual things to have been by Christ committed to Priests to Preach and minister the Sacraments, them to be as Phisicians to mens souls; but in these Scriptures neither by spiritual things so far extended, as under colour of that vocabule be now adaies, ne it proveth not that their office being never so excellent, yet their persons, acts and deeds, should not be under the power of their Prince by God assigned, whom they should knowledg as their Head; the excellency of the matter of the Office doth not alwaies in all points extoll the dignity of the Minister. Christ who did most perfectly use the Office of a Priest, & *nihil aliud quam vere curavit animas*, gainesaid not the authority of *Pilate* upon that ground; and St. *Paul* executing the Office of a Priest, said, *ad tribunal Cesaris sto, ubi me judicari oportet*: And commanded likewise indistinctly all others to obey Princes, and yet unto those Priests being as members executing that Office, Princes do honour, for so is Gods pleasure and commandment; wherefore howsoever ye take the words in the proHEME, we indeed do shew and declare that Priests and Bishops preaching

preaching the word of God, ministring the Sacraments according to Christs Law, and refreshing our people with ghostly and spiritual food, we not only succour and defend them for tranquility of their life, but also with our presence, and otherwise doe honour them as the case requireth, for so is Gods pleasure: Like as the husband, although he be head of the wife, yet saith *S. Paul*, *Non habet vir potestatem sui corporis, sed mulier*, and so is in that respect under her: And having our Mother in our Realm, by the commandment of God we shall honour her, and yet she for respect of our dignity shall honour us by Gods commandment likewise: And the Minister is not always the better man, *sed cui ministratur*; the Physitian is not better then the Prince, because he can do that the Prince cannot, *viz. curare morbum*. In consecration of Archbishops, do not Bishops give more dignity by their ministration then they have themselves? The Doctors ye bring in, taking for their Theme to extoll Priesthood, prefer it to the dignity of a Prince; after which manner of reasoning it may be called *dignius imperare affectibus quam populis*, and so every good man in consideration of every dignity to excell a King not living so perfectly as he doth. And why is a Bishop better then a Priest, seeing and considering in the matter of their office *Episcopus etiam si administret plura, non tamen administrat majora*. Emperors and Princes obey Bishops and Priests as doers of the message of Christ, and his Ambassadors for that purpose: which done, *statim fiunt privati*, and in order and quietness of living knowledge Princes as head. For what meant *Justinian* the Emperour to make Laws *de Episcopis & Clericis*, and such other spiritual matters, if he had not been perswaded *Illi esse curam Ecclesiæ à Deo mandatam*? This is true, that Princes be *fili Ecclesiæ*, that is to say, *illius Ecclesiæ* which ye define: wherewith it may agree that they be nevertheless *Suprema Capita* of the Congregations of Christian men in their Countries; like as in smaller number of Christian men, *Non est absurdum vocare Superiores capita*, as they be called indeed, and may be called *Primi & Supremi*, in respect of those Countries. And why else doth the Pope suffer any other besides himself to be called Archbishop, seeing that he himself indeed challengeth to be *Princeps Apostolorum & Episcoporum* in *Peters* stead, which the name of an Archbishop utterly denieth. But by addition of the Country they save the sense: whereunto in us to be called *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* ye at the last agree, so that there were added *in temporalibus*; which addition were superfluous, considering that men being here themselves earthly and temporal, cannot be head and Governor to things eternal, nor yet spiritual, taking that word *spiritual* not as the common speech abuseth it, but as it signifieth indeed: For, *quæ spiritu aguntur, nulla lege astringuntur*.

guntur, as the Scripture saith, *Quæ Spiritu Dei aguntur libera sunt.* And if ye take *Spiritualibus* for Spiritual men, that is to say, Priests, Clerks, their good acts and deeds worldly, in all this both we and all other Princes be at this day chief and heads, after whose ordinance either in generall or in particular they be ordered and governed. For, leaving old stories, and considering the state of the world in our time, is there any Convocation where Laws be made for the order of our Clergy, but such as by our authority is assembled? And why should not we say as *Iustinian* said, *Omnia nostra facimus quibus à nobis impartitur auctoritas?* Is any Bishop made but he submitteth himself to us, and acknowledgeth himself as Bishop to be our subject? Do not we give our Licence and assent to the election of Abbots? And this is concerning the Persons and Laws spirituall. As touching their goods, it is in all mens opinions learned in our Laws, *Extra controversiam*, that debate and controversie of them appertaineth to our decision and Order. And as for the living of the Clergy, some notable offences we reserve to our correction, some we remit by our sufferance to the Judges of the Clergy; as murther, felony and treason, and such like enormities we reserve to our examination; other crimes we leave to be ordered by the Clergy; not because we may not intermeddle with them, for there is no doubt but as well might we punish adultery and insolence in Priests, as Emperours have done, and other Princes at this day do; which ye know well enough; so as in all those Articles concerning the persons of Priests, their Laws, their Acts and order of living, soasmuch as they be indeed all temporall, and concerning this present life only, in those we (as we be called) be indeed in this Realm *Caput*; and because there is no man above us here, be indeed *supremum Caput*. As to spiritual things, meaning by them the sacraments, being by God ordained as instruments of efficacy & strength, whereby grace is of his infinite goodness conferred upon his people; soasmuch as they be no worldly nor temporal things, they have no worldly nor temporall head but only Christ that did institute them, by whose ordinance they be minitred here by mortal men, elect, chosen and ordered as God hath willed for that purpose, who be the Clergy; who for the time they do that, and in that respect *tanquam ministri versantur in his quæ hominum potestati non subjiuntur*, in quibus si male versantur sine scandalo Deum ultorem habent si cum scandalo hominum cognitio & vindicta est. Wherein, as is before said, either the Prince is chiefe doer, & his authority proceeded to the execution of the same; as when by sufferance or priviledge the Prelats intromit themselves therein; wherefore in that which is derived from the Prince at the beginning, why should any obstacle or scruple be to call him Head from whom that is derived?

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Such things as although they be amongst men, yet they be indeed *Divina*, *quoniam supra nos sunt nihil ad nos.* — And being called Head of all we be not in deed nor in name to him that would sincerely understand it head of such things being not spirituall as they be not temporall, and yet to those words spoken of us *adevitandam illam calumniam*, there is added *quantum per legem Christi licet*; for interpretation of which Parenthesis your similitude added of *homo immortalis est quantum per nature legem licet*, is nothing like; for *nature lex* is not immortality, as is *lex Christi* to superiority: for *lex nature* ne speaketh, ne can mean of any immortality at all, considering that the law of Nature ordaineth mortality in all things; but Christs law speaketh of superiority, admitteth superiority, sheweth also and declareth *obediendum esse Principibus*, as yee do alledge. Wherefore if the law of God permitteth superiority, and commandeth obedience: to examine and measure *modum obedientie & superioritatis*, there can to no other thing so good a relation be made. For as yee understand the Scripture, though it say nay to part, it saith not nay to the whole, whereas nature denieth utterly all immortality; and so though in speaking of immortality of man it were superfluous to say *quantum per nature legem licet*; yet is not so speaking *de superioritate & modo Principatus*, referring the certain limits to the law of Christ, *ad cuius normam quicquid quadrat planum & rectum est, quicquid non quadrat prarum & iniquum*. And as touching the doubt and difficulty you make to give a single answer yea or no, for that the question propounded containeth two things, whereof the one is true th' other false, as yee say, meaning as yee write, that in *temporalibus* we be *Caput*, and in *spiritualibus* we be not. It seemeth that neither your example agreeth in similitude with that yee bring it in for, nor is there in learning or common speech used the scrupulosity in answers yee write of. Truth it is, that the question in plain words containeth two parts expressly, whereof the one is true, th' other false; our yea or nay cannot be answered: for there should appear a manifest lye, which Gods law detesteth, and naturally is abhorred: as if it should be asked Us, if We were King of *England* and of *Denmark*, our nay or yea should not suffice: But it is farre otherwise both in matters of Learning and common speech, where the words in the question may by divers interpretations or relations contain two things, and yet in expression contain but one: As if a man should ask Us, *An filius & pater unum sunt?* We would not doubt to answer and say, Yea, as the Scripture saith, for it is truly answered, and to make a lye is but Sophistication, drawing the word *unum* to person, wherein it is a lye. If one were asked the question, Whether the man and wife were one, he might boldly and truly say, Yea, and yet it is *distinctione*



*Etione corporum naturalium* a lie, and to the question, *Utrum Ecclesiam constet ex bonis & malis*; Yea, and yet as yee define *Ecclesiam* it it is a lie. The reason of diversity is this, for that it is not supposed men would abuse words, but apply them to signifie truth, and not to signifie a lie, wherein the *Arrians* offending, took occasion of heresies.

For that which is in Scripture written is a most certain truth; and as it is there written, so and no otherwise would Christ have answered, if the question had been asked *An Pater esset major illo?* he would have said yea, as it is written. And if the *Arrians* would have taken for a truth that of him that is truth, and speaketh truth, and from whom proceedeth but truth, they would have brought a distinction with them to set forth truly, and not disprove that it was truly written, by sophistication of the word. When *S. James* wrote, *Fides sine operibus mortua est*, he wrote truth; and so did *S. Paul*, *Quod fides justificat absque operibus legis*: which it could not do, if it were *mortua*. Either of these made a single asseveration of a sentence, by interpretation containing two; trusting that the Reader would *pio animo* so understand them, as their sayings might, as they do indeed, agree with truth. It is never to be thought men will willingly & without shame lye; And therefore the sense, if any may be gathered true, or like to be true, is to be taken, and not that which is a lye. And when we write to the Pope *Sanctissimo*, we mean not holier then *S. Peter*, though it sound so; and he that in our Letters should object that, should be thought ridiculous. He that should say he rode beyond the sea, were not conveniently interrupted in his tale by him that would object sailing upon the sea, where he could not ride at all. And rather then men would note a lye when they know what is meant, they will sooner by allegory or methaphor draw the word to the truth, then by cavillation of the word note a lye. Hath not the Pope been called *Caput Ecclesie*? and who hath put any addition unto it? Have not men said that the Pope may dispence *cum fure divino*, and yet in a part *furis divini*, viz. *moralis & naturalis*, the same men would say he might not dispence: wherefore if in all other matters it was never thought inconvenient to speak absolutely the truth without distinction, why should there be more scruple in our case? The truth cannot be changed by words: that we be, as Gods law suffereth us to be, whereunto we do and must conform our selves. And if ye understand, as ye ought to understand *Temporalibus* for the passing over this life in quietness, ye at last descend to agree to that which in the former part of your Letters you intend to impugne; and sticking to that, it were most improperly spoken to say, We be *illius Ecclesie Caput in temporalibus*, which hath not *temporalia*.

*Queen Anne of Bullen to King Henry from the Tower,  
May 6. 1536.*

SIR,

**Y**OUR Graces displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such a one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message, then I rightly conceived your menning: And if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command; but let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledg a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded: And to speak a truth, never Prince had wife more loyal in all duty and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bullen*: with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Graces pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time forget my self in my exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always look'd for such an alteration as now I find, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation then your Graces fancie, the least alteration whereof I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancie to some other subject.

You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you find me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light fancie or bad counsel of my Enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the Infant-Princess your daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and Judges: yea let me receive an open Trial, for my truths shall fear no open shames: then shall you see either my innocencie cleered, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and my offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithfull wife,

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but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some while since have pointed to, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of a desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict accompt for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his general Judgment-seat, where both you and my self must both shortly appear, and in whose just judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, my innocencie shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

My last and onely request shall be, That my self may bear the burden of your Graces displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentlemen who as I understand are in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of *Anne Bullen* have been pleasing in your ears, let me obtain this last request, and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

*From my dolefull prison in the Tower,  
this sixth of May.*

*Your most loyal and faithfull wife,*

ANNE BULLEN.

*Queen Elizabeths Letter to the Lady Norris upon  
the death of her Son.*

**A**lthough we have deferred long to represent unto you our grieved thoughts, because we liked full well to yield you the first reflections of our misfortunes, whom we have always sought to cherish and comfort; yet knowing now that necessity must bring it to your ears, and nature consequently must move many passionate affections in your heart, we have resolved no longer to smother either our care for your sorrow, or the sympathy of our grief for his death; wherein if society in sorrowing, work diminution, we do assure you by this true messenger of our mind,



mind, that Nature can have stirred no more dolorous affections in you as a mother, for a dear son, then the gratefulness and memory of his services past hath wrought in Us his Sovereign, apprehension of the misse of so worthy a servant. But now that natures common work is done, and he that was born to die hath paid his tribute; let that Christian discretion stay the flux of your immoderate grieving, which hath instructed you both by example and knowledge, that nothing of this kind hath happened but by Gods providence; and that these lines from your loving and gracious Sovereign, serve to assure you, that there shall ever appear the lively characters of you and yours that are left, in our valuing rightly all their faithfull and honest endeavours. More we will not write of this subject, but have dispatched this Gentleman to visit both your Lord, and condole with you in the true sense of your love, and to pray you, that the world may see, that what time cureth in weak minds, that discretion and moderation may help in you in this accident, where there is so opportune occasion to demonstrate true patience and true moderation.

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*Thomas Duke of Norfolk to Queen Elizabeth.*

**O** Most dear and dread Sovereign and Lady Queen, and most gracious Mistresse, when I consider with my self how far I have transgressed my duty to your most gracious Majesty, I dare not now presume to look up or hope for your gracious favour, I confesse my self so far unworthy thereof: but again, when I look into your Highness manifold mercifull and most pitifull nature, of which so many have so abundantly tasted of since your Majesties most prosperous reign, I am emboldened with penitent and sorrowfull heart, to make my trembling hand to offer unto your Highness my most ruful & lowly submission, having none other means to ease my oppressed mind, I am for my sins and disobedience to ask pardon, that is, of Almighty God, and of your most excellent Majesty: the first I have done to Almighty God, and so I by the grace of him will continue with a new heart and full mind of amendment, not doubting but asking mercy, to receive it, according to the Scripture, he that knocketh at the door shall have it opened unto him. Now do I prostrate my self at your Highness most gracious feet, my poor children, and all that I have, hoping more in your Majesties most gracious clemency, then in any of mine unadvised deserts; I seek to excuse my self no way, but wholly submit my self to what shall please your most mercifull heart like a most gracious Queen to a man that hath been astray, who finding



mercy hath afterwards with bad service oftentimes redoubled his former folly. O most noble Queen, it is in your most gracious power to make of my wretched mould what it pleaseth you, my faith and religion reserved to my Saviour, my body being already to your Highness subject, and imprisoned for my most just desert, I dedicate my mind and heart to be hereafter as it shall please your Majesty to direct it; I do not seek favour at your Majesties hands in respect of my former good service, I confess undutifulness hath now blotted the same out, neither dare I remember which heretofore was my greatest comfort, because I deserve not that honor which was that it hath pleased your Highness to account me indeed your unworthy kinsman. Wo wretch that day when I entred into that matter which hath made such alteration of your Majesties most gracious favour unto me, and hath heaped upon my self these intolerable troubles. O unworthy that I am, that in all the days of my life counting upon nothing but a quiet life, I take God to witness, whatsoever some have judged the contrary of me, I was so unhappy to give ear to that which hath done, and ever was like to bring me to the contrary.

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*A Defiance sent by the Grand Seignieur to  
Maximilian the second.*

**B**Y the sufferance of the great God, We *Solyman*, God in earth, great and high Emperour of all the world, Patron and Distributer of all Christians, We send and declare unto thee *Maximilian*, all wrath and ill fortune and infidelity, and to all thy Princes, subjects and helpers, We give it known unto thee, That We by the sufferance of the great God, named the Perpetuall and Universall God in earth, most mighty Emperour, Soldan in *Babylon*, Lord of *Armenia*, the most mightiest in *Persipolis* and *Numidia*, the great helper of God, Prince from the Rode of *Barbary* unto the mountains of *Achaia*, King of Kings from the Meridian to the Septentrion of the earth, from the rising place of the Sun to the setting of it, the first and chiefest, placed in the Paradise of *Mahomet*, the destroyer of all Christendom, and of all Christians, and that do profess Christianity, the keeper and defender of the Sepulcher of thy God crucified, the onely victorious and triumphant Lord of all the world, and of all Circuits and Provinces thereof: Thou *Maximilian*, which writest thy selfe King of our Kingdom of *Hungary*, which is under our Crown and obeysance, We will visit thee for that cause, and also perswade thee that with our strength and force  
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of thirteen Kingdoms with might and strength, to the number of one hundred thousand as well Horsemen as Footmen prepared for war, with all the power and strength of Turkish munition, and with such power as thou nor none of thy servants have seen, heard, or had knowledge of, even before thy chief Citie *Vienna*, and the Countrey thereabouts: We *Solyman*, God on earth, against thee with all thy assistants and helpers, with our Warlike strength, do pronounce & protest your uttermost destruction and depopulation, as we can by all means possible devise it. And this we will signifie unto thee, to the which thou and thy miserable people may prepare yourselves. With us it is determined, with our men appointed, thee and all thy *German* Kingdoms and Provinces altogether to spoyle: This misery we have consented unto against thee and thy Princes, and have thou no doubt but we will come. Dated in the City of *Constantinople*, out of the which we did expulse your predecessors, their wives, children and friends, and made them most miserable slaves and captives, the year of our reign fourty seven.

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*Sir John Perrots Commission for Lord Deputy of Ireland.*

**E**Lizabetha Dei gratia &c. omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos certis urgentibus causis & considerationibus nos specialiter movendis, de provida circumspectione & industria predilecti & fidelis nobis Johannis Perrot milit. plenius confidentes de iudicio Concilii nostri assignavimus, fecimus, ordinavimus, constituimus & deputavimus, & per presentes assignavimus, &c. eundem Johannem Perrot milit. Deputat. nostrum Generalem Regni nostri Hiberniae, habend. tenend. gaudend. exercend. & occupand. officium predict. eidem Johanni Perrot milit. durante beneplacito nostro dantes & concedentes eidem Deputat. nostro Generali plenam tenore presentium potestatem ad pacem nostram ac ad leges & consuetudines regni nostri predict. custodiend. & custodiri faciend. & ad omnes & singulas leges nostras, &c.

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*The whole Contents of the Commission for the Lord Deputy.*

**T**O conserve the peace, to punish offenders, to make Orders and Proclamations, to receive offenders to grace, to give pardons and impose fines, to levy forces, to fight and make peace, to dispose Rebels lands

lands, to pardon all treasons saving touching the Queens person, and counterfeiting of coyn; to give offices, saving the Chancellor, Treasurer, two chief Justices, chief Baron and Master of the Rolls; to dispose of Ecclesiasticall livings, except Archbishops and Bishops; to receive homage and the oath, to make provision for his household according to the ancient custome; to assemble the Parliament with her Majesties privacy, to receive the account of Officers, saving the Treasurers, to exercise martiall law.

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*The Queens Warrant to the Lords, &c. of Ireland for  
ministring the Oath, and delivery of the Sword  
to him, 31 Jan. 1583.*

**R**ight Reverend Father in God, right trusty & welbeloved, and trusty and right welbeloved, we greet you wel: Whereas upon the departure from thence of our right trusty and welbeloved the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, late our Deputy there, we thought it meet for our government there, to appoint you joyntly to have the place of our Justices, until such time as we should resolve to send another thither to be our Deputy there; We let you wit, that meaning now no longer to burthen you with such a charge; wherein you have, according to the trust imposed in you, very wisely behaved your selves, greatly to our contentation, we have chosen and appointed our right trusty and welbeloved Sir *Jo. Perrot* Knight, this bearer, to be our Deputy of that our said Realm, & that for that purpose to send him presently thither: Wherefore our will and pleasure is, and by vertue of these our Letters we authorize you, upon the view of our letters Patents made and delivered unto him in that behalf, both to minister unto him the oath accustomed to be given unto the Deputy there, & also to deliver unto him the Sword, as heretofore hath been used. And further, that you communicate unto him amply the present estate of that our Reasim, and of all our affairs there for his better instruction, at his entrance into that Government, and the advancement of our service. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf Given under our Signet, &c. the last of January 1583. the 26 year of our reign.

*Another for his Entertainment there.*

**T**Rufty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have now appointed our right trufty and welbeloved Sir *John Perrot* Knight to be our Deputy in that our Realm of *Ireland*, for which Office allowance aswell of dyets as of entertainments for certain Horsmen is to be given him: These be therefore to let you wit, that we allow unto him for his ordinary dyet one hundred pounds sterling, according to the last Establisment in *March* 1589. and for his Retinue fifty Horsmen and fifty Footmen, with such wages for every Horsman and Footman and for their Officers, as was allowed to Sir *William Fitzwilliams* and Sir *Henry Sydney* Knights, in the late times of their Governments in that Realm. After which rates as well for his own dyet, as for the said fifty Horsmen and fifty Footmen, and for their Officers, We will and command you to make payment to him during his employment and service in that place, from the date of our Letters-Patents authorising him to that government; And these our Letters shall be sufficient Warrant as well to you as to any Treasurer or Vice-treasurer there for the time being, and to your and their Substitutes, as also to the Auditor or his Deputies, and to all other Commissioners to be appointed over your Accompts, to pass and allow the same payments to you accordingly. Given &c. the fourth of *April* 1583. in the 26. year of our Reign of *England*, &c.

*The Queens Instructions to him.*

**Y**OU shall see immediately upon your arrival into that Realm assembled our Councel there, and confer with them what course of Government upon due consideration had of the present estate of the said Realm may be held, so as Justice may take place, our Charges be lessened, our Revenues increased, and our Subjects there not oppressed.

You shall also consider what Forces are meet to be continued in pay, and how the rest chargeable unto us and burthensom unto the Country may be discharged; and also how the Horsmen and Footmen serving there



there may be reduced to their old pay, which by reason of the general Rebellion in that Realm (the Country being wasted) we were driven to increase: And therefore we see no reason but the Band residing in those Countries that are not wasted may live well enough of the old pay, especially being victualled by us; and for the ease and diminishing of our charges in that behalf, We do think it meet that you should treat with those Countries that are not wasted, as well in *Munster* or elsewhere in that Realm, to see if you can draw them with good contentment to contribute something towards the finding of that Garrison, at *Carberrie* heretofore hath done.

And for that our Subjects in that Realm, &c.

To advise of the inhabiting of *Munster*, the attainted Lands to be let out at easie rents. Survey, certifie what States, Statute of *Uses*. 5. Port-Corn. 6. Th'attainted Lands to be bestowed in reward upon Servitors. 7. Younger Brothers of Noblemen, Diminish Pensioners. 9. Review former Instructions. 10. ——— 11. Renewing of forfeited Leases for three years: Beef, Port-Corn, Remittal of Arrearages. 12. Reversion of Lands to the Governours. 13. Lands of the attainted to be appointed to house-keeping. 14. Reservation of Timber-woods. 15. Residence of Officers. 16. Report to the State outrages of disloyal Subjects. 17. Profits of Customs, Escheats, &c. 19. Establishment for *Connaught*. 20. President for *Munster*, allowance begin at *May*, Transportation. 21. Councillors, B. of *Meath*, *John Norris*, *Richard Birgham*, *Tho. Strange*. 22. Refer the choice of a person to the Chancellor and others. 23. Certificate of the last Treasurers Receipts and Expences.

Every one of these Articles doth contain half a side of Paper, and therefore I have rather thought fit to abbreviate them then to transcribe them at large, the whole Contents being contained in this Abbreviation.

*sir John Perrot to the Lords of the Council. Jan. 31. 1585.*

*May it please your good Lordships,*

**A**lthough I and this Council have by our joynt-Letters truly declared unto you the dutifull state of things here, and the causes both foraign and domestical whereupon we gather it; and withall have shewed our extreme wants, and what supplies are desired: Yet understanding

standing thence, but not from your Lordships, (for I have had no kind of advertisements, answer, or resolution from the same these twelve moneths) that there is a great preparation made by the Spanish King against the Realm, and that your Lordships have intelligence thereof; I cannot but as one whose chief charge and care it is, importune your Lordships to cast your eye more carefully this way, humbly praying you to consider what case we are in to try with a most mighty Prince, whether this Realm shall be still her Majesties or his, if there be any such matters (as your Lordships know best) then I beseech your Lordships to think whether it be more safety to say that we have sent provision to encounter the danger, or else you will send when perhaps it will be too late. And withall for mine own discharge, if I shall tarry, and have nothing wherewith: I have but a life to yield for her Majesty and my Country; for the loss thereof I grieve not, but rather for the harm that through defects I fear may come to her Majesty and the State, and the shame I shall leave behind me. This foreign preparation, if there be any such thing, is likely to be spent against *Munster*, to seise upon and to spoil the Cities and Towns of the same, which in truth are very weak. If I shall go thither, what for the late wars, and this last bad season, there is not so much to be had there as will maintain that one Band of 200. that is under Mr. *Thomas Norris* the Vice-President there, but that I am inforced to shift them from Town to Town, who by reason of their extreme peary do receive them with great grief and grudge. And though I had men sufficient to encounter the Enemy that should come, yet for want of victuals I should be driven to abandon the place with danger and shame, where they that are to come over are like to bring their provision with them, and to settle it in some Town that they will soon seise upon for that purpose: whereof what may ensue amongst this unconstant people naturally delighting in change, your Lordships may soon gather. Besides this that I have said of the bare estate of *Munster*, where there is not so much to be had as will serve for mine own family, or yet to feed my horses till grasse grow, I refer you to understand not only the same more fully, but also the great wants of the rest of the Realm by the declaration here inclosed, which as *Beverley* the Victualler maketh it, so I know it to be true. And therefore I most humbly beseech your Lordships to send speedy order, that such a Staple of victuals may be provided and be sent over, as your Lordships shall think requisite to serve as well for the numbers here already, as also for those that are to be sent over to encounter such an accident as may fall out. And herein I would wish your Lordships to consider the winds and weather, how untowardly they have framed this year: for as some have lain at *Clester*

nine weeks to come over hither, so hath there been no passage since this six weeks. Moreover if there be such purposes in hand, it were good some shipping were dispatcht for the guard of the Coasts. And to all these and other difficulties, may I with your Lordships favour adde one more to be considered of, How weakly I am seconded, if need fall out by those forein attempts, whereof I would say little for any other cause: The Marshal is old, and not able either to ride or go; the Master of the Ordnance is both absent, and old, and I wish there were a more sufficient man in his place: The Lord President and Sir *William Stanley*, who are men of good conduct, are drawn away: Sir *H. Harrington*, Mr. *Edward Barkley*, and the Senescal *Dantry* are suffered to remain still there; but I humbly pray they may be sped away, together with all other that are Servitors by any manner of pay there. And so having herein discharged my duty, I humbly end. From the Castle of *Dublin*, the last of *January* 1585.

*Your Lordships most humble at commandment,*

JOHN PERROT.

*Earl of Desmond to the Earl of Ormond, June 5. 1583.*

*My Lord,*

Great is my grief when I think how heavily her Majesty is bent to disfavoure me; and howbeit I carry the name of an undutifull Subject, yet God knoweth that my heart and mind are always most lowly inclined to serve my most loving Prince, so it may please her Highness to remove her heavy displeasure from me. As I may not condemn my self of disloyalty to her Majesty, so cannot I excuse my faults, but must confesse that I have incurred her Majesties indignation; yet when the cause and means which were found and devised to make me commit folly shall be known to her Highness, I rest in an assured hope that her most gracious Majesty will both think of me as my heart deserveth, and also of those that wrung me into undutifulness, as their cunning device meriteth. From my heart I am sorry that folly, bad counsels, sleights, or any other thing hath made me to forget my duty: And therefore I am most desirous to get conference with your Lordship, to the end I may open and declare to you how tyrannously I was used, humbly craving that you will vouchsafe to appoint some time and place where and when



I may attend your Honour, and then I doubt not to make it appear how dutifull a mind I carry, how faithfull I have at mine own charge served her Majesty before I was proclaimed, how sorrowfull I am for my offences, and how faithfull I am affected ever hereafter to serve her Majesty. And so I commit your Lordship to God, the 5. of *June* 1583.  
Subscribed

GIRALD DESMOND.

*Sir Henry Wallop to the Queen, 12. Aug. 1583.*

**I**T may please your Majesty, a rumor hath been raised not long since at *Dublin* (I know not how, nor by what particular person, but strongly confirmed since the last passage out of *England*) (neither doth your service now in hand upon this Northern border, suffer me to examine it) that your Majesty conceived some hard opinion of me, from which your Highness is not yet removed; but what the offence is, or how conceived, is neither by the reporters published, nor secretly revealed unto me: And like as it is easie to judge what effects this may work in the service of your Majesty, or to a man in publick office, as I am, in such a government as this is, where the obedience for the most is constrained, and all reputation with the people either growing or diminishing as your Majesty graceth or disgraceth your Officers; so how much this quiet burthen over-presseth my most devoted and dutifull mind towards your Majesty, I feel to my exceeding grief and discomfort. In examining my self in what root this your judgment should spring, I confesse Madam, I have viewed in my self many imperfections, some in nature, others perhaps for lack of ability and sufficiency to be a cooperator or an assistant in so great and so ticklish a government & charge, into which not ambition in me, but your Majesties wil & commandment hath intruded me. But in all that my memory can hitherto present unto me, I find my loyalty in your service, and my sincerity in imploying your Majesties treasure according to your intent, so unspotted and direct, as I cannot but comfort my self in opposing my innocency to the envy of the informer, or to any other his hard construction whatsoever: yet since in generall consideration I cannot feel such a particular error, as might settle in your Majesties grave judgement, an offence meriting your disfavour, I am most humbly to beseech your Majesty, that by knowing my fault I may either purge my self by a just deniall, or by confessing it crave pardon of your Highness, and reform my self. If therefore it shall stand with your Majesties good pleasure



I am fure to declare to my honorable good friend Mr. Secretary *Walsingham*, commanding him to charge me with it, I will thereupon simply answer, even as before the Lord God, without concealing any matter of truth any wise, for mine own defence. This grace the sooner I shall obtain, the apter I shall be found for your other services, from which I find my self distracted, because the end of my travels is none other but to purchase that grace and favour which I may now fear to be alienated from me till my cause be better explained. And so I humbly end, praying the Lord to bleis you with a long and prosperous reign.

At your town of Dundalk,  
August 11. 1583.

Your Majesties most humble  
servant and subject,

HENRY WALLOP.

*The Earle of Essex to Mr. Davison.*

**I**F this Letter do not deliver you my very affectionate wishes, and assure you that I am both carefull to deserve well, and covetous to hear wel of you, it doth not discharge the truit that I have committed unto it. My love to your worthy Father, my expectation that you will truly inherit his vertues, and the proof that I have seen of your well spending your time abroad, are three strong bands to tie my affection unto you; to which when I see added your kindness to my self, my reason tells my heart, it cannot value you, or affect you too much: you have laid so good a foundation or framing your self, as if now you do not perfect the work, th'expectation you have raised will be your greatest adversary: slack not your industry in thinking you have taken great pains already, *Nusquam enim nec opera sine emolumento, nec emolumentum sine impensa opera est: Labor voluptasq; dissimilia natura, societate quadam naturali inter se conjuncta sunt.* Nor think your self at any time so rich in knowledge or reputation, as you may spend on the stock: For as the way to vertue is steep and craggy, so the descent from it is headlong. It is said of our bodies, that they do *lemē augescere & cito extinguuntur*, it may be as properly said of our minds. Let your vertuous Father, who in the middelt of his troubles and discomforts, hath brought you by his care and charge to what you are now in, you receive perfect comfort & contentment; Learn *virtutem ab illo, fortunam ab aliis.* I write not this as suspecting you need be admonished, or as finding my self able to di-

rest; but as he that when he was writing, took the plainest and naturallest stile of a friend truly affected to you: Receive it therefore I pray you as a pledge of more love then I can now shew you. And so desiring nothing more then to hear often from you, I wish you all happines, and rest,

*White-hall, Jan. 8.*

*Your affectionate and assured friend,*

R. ESSEX.

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*Earle of Essex to Secretary Davison.*

*SIR,*

**A**S I have ever loved you, so now taking leave of my good friends, I cannot forget you of whose love I desire to be ever assured, and whom I would desire to satisfie in all things that I shall do. If you be troubled with the suddenness of my unlooked for journey, let my resolute purpose to perform it, which could not be without secrecie, excuse me: if you call it rashness, I wil better allow it to be heresie then error; for many months ago it was resolved: if you doubt of the successe or event thereof, I say, that the same God who hath given me a mind to undertake, may according to his good pleasure make me in it, or it with me to prosper or die, as it shall seem best unto him. And so purposing that you shall see me return happy, or never, I take my leave a few days before my departure. Let me be commended to your good selfe, and such other of my good friends, as in my absence you find I am beholding to, especially to Sir *Drew Drury*, and Sir *Edward Waterhouse*.

*Your assured friend,*

R. ESSEX.

*Earle*

*Earle of Essex to Secretary Davison, July 11. 1589.*

S I R,

**A**S at my departure, so upon my return, I must needs salute you, as one whom then, and now, and ever, I must love very much. I would gladly see you, but I am tied here a while; when I may have occasion to shew my love to you, I will do more then I now promise. In the mean time wishing you that happiness which men in this world ought to seek, I take my leave

*At the Court this 11. of  
July 1589.*

*Your assured Friend*

R. ESSEX.

*Again to Secretary Davison.*

S I R,

**I** Had speech with her Majesty yesternight after my departure from you, and I find that the success of my speech (although I hoped for good) yet did much over-run my expectation. To repeat many speeches and by-matters, as of my acquaintance with you, and such like, it will be fitter for such a time when I shall have conference with you. But in effect, our end was thus: I made her Majesty see, what in your health, in your fortune, and in your reputation with the world you had suffered since the time that it was her pleasure to commit you; I told her how many friends and well-wishers the world did afford you, and how for the most part, throughout the whole Realm her best subjects did wish that she would do her self the honour to repair for you, and restore to you that state which she had overthrown; your humble suffering of these harms, and reverend regard to her Majesty, must needs move a Princess so noble and so just, to do you right; and more I had said, if my gift of speech had been any way comparable to my love. Her Majesty seeing her judgment opened by the story of her own actions, shewed a very feeling compassion of you, she gave you many praises, and among the rest, that which she seemed to please her self in, was, that you were a man of her own choyce. In truth she was so well pleased with those things that she

spake

spake and heard of you, as I dare (if of things future there be any assurance) promise to my self that your peace will be made to your own content, and the desire of your friends, I mean in her favour and your own fortune, to a better estate then, or at least the same you had, which with all my power I wil imploy my self to effect. And so in haile I commit you to God.

*Your friend most assured,*

R. ESSEX.

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*Earle of Essex to King James concerning Secretary Davison. April 18. 1587.*

**M**ost excellent King, for him that is already bound for many favours, a trile of thankfulness is much fitter then the humour of suing; but so it falls out, that he which to his own advantage would have sought nothing in your favour, but your favour it self, doth now for another become an humble petitioner to your Majesty: your Majesty cannot be such a stranger to the affairs of this Countrey, but as you know what actions are done in this place, so you understand the minds of the men by whom they are done. Therefore I doubt not, but the man for whom I speak, is somewhat known to your Majesty, and being known, I presume of greater favour, Mr. Secretary *Davison* fallen into her Majesties displeasure and disgrace; beloved of the best and most religious of this land, doth stand as barred from any preferment or restoring in his place, except out of the honour and nobleness of your own Royall heart, your Majesty will undertake his cause. To leave the nature of his fault to your Majesties best judgement, and report of your own servant, and to speak of the man, I must say truly, that his sufficiency in Councell, and matters of State, is such, as the Queen her selfe confesseth, in her Kingdom she hath not such another; his vertue, religion and worth in all degrees is of the world taken to be so great, as no man in his good fortune hath had more generall love then this Gentleman in his disgrace: And if to a man so worthy in himself, and so esteemed of all men, my words might avail any thing, I would assure your Majesty would get great honour, and great love, not onely here amongst us, but in all places of Christendom where this Gentleman is any thing known, if you should now be the author of his restoring to his place, which in effect he now is, but that as a man not acceptable to her Majesty,



sty, he doth forbear to attend. I do in all humbleness commend this cause to your Majesty, having the warrant of a good conscience, that I know to be both honorable and honest; and your Majesty to the blessed protection of that mighty God, to whom will pray for your Majesties happy and prosperous estate, He that will do your Majesty all humble service,

*Greenwich April 18.*

R. ESSEX.

*Earl of Essex to Mr. Secretary Davison.*

SIR,

I Have as I could, taken my opportunity since I saw you, to perform as much as I promised you; and though in all I have been able to effect nothing, yet even now I have had better leisure to solicit the Queen then in this stormy time I did hope for. My beginning was, as being amongst others intreated to move her in your behalf: my course was to lay open your sufferings and your patience; in them you had felt poverty, restraint and disgrace, and yet you shewed nothing but faith and humility, faith, as being never wearied nor discouraged to do her service; humbleness, as content to forget all the burthens that had been laid upon you, and to serve her Majesty with as frank and willing a heart as they that have received greatest grace from her. To this I received no answer but in generall terms, that her honour was much touched, your presumption had been intolerable, and that she could not let it slip out of her mind. When I urged your access, she denied it, but so as I had no cause to be afraid to speak again. When I offered in them both to reply, she fell into other discourse, and so we parted. So all that I have done you know; what I shall do ye shall prescribe. If you hear any mans else — I pray you let me know, for so I shall perceive whether she will open her heart more to me then them, which being known I may deal accordingly. And so I commit you to God.

*Windsor, Octob. 2.*

*Your most assured friend,*

R. ESSEX.

*Again*

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*Again to Mr. Secretary Davison, upon the death of  
Mr. Secretary Walsingham.*

SIR,

Vpon this unhappy accident, I have tryed to the bottom what the Queen will do for you, and what the credit of your Sollicitor is worth. I urged not the comparifon between you and any other: But in my duty to her, and zeal to her service, I did assure her that she had not any other in *England* that would for these three or four years know how to settle himself to support so great a burthen. She gave me leave to speak, heard me with patience, confessed with me that none was so sufficient, and could not deny but that which she lays to your charge was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any respect of your own, but meerly for her safety both of state and person. In the end she absolutely denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to rest satisfied, for she was resolved. Thus much I write to let you know, I am more honest to my friends, then happy in their cases. What you will have me do for your suit, I will as far as my credit is any thing worth. I have told most of the Councel of my manner of dealing with the Queen; my Lord Chamberlain tells me he hath dealt for you also, and they all say they wish as I do; but in this world that is enough. I will commit you to God for this time, and rest

*Your constant and true friend,*

R. ESSEX.

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*Earl of Essex to the Queen.*

MY dutiful affections to your Majesty always overweighed all other worldly respects; that seeking in all particulars to manifest my truth, I have maimed my estate in general, as I dare in the heat of my thoughts compare with the greatest that ever vowed for faithful service, so is there not the meanest that hath overslipped me, I will not say in recompence, but in some gracious estate of service. Thus whilst my faith

E

wrestleth

wretched with my fortune, the one winns breath to beat th' other down. Though I have no hope to repair the ruines of my oversight, yet I cannot but presume your Majesty will suffer me to preserve them from blowing up; and what youth and forward belief hath undermined in mine estate, providence by a retired life may underlay. In which discontinuance from Court there shall be added (if any thing be added) increase of loyalty: Nor so solitary shall be my course, as it shall seem to proceed of discontentment, but of necessity; and all actions both with living and my life so forward, as though some may have overrun me in fortunes, none shall in duty.

Next my allegiance to your Majesty, which shall be held most sacred and inviolable, the report of mine Honour challengeth chief interest; which that I may preserve in my wonted state, reason draws me to stay my self slipping from falling. That of late (by what secret and venomous blow I know not) my faith hath received some wounds, your Majesties wonted grace withdrawn assures me: But truth and my patience in this case were one with me, and time in your Princely thoughts did wear it out from me. Let time be Judge; I will leave you with as great lothness as I were to lose what I love best. But your favour failing, in which I have placed all my hopes, and my self less graced after seven years then when I had served but seven dayes, may be a reason to excuse, if there were no other reason. These things pressed out of a distressed mind, and offered in all humility, I hope it shall not be offensive if I choose this wearisom course, rather to be retired then tired. If any of envy take advantage of absence, seeking by cunning to draw me into suspicion of discontentment, my conscience is settled in your never erring Judgment, that if he come with *Esau's* hands and *Jacob's* voice, your Highness will censure it a wrought malice under such simplicity. It is true that grief cannot speak; but this grief hath made me write, lest when I leave you I should so far forsake my self as to leave this unsaid. To your gracious acceptance I commit it, and with all humble and reverent thoughts that may be, rest ever to be commanded to die at your Majesties feet,

R O. ESSEX.

*Again to the Queen.*

FROM a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion,  
 from a heart torne in pieces with care, grief and travel, from a man  
 that

that hateth himself and all things that keepeth him alive, what service can your Majesty expect, since your service past deserves no more then banishment or prescription in the cursed't of all other Countries? Nay, nay, it is your Rebels pride and success that must give me leave to ransom my life out of this hatefull prison of my loathed body: which if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

*Your Majesties exiled Servant,*

R. O. ESSEX.

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*Sir Thomas Egerton Lord Chancellor to the Earl of Essex.*

*My very good Lord,*

**I**T is often seen, that he that stands by seeth more then he that playeth the game; and for the most part every one in his own cause standeth in his own light, and seeth not so cleerly as he should. Your Lordship hath dealt in other mens causes, and in great and weighty affairs with great wisdom and judgment; now your own is in hand, you are not to condemn or refuse the advice of any that love you, how simple soever. In this order I rank my self among others that love you, none more simple, and none that love you with more true and honest affection; which shall plead my excuse, if you shall either mistake or mistrust my words or meaning: but in your Lordships honorable wisdom I neither doubt nor suspect the one nor the other. I will not presume to advise you, but shoot my bolt and tell you what I think. The beginning and long continuance of this so unseasonable discontentment you have seen and proved, by which you aim at the end: If you hold still this course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, (and the longer you go, the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the end will be better: You are not yet gone so far, but that you may well return: The return is safe, but the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves: Your friends you leave to scorn and contempt, you forsake your self and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation: You give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies, as greater they cannot have;



for what can be more welcome and pleasing news then to hear that her Majesty and the Realm are maimed of so worthy a Member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your Country, when it hath most need of your Councel and aid: And lastly you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign, a duty imposed upon you not by nature and policie only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you.

For the four first, your constant resolution may perhaps move you to esteem them as light; but being well weighed, they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded. And for the four last, it may be that the cleerness of your own conscience may seem to content your self, but that is not enough; for these duties stand not only in contemplation or inward meditation, and cannot be performed but by external actions, and where that faileth, the substance also faileth. This being your present state and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy, my good Lord? I lack judgment and wisdom to advise you, but I will never want an honest true heart to wish you well; nor being warranted by a good conscience, will fear to speak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not offended if I proceed so. *Bene cedit qui cedit temporis*: and *Seneca* saith, *Cedendum est fortuna*. The medicine and remedy is not to contend and strive, but humbly to yield & submit. Have you given cause, and yet take a scandal unto you? then all you can be is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandal given unto you, yet policie, duty and religion enforce you to sue, yield and submit to our Sovereign, between whom and you there can be no equal proportion of duty, where God requires it as a principal duty and care to himself, and when it is evident that great good may ensue of it to your friends, your self, your Country, and your Sovereign, and extreme harm by the contrary. There can be no dishonour to yield; but in denying, dishonour and impiety. The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer your self, which is the height of true valour and fortitude, whereunto all your honorable actions have tended. Do it in this, and God will be pleased, her Majesty (no doubt) well satisfied, your Country will take good, and your Friends comfort by it; and your self (I mention you last, for that of all these you esteem yourself least) shall receive honour; and your Enemies (if you have any) shall be disappointed of their bitter sweet hope.

I have delivered what I think simply and plainly, I leave you to determine according to your own wisdom: if I have erred, it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Construe and accept it, I beseech you, as I meant it; not as an advice, but as an opinion to be allowed or cancelled at your

your pleasure. If I might conveniently have conferred with your self in person, I would not have troubled you with so many idle blots. Whatsoever you judge of this my opinion, yet be assured my desire is to further all good means that may tend to your Lordships good. And so wishing you all happiness and honour, I cease.

*Your Lordships most ready and faithful,  
though unable poor Friend,*

Tho. Egerton, *Cust. Sigil.*

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*The Earles Answer.*

**M**Y very good Lord, though there is not that man this day living whom I would sooner make Judge of any question that might concern me, then your selfe; yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly Judges: And if in any, then surely in this, when the highest Judge on earth hath imposed upon me the heaviest punishment without triall or hearing. Since then I must either answer your Lordships Arguments, or else forsake mine own just defence, I wil force mine aking head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontentment (which was forced) to be an humorous discontent; and in that it was unseasonable, or is so long continuing, your Lordship should rather condole with me then expostulate: naturall seasons are expected here below, but violent and unreasonable storms come from above: There is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor yet at any time so unseasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect an harvest of their careful and painfull labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel smart till his hurt be cured, or the part hurt become senseless. But cure I expect none, her Majesties heart being obdurate; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But you may say, I may aim at the end: I do more then aim, for I see an end of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for mine enemies? when I was present I found them absolute, and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, then have me attendant upon their Chariots: Or do I leave my friends? When I was a Courtier I could sell them no fruit of my love, and now that I am an Hermit, they shall bear no envie for their  
love

love to me. Or do I forsake my self, because I do not enjoy my self? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper-walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruinate mine honor, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false mark or the shadow of honor? Do I give courage or comfort to the enemies, because I neglect my self to encounter them, or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, I give every one of those considerations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find my self justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my Countrey when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my Sovereign: I answer, That if my Countrey had at this time any need of my publick service, her Majesty that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my Countrey by two bonds; one publick, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcasse, which hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed by her Majesty: Of the other nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occasion of performance shall sooner offer it self, but I will meet it halfe way. The indissoluble duty I owe unto her Majesty, the service of an Earle and of Marshall of *England*, and I have been content to do her the service of a Clerk; but I can never serve her as a villain or a slave. But you say I must give way to time. So I do, for now that I see the storm come, I have put my self into harbour. *Seneca* saith, we must give way to Fortune: I know that Fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of the way. You say the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But you say, I must yeild and submit: I can neither yeild my self to be guilty, nor this my imprisonment lately laid upon me, to be just; I ow so much to the Author of Truth, as I can never yeild Truth to be Falshood, nor Falshood to be Truth. Have I given cause, you ask, and yet take a scandall? No, I gave no cause to take up so much as *Fimbria* his complaint: for I did *totum telum corpore accipere*, I patiently bear and sensibly feel all that I then received when this scandall was given me. Nay, when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce me to sue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? cannot Princes erre? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let *Solomons* fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of Princes, shew to have no sense of Princes injuries; let them acknowledge



an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it; my cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing, then I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed upon me. Your Lordship in the beginning of your Letter makes me a Player, and your self a looker on; and me a player of my own game, so you may see more then I; but give me leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and I do suffer, I must of necessity feel more then you. I must crave your Lordships patience to give him that hath a crabbed fortune, leave to use a crooked stile. But whatsoever my stile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected towards your Lordship, then that of

*Your Lordships poor friend,*

ESSEX.

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*Two Letters framed, one as from Mr. Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, the other as the Earls answer.*

*My singular good Lord,*

**T**His standing at a stay doth make me in my love towards your Lordship jealous lest you do somewhat, or omit somewhat that amounteth to a new error: For I suppose that of all former matters there is a full expiation; wherein for any thing which your Lordship doth, I for my part (who am remote) cannot cast or devise wherein my error should be, except in one point, which I dare not censure nor dissuade: which is, that as the Prophet saith, in this affliction you look up *ad manum percutientem*, and so make your peace with God. And yet I have heard it noted, that my Lord of *Leicester*, who could never get to be taken for a Saint, yet in the Queens disfavour waxed seeming religious. Which may be thought by some, and used by others as a case resembling yours, if men do not see, or will not see the difference between your two dispositions. But to be plain with your Lordship, my fear rather is, because I hear how some of your good and wise friends, not unpractised in the Court, and supposing themselves not to be unseen in that deep and unscrutable Center of the Court, which is her Majesties mind; do not only toll the bell, but even ring out peals, as if your fortune were dead and buried,



buried, and as if there were no possibility of recovering her Majesties favour; and as if the best of your condition were to live a private and retired life, out of want, out of peril, and out of manifest disgrace. And so in this perswasion to your Lordship-wards, to frame and accommodate your actions and mind to that end, I fear (I say) that this untimely despair may in time bring forth a just despair, by causing your Lordship to slacken and break off your wise, loyal, and seasonable endeavour and industry for reintegration to her Majesties favour, in comparison whereof all other circumstances are but as *Atomi*, or rather as a *Vacuum* without any substance at all.

Against this opinion it may please your Lordship to consider of these reasons which I have collected; and to make judgment of them, neither out of the melancholy of your present fortune, nor out of the infusion of that which cometh to you by others relation, which is subject to much tincture, but *ex rebus ipsis*, out of the nature of the persons and actions themselves, as the truest and less deceiving ground of opinion. For though I am so unfortunate as to be a stranger to her Majesties eye, much more to her nature and manners, yet by that which is extant I do manifestly discern that she hath that character of the Divine nature and goodness, as *quos amavit, amavit usque ad finem*; and where she hath a creature, she doth not deface nor defeat it: insomuch as if I observe rightly in those persons whom heretofore she hath honoured with her special favour, she hath covered and remitted not only defections and ingritudes in affection, but errors in state and service.

2. if I can Scholar-like spell & put together the parts of her Majesties proceedings now towards your Lordship, I cannot but make this construction, That her Majesty in her Royal intention never purposed to call your doings into publique question, but only to have used a cloud without a shower, and censuring them by some restraint of liberty and debarring from her presence. For both the handling the cause in the Star-chamber was enforced by the violence of libelling and rumours, wherein the Queen thought to have satisfied the world, and yet spared your appearance: And then after, when that means which was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits, turned to kindle them, because it was said your Lordship was condemned unheard, and your Lordships Sister wrote that private Letter, then her Majesty saw plainly that these winds of rumours could not be commanded down without a handling of the Cause by making you party, and admitting your defence. And to this purpose I do assure your Lordship, that my Brother *Francis Bacon*, who is too wise to be abused, though he be both reserved in all particulars more then is needfull, yet in generality he hath ever constantly  
and

and with asseveration affirmed to me, That both those dayes, that of the Star-chamber, and that at my Lord Keepers, were won of the Queen meerly upon necessity and point of honour, against her own inclination.

3. In the last proceeding I note three points which are directly significant, that her Majesty did expressly forbear any point which was irrecoverable, or might make your Lordship in any degree incapable of the return of her favour, or might fix any character indeleble of disgrace upon you : For she spared the publick places, which spared ignominie ; she limited the Charge precisely not to touch disloyalty, and no Record remaineth to memory of the Charge or Sentence.

4. The very distinction which was made in the sentence of Sequestration from the places of service in State, and leaving to your Lordship the place of Master of the Horse, doth in my understanding point at this, that her Majesty meant to use your Lordships attendance in Court, while the exercises of other places stood suspended.

5. I have heard, and your Lordship knoweth better, that now since you were in your own custody, her Majesty *in verbo Regis*, and by his mouth to whom she committeth her Royal grants and Decrees, hath assured your Lordship she will forbid, and not suffer your ruine.

6. As I have heard her Majesty to be a Prince of that magnanimity, that she will spare the service of the ablest Subject or Peer, where she shall be thought to stand in need of it ; so she is of that policie, as she will not blaze the service of a meaner then your Lordship, where it shall depend meerly upon her choice and will.

7. I held it for a principle, That those diseases are hardest to cure, whereof the cause is obscure ; and those easiest, whereof the cause is manifest. Whereupon I conclude, that since it hath been your errors in your lowness towards her Majesty which have prejudiced you, that your reforming and conformity will restore you, so as you may be *Faber fortune propriae*.

Lastly, Considering your Lordship is removed from dealing in Causes of State, and left only to a place of Attendance, methinks the Ambition of any which can endure no Partners in State-matters may be so quenched, as they should not laboriously oppose themselves to your being in Court. So as upon the whole matter, I cannot find neither in her Majesties person, nor in your own person, nor in any third person, neither in former precedents nor in your own case, any cause of peremptory despair. Neither do I speak this, but that if her Majesty out of her resolution should design you to a private life, you should be as willing upon the appointment to go into the wilderness as into the land of promise ;

only I wish that your Lordship will not despair, but put trust (next to God) in her Majesties grace, and not be wanting to your self: I know your Lordship may justly interpret, that this which I perswade may have some reference to my particular, because I may truly say *restante non virebo*, for I am withered in my self; but *manebo*, or *tenebo*, I should in some sort be, or hold out. But though your Lordships years and health may expect return of grace and fortune, yet your Eclipse for a time is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune: And were it not that I desired and hope to see my Brother established by her Majesties favour, as I think him well worthy for that he hath done and suffered, it were time I did take that course from which I dissuade your Lordship. Now in the meantime I cannot choose but perform those honest duties unto you, to whom I have been so deeply bound, &c.

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*The Earl of Essex his Answer to Mr. Anthony  
Bacons Letter.*

*Mr. Bacon,*

I Thank you for your kind and carefull letter; it perswadeth that which I wish for strongly, and hope for weakly, that is, possibility of restitution to her Majesties favour: Your arguments that would cherish hope, turn into dispair: You say the Queen never meant to call me to publick censure, which sheweth her goodness; but you see I passed it, which sheweth others power. I believe most stedfastly, her Majesty never intended to bring my cause to a publick censure; and I believe as verily, that since the sentence she meant to restore me to tend upon her person: but those which could use occasions (which it was not in me to let) and amplifie and practise occasions to represent to her Majesty a necessity to bring me to the one, can and will do the like to stop me from the other. You say, my errors were my prejudice, and therefore I can mend my self. It is true; but they that know that I can mend my self, and that if I ever recover the Queen, that I will never lose her again, will never suffer me to obtain interest in her favour: and you say, the Queen never forsook utterly where she hath inwardly favoured; but know not whether the hour-glass of time hath altered her, but sure I am, the false glasse of others informations must alter her, when I want access to plead mine own cause, I know I ought doubly, infinitely to be her Majesties both *jure creationis*, for I am her creature; and *jure redemptionis*, for I know she hath saved me from overthrow. But for her  
first



first love, and for her last protection, and all her great benefits, *I* can but pray for her Majesty; & my endeavour is now to make my prayers for her and my self better heard. For thanks be to God, that they which can make her Majesty believe *I* counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe that *I* counterfeit with him; and they that can let me from coming near to her, cannot let me from drawing nearer to him, as *I* hope *I* do daily. For your brother, *I* hold him an honest Gentleman, and with him all good much rather for your sake; your self *I* know hath suffered more for me and with me, then any friend that *I* have: But *I* can but lament freely, as you see *I* do, and advise you not to do that *I* do, which is to despair. You know Letters what hurt they have done me, and therefore make sure of this: and yet *I* could not, as having no other pledge of my love, but communicate openly with you for the ease of my heart and yours.

*Your loving friend,*

R. E S S E X.

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*Lord Mountjoy to the Earle of Essex.*

**M**ost noble Lord, the Queen is now removing towards a Progress; wherein, after *I* have somewhat waited upon her, *I* shall have a desire to write to your Lordship of some things more at large, which *I* will do as safely as *I* can; your Lordships vertue, and your clear conscience must be your own brazen wall: for we that are not of the Councell do see no hope to keep long together this State from assured ruine. *I* pray God the Queen may with all prosperity out-live their negligence, and your care, to be a just Judge, if not a rewarder thereof. In the mean time you owe unto her, and your own vertue, extraordinary patience. Your Lordships mind (*I* do protest) cannot labour more in the storm wherein you are, then mine doth in this dangerous and miserable calm. For it is some comfort to perish doing somewhat; and yet, my Lord, why should we despair, since there is a Providence that looks beyond, and concludes contrary to the practices of the world; which Providence hath shewed us ways, how rugged soever they be, which will bring unto true happiness; and though we lose these mortall Barkes we sail in, yet he will assuredly save the passengers. Noble Lord, in respect of that great Haven, contemn these tempests and shipwracks at sea. Your Lordships servant Mr. *Bushell*, doth fear to have you impute his slow



dispatch unto any want of his diligence, and hath shewed his fear in exceeding sorrow that it could not be sooner, and with as much care by all his best means to effect it. I much thank your Lordship for your favour to Sir *Charles Blunt*, of whom (if he be not thankfull) I shall not onely be deceived, but also revenged. I will pray continually for your Lordships prosperity, — and that it shall be impossible to make me otherwise then

*Your Lordships most honest  
and faithfull servant,*

MOUNTJOY.

*Sir Robert Cecil, after Earl of Salisbury, to the Lord  
Burleigh his Father, from France. Febr. 26. 1597.*

MY duty humbly remembered to your Lordship : Having lately made dispatches from *Diep*, and having made little way in *France*, by reason of Sir *Thomas Wilks* indisposition, your Lordship can expect little from me ; especially having joyned with my associates in a letter to your Lordship : Nevertheless, because love and duty will find easily occasion to expresse themselves, I am bold to yeild your Lordship some more trouble by my private Letter. I have met here with the premier President of *Roan*, a man of great credit and reputation, one that untill meer necessity did force him, kept much hold here for this King : he afterward retired, and kept the Parliament at *Caen* ; he is learned, grave, of good person, good discourse, & well affectionate to *England*, his name is *Claude Grollart* ; he is now next the Duke *Montpencier*, the stay of all those quarters, inso much that when the King will be merry with him, he calls him one of the petty Dukes in *Normandy* : he did visit me with great respect, and fell into familiar discourse with me of your Lordship, whom he had known in *England* many years since, and hath had correspondency with your Lordship by letters in Mr. Secretary *Walsinghams* time : And being talking thereof, he desired me to tell your Lordship by occasion, that when these troubles were like to grow by the League, you writ him a letter of advice to stick fast to the King, and not to be doubtful though he saw difficulties ; for you did hold it for a true Oracle, That the Kings on earth are like the Sun, and that such as do seek to usurp are like falling Starres : For the Sun, although it be eclipsed and obfuscated with mists and clouds, at length they are dispersed, where the  
other

other are but figures of stars in the eyes view, and prove no more but exhalations, which suddenly dissolve and fall to the earth, where they are consumed. Because I have little else to fill my paper, I presume to trouble your Lordship thus far, to whom I think it cannot be offensive to hear that for your sake I am by many the better used, and that by your own wisdom you are by men of place and gravity both honored and remembered. The marriage of the Duke of Tremouille to the Count Maurice his sister, hath drawn the Duke of Bovillon towards Britany, where I am informed by this President, that he meaneth to stay, and to attend the King, to whom he will clear himself if he take any knowledge of any jealousie; and the rather because he is there well fortified in a Countrey full of those that are of the religion. It shall behove me being there to cary my self tenderly towards him. The Kings prosperity in Britany, hath already made his Catholikes begin to quarrel with the Accord which hath been made at the Assembly: For the persons that were appointed to frame the Articles into an Edict, have varied upon some principall points, onely to trifle out the time, thereby to discover whether the King may need their assistance or no. But the Duke of Bovillon hearing inckling of it, made more haste, and hath been with the King, and doth return forthwith to him as soon as he hath been at the marriage of the Lady Tremouille. Your Lordship knows the circumstances of my journey are not such as can afford me any means to judge; but this your Lordship may assure, that by that time I have spoken to the King, things will break out one way other so far as it will appear whether it be worth the tarrying to treat or no; after once the King has been dealt with, to which I will address myself with all speed, and not tarry for the States, who may be come to Paris by that time I do return: for I believe they will be content to treat any where. I shall have a misfortune of Sir Thomas Wilks, were it not we were well instructed; and surely, he was grown very heavy of late, and dull: If I should stay here to attend his recovery, it would consume me to no purpose. I have written a Letter to the Queen of some such gathering as I have gotten, and of the speeches between me and the President, because her Majesty may not be offended that I write not particularly to her selfe of something. Although the Spaniards from Callis have spoyled Base-Bologne, yet it is not holden here that the Cardinal will sit down before any Town speedily, for he will not be able. Neverthelesse the Constable is come into Picardy, to give stay to the Province; if that be the fruit of the Treaty, we shall have less need to dissuade the King.

I much fear Sir *Tho. Wilks* to be in a Lethargie. Since your Lordships Letter of *Feb. 15.* which found me at *Dover* a little before my imbarking. the wind hath not served to bring me any Letter out of *England*. The Lord of heaven send me tidings of your Lordships health, for whom I will daily pray. I received also a Letter from the Earl of *Essex* of the 16. and did imbarke the 17. I humbly take my leave, and rest

*Feb. 26. 1597.*

*Your Lordships humble and  
obedient Son,*

RO. CECIL

*Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary, to Monsieur Critoy  
Secretary of France.*

SIR,

WHEREAS you desire to be advertised touching the proceedings here in Ecclesiastical causes, because you seem to note in them some inconstancie and variation, as if we sometimes inclined to one side, sometimes to another, and as if that clemencie and lenity were not used of late, that was used in the beginning; all which you impute to your own superficial understanding of the affairs of this State, having notwithstanding her Majesties doing in singular reverence, as the real pledges which she hath given unto the world of her sincerity in Religion, and of her wisdom in Government well meriteth: I am glad of this occasion to impart that little I know in that matter to you, both for your own satisfaction, and to the end you may make use thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are. I find therefore her Majesties proceedings to have been groundd upon two principles.

1. The one, That consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and the use of all good means of instruction and perswasion.

2. The other, That the Causes of Conscience wherein they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature; and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish the practice in contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conscience and Religion.

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According to these principles, her Majesty at her coming to the Crown, utterly disliking the tyranny of *Rome*, which had used by terror and rigor to settle commandments of mens faiths and consciences, though as a Prince of great wisdom and magnanimity she suffered but the exercise of one Religion, yet her proceedings towards the Papists was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them: And therefore her Majesty revived not the Laws made in the 28. and 35. of her Fathers reign, whereby the Oath of Supremacie might have been offered at the Kings pleasure to any Subject, though he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself; and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstance was made Treason. But contrariwise her Majesty not liking to make windows into mens hearts & secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and expresse acts or affirmations, tempered her Laws so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously her Majesties supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foraign jurisdiction. And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majesty into a more gratefull form, the hardness of the name and appellation of *Supreme Head* was removed, and the penalty of the refusal thereof turned only into disablement to take any promotion, or to exercise any charge, and yet with liberty of being reinvested therein if any man should accept thereof during his life. But after when *Pius Quintus* had excommunicated her Majesty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were published in *London*, whereby her Majesty was in a sort proscribed; and that thereupon as upon a principal motive or preparative followed the Rebellion in the North: yet because the ill humours of the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged, and that she feared at that time no foreign invasion, and much less the attempt of any within the Realm not backed by some potent succour from without, she contented herself to make a Law against that special case of bringing and publishing of any Bulls or the like Instruments, whereunto was added a prohibition upon pain not of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishment against the bringing in of *Agnus Dei*, hallowed bread, and such other merchandise of *Rome*, as are well known not to be any essential part of the Romish religion, but only to be used in practise as Love-tokens to inchant the peoples affections from their allegiance to their natural Sovereign. In all other points her Majesty continued her former lenity: but when about the 20. year of her reign she had discovered in the King of *Spain* an intention to invade her Dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the Realm that might adhere to the Foreigner; and that the Seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily Priests

and



and professed men, who should by vow taken at Shrift reconcile her Subjects from their obedience, yea & bind many of them to attempt against her Majesties sacred person; and that by the poyson which they spread, the humours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience and of softness, but Papists in faction; then were there new Laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements or renunciations of obedience. And because it was a Treason carried in the clouds, and in wonderfull secrecie, and came seldom to light, and that there was no presuspition thereof so great as the Recusants to come to Divine Service, because it was set down by their Decrees, that to come to Church before reconciliation was absolutely heretical and damnable: Therefore there were added Laws containing punishment pecuniary against such Recusants, not to enforce Conscience, but to enfeeble and impoverish the means of those of whom it resteth indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. And when notwithstanding all this provision this poyson was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no means to stay it but by restraining the Merchants that brought it in; then lastly there was added another Law, whereby such seditious Priests of new erection were exiled, and those that were at that time within the Land shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treason.

This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled not only with sundry examples of her Majesties grace towards such as in her wisdom she knew to be Papists in conscience, and not in faction and singularity, but also with an ordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree committed by Law, if they would but protest that in case this Realm should be invaded with a foreign Army by the Popes authority for the Catholique cause, as they term it, they would take party with her Majetty, and not adhere to her enemies. For the other part which have been offensive to this State, though in other degree, which named themselves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been the proceeding towards them a great while: When they inveighed against such abuses in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-residence, and the like; their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured: When they refused the use of some Ceremonies and Rites as superstitious, they were tolerated with much connivencie and gentleness; yea when they called in question the Superiority of Bishops, and pretended to bring a Democracie into the Church, yet their Propositions were heard, considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular: As because Papiltry was odious, therefore it was ever in their

their mouths, that they sought to purge the Church from the reliques of Popery, a thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. Because multitudes of Rogues, and Poverty were an eye-sore and dislike to every man, therefore they put it into the Peoples head, that if Discipline were plaintive, there should be no Beggars nor Vagabonds; a thing very plausible. And in like manner they promise the people many other impossible wonders of their Discipline. Besides they opened the People a way to Government by their Consistory & Presbytery, a thing though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men then to the sovereignty of Princes, yet in the first shew very popular. Nevertheless this (except it were in some few that entred into extreme contempt) was borne with, because they pretended but in dutifull manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the authority of the Magistrate. But now of late years, when there issued from them a Colony of those that affirmed the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a Confession to avoid slanders and imputations, they combined themselves by Classes and Subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the Government of the Church by ridiculous Pasquils; when they began to make many Subjects in doubt to take an Oath, which is one of the fundamental points of Justice in this Land and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of their strength and number of their partizans and followers, and to use the communications that their Cause would prevail, though with uprore and violence; then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but meer faction and division: And therefore though the State were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church and State could permit. And therefore to conclude, consider uprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Majesty is no Temporizer in Religion. It is not the success abroad, nor the change of servants here at home can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, so she applied her religious wisdom to correspond unto them, still retaining the two rules before mentioned in dealing tenderly with consciences, and yet in discovering Faction from Conscience. Farewell.

*Your loving Friend,*

Francis Walsingham.

*Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex, when Sir Robert Cecil was in France.**My singular good Lord,*

I Do write because I have not yet had time fully to expresse my conceit, nor now to attend you, touching *Irish* matters, considering them as they may concern the State, that it is one of the aptest particulars that hath come, or can come upon the stage for your Lordship to purchase honour upon, I am moved to think for three reasons: Because it is ingenerate in your House in respect of my Lord your Fathers noble attempts; because of all the accidents of State at this time, the labour resteth most upon that; and because the world will make a kind of comparison between those that set it out of frame, and those that shall bring it into frame: which kind of honour giveth the quickest kind of reflection. The transferring this honour upon your self consisteth in two points: The one, if the principal, persons imployed come in by you, and depend upon you; the other, if your Lordship declare your self to undertake a care of that matter. For the persons, it falleth out well, that your Lordship hath had no interest in the persons of imputation: For neither Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, nor Sir *John Norris* was yours: Sir *William Russel* was conceived yours, but was curbed: Sir *Coniers Clifford*, as I conceive it, dependeth upon you, who is said to do well; and if my Lord of *Ormond* in this interim do accommodate well, I take it he hath always had good understanding with your Lordship. So as all things are not only whole and entire, but of favourable aspect towards your Lordship, if you now chuse well: wherein in your wisdom you will remember there is a great difference in choice of the persons, as you shall think the affairs to incline to composition or to war. For your care-taking, popular conceit hath been, that *Irish* causes have been much neglected, whereby the very reputation of better care will be a strength: And I am sure her Majesty and my Lords of the Councel do not think their care dissolved, when they have chosen whom to imploy; but that they will proceed in a spirit of State, and not leave the main point to discretion. Then if a Resolution be taken, a Consultation must proceed; and the Consultation must be governed upon Information to be had from such as know the place and matters in fact: And in taking of information I have always noted there is a skill and a wisdom. For I cannot tell  
what

what accompt or inquiry hath been taken of Sir *William Russel*, of Sir *Ralph Bingham*, of the Earl of *Tomond*, of Mr. *Wilbraham*: but I am of opinion much more would be had of them, if your Lordship shall be pleased severally to confer, not *obiter*, but expressly upon some *Caveat* given them to think of it before; for, *bene docet qui prudenter interrogat*. For the points of opposing them, I am too much a stranger to the business to deduce them: but in a — *Topique* methinks the pertinent interrogations must be either of the possibility and means of Accord, or of the nature of the War, or of the reformation of the particular abuses, or of the joyning of practice with force in the disunion of the Rebels. If your Lordship doubt to put your sickle in others mens harvests, yet consider you have these advantages. First, Time being fit to you in Mr. Secretaries absence: Next, *Vis unita fortior*: Thirdly, the business being mixt with matters of war, it is fittest for you: Lastly, I know your Lordship will carry it with that modesty and respect towards aged Dignity, and that good correspondencie towards my dear Ally and your good friend now abroad, as no inconveniencie may grow that way. Thus have I plaid the ignorant Statesman, which I do to no body but your Lordship, except I do it to the Queen sometimes when she trains me on. But your Lordship will accept my duty and good meaning, and secure me touching the privateness of that I write.

Your Lordships to be commanded,

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex, concerning the Earl of Tyrone.

THose advertisements which your Lordship imparted to me, and the like, I hold to be no more certain to make judgment upon, then a Patients water to a Physitian: Therefore for me upon one water to make a judgment, were indeed like a foolish bold Mountebank or Doctor *Birket*. Yet for willing duties sake, I will set down to your Lordship what opinion sprung in my mind upon that I read. The Letter from the Council there leaning to distrust, I do not much rely upon for three causes. First, because it is always both the grace, and the safety from blame of such a Council, to erre in caution: whereunto add, that it may be they or some of them are not without envy towards the person who



is used in treating the Accord. Next, because the time of this Treaty hath no shew of dissimulation, for that *Tyrone* is now in no straits, but like a Gamester that will give over because he is a winner, not because he hath no more money in his purse.

Lastly, I do not see but those Articles whereupon they ground their suspicion, may as well proceed out of fear as out of falshood for the retaining of the dependance of the protracting the admission of a Sheriffe, the refusing to give his son for hostage, the holding from present repair to *Dublin*, the refusing to go presently to accord without including *O Donell* and others his associates, may very well come of a guilty reservation, in case he should receive hard measure, and not out of treachery, so as if the great person be faithfull, and that you have not here some present intelligence of present succours from *Spain*, for the expectation whereof *Tyrone* would win time. I see no deep cause of distrusting the cause if it be good. And for the question, her Majesty seemeth to me a winner three ways: First, her purse shall have rest: Next, it will divert the foreign designs upon that place. Thirdly, though her Majesty is like for a time to govern *Precario* in the North, and be not in true command in better state there then before, yet besides the two respects of ease of charge, and advantage of opinion abroad before mentioned, she shall have a time to use her Princely policy in two points: In the one to weaken by division and disunion of the heads; the other by recovering and winning the people by justice, which of all other causes is the best. Now for the *Athenian* question you discourse well, *Quid igitur agendum est*, I will shoot my foole bolt, since you will have it so. The Earle of *Ormond* to be encouraged and comforted above all things, the Garrisons to be instantly provided for: For opportunity makes a thief, and if he should mean never so well now, yet such an advantage as the breaking of her Majesties Garrisons, might tempt a true man. And because he may as well waver upon his own inconstancy as upon occasion, and wont of variableness is never restrained but with fear, I hold it necessary he be menaced with a strong war, not by words, but by Musters and preparations of forces here, in case the Accord proceed not; but none to be sent over lest it disturb the Treaty, and make him look to be over-run as soon as he hath laid down Arms. And but that your Lordship is too easie to passe in such cases from dissimulation to verity, I think if your Lordship lent your reputation in this case, it is to pretend that if not a defensive war as in times past, but a full reconquest of those parts of the Countrey be resolved on, you would accept the charge, I think it would help to settle him, and win you a great deal of honor gratis. And that which most properly concerneth this action, if it prove

a peace, I think her majesty shall do well to cure the root of the disease, and to profess by a commission of peaceable men chiefly of respect and countenance, and reformation of abuses, extortions, and injustices there, and to plant a stronger and surer government then heretofore for the ease and protection of the subject; for the removing of the sword or government in Arms from the Earle of *Ormond*, or the sending of a Deputy which will eclipse it if peace follow, I think unseasonable. Lastly, I hold still my opinion, both for your better information, and your fuller declaration of your care, and meddling and meriting service, that your Lordship have a set conference with the persons I named in my former writing. I rest,

*At your Lordships service*

FR. BACON.

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*Another to the Earl before his going to Ireland.*

**M**Y singular good Lord, your note of my silence in your occasions hath made me set down these few wandering lines, as one that would say somewhat and can say nothing touching your Lordships intended charge for *Ireland*; which my endeavour I know your Lordship will accept graciously and well, whether your Lordship take it by the handle of th'occasion ministred from your self, or of th'affection from which it proceedeth, your Lordship is designed to a service of great merit and great perill; and as the greatness of the peril must needs include no small consequence of perill if it be not temperately governed: for all immoderate successe extinguisheth merit, and seareth up distaste and envy, the assured fore-runner of whole changes of peril. But I am at the last point first, some good spirit leading my pen to preface to your Lordships successe: wherein it is true, I am not without my Oracle and Divinations, none of them superstitious, and yet not all naturall: For first, looking into the course of Gods providence in things now depending, and calling into consideration how great things God hath done by her Majesty, and for her collect he hath disposed of this great dissention in *Ireland*, whereby to give an urgent occasion to the reduction of that whole kingdom, as upon the rebellion of *Desmond* there ensued the reduction of that Province. Next, your Lordship goeth against three  
of

of the unluckiest vices of all other, Disloyalty, Ingratitude, & Isosolence: which three offences in all examples have seldome their doom adjourned to the world to come. Lastly, he that shall have had the honor to know your Lordship inwardly, as I have had, shall find *bona extra*, whereby he may better ground a divination of good, then upon the dissection of a Sacrifice. But that part I leave; for it is fit for others to be confident upon you, & you to be confident upon the cause; the goodnesse & justice whereof is such, as can hardly be matched in any example, it being no ambitious war of Foreigns, but a recovery of subjects, and that after lenity of conditions often tried; and a recovery of them not onely to obedience, but to humanity and policy from more then *Indian Barbarism*. There is yet another kind of divination familiar in matters of State, being that which *Demosthenes* so often relieth upon in his time, where he saith, That which for the time past is worst of all, is for the time to come the best, which is, that things go ill, not by accident, but by error; wherein if your Lordship have been a waking Censor, but must look for no other now but *Medice cura teipsum*: And although your Lordship shal not be the blessed Physician that cometh to the declination of the disease, yet you imbrace that condition which many Noble Spirits have accepted for advantage, which is, that you go upon the greater perill of your fortune, and the less of your reputation; and so the honor countervaieth the adventure: of which honor your Lordship is in no small possession, when that her Majesty known to be one of the most judicious Princes in discerning of spirits, that ever governed, hath made choyce of you meerly out of her Royall judgement (her affection inclining rather to continue your attendance) into whose hands & trust to put the commandement & conduct of so great forces, the gathering in the fruit of so great charge, the execution of so many Councils, the redeeming of the defaults of so many former Governors, and the clearing of the glory of so many happy years reign onely in this part excepted. Nay further, how far forth the perill of that State is interlaced with the perill of *England*; and therefore how great the honor is to keep and defend the approaches of this kingdom, I hear many discourse; and indeed there is a great difference whether the *Tortoise* gather her selfe into her shell hurt or unhurt: And if any man be of opinion, that the nature of an enemy doth extenuate the honour of a service, being but a Rebell and a Savage, I differ from him; for I see the justest Triumphs that the *Romans* in their greatest greatness did obtain, and that whereof the Emperours in their stiles took additions and denominations, were of such an enemy, that is, people barbarous and not reduced to civility, magnifying a kind of lawless liberty, prodigall of life, hardned



in body, fortified in woods and bogs, placing both justice and felicity in the sharpness of their swords. Such were the *Germans* and antient *Britains*, and divers others. Upon which kind of people whether the victory be a Conquest, or a Reconquest upon a rebellion or revolt, it made no difference that ever I could find in honour. And therefore it is not the enriching predatory war that hath the preheminance in honour; else should it be more honour to bring in a Carrock of rich burthen, then one of the twelve Spanish Apostles. But then this nature of people doth yield a higher point of honour (considering in truth and substance) then any war can yield which should be atchieved against a civil enemy, if the end may be *Pacis; imponere morem*, To replant and refound the policie of that Nation, to which nothing is wanting but a just and civil Government. Which design as it doth descend to you from your noble Father, who lost his life in that action, though he paid tribute to nature, and not to fortune; so I hope your Lordship shall be as fatal a Captain to this war, as *Africanus* was to the war of *Carthage*, after that both his Uncle and his Father had lost their lives in *Spain* in the same war.

Now although it be true, that these things which I have writ (being but representations unto your Lordship of the honour and apparence of success of the enterprise) be not much to the purpose of my direction, yet it is that which is best to me being no man of war, and ignorant in the particulars of Estate: for a man may by the eye set up the white right in the midst of the But, though he be no Archer. Therefore I will only add this wish, according to the English phrase, which termeth a wel-willing advice a wish, That your Lordship in this whole action looking forward set down this Position, That merit is worthier then fame; and looking back hither would remember this text, That obedience is better then sacrifice. For designing to fame and glory, may make your Lordship in the adventure of your person to be valiant as a private Soldier rather then as a Generall; it may make you in your commandments rather to be gracious then disciplinary; it may make you press action in the respect of the great expectation conceived, rather hastily then seasonably and safely; it may make you seek rather to atchieve the war by force, then by intermixture of practice; it may make you (if God shall send you prosperous beginnings) rather seek the fruition of that honour then the perfection of the work in hand. And for your proceeding like a good Protestant (upon warrant, and not upon good intention) your Lordship knoweth in your wisdom, that as it is most fit for you to desire convenient liberty of instruction, so it is no less fit for you to observe the due limits of them, remembering that the exceeding of them may not  
only



only procure ( in case of aduerse accident ) a dangerous disad vow, but also (in case of prosperous success) be subject to interpretation, as if all were not referred to the right end.

Thus I have presumed to write these few lines to your Lordship *in methodo ignorantie*, which is, when a man speaketh of any subject not according to the parts of the matter, but according to the model of his own knowledge. And most humbly desire your Lordship, that the weakness thereof may be supplied in your Lordship by a benign acceptation, as it is in me by my best wishing.

FR. BACON.

*Another to him after his enlargement.*

*My Lord,*

NO man can expound my doings more then your Lordship, which makes me need to say the less, only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation of *Bonus Civis* and *Bonus Vir*, and that I love some things better I confess then I love your Lordship; yet I love few persons better, both for gratitudes sake and for vertues, which cannot hurt but by accident. Of which my good affection it may please your Lordship to assure your self of all the true effects and offices that I can yield: for as I was ever sorry your Lordship should flie with many wings, doubting *Icarus* fortune; so for the growing up of your own feathers, be they *Ostridges* or other kind, no man shall be more glad; and this is the *Axel-tree*, whereupon I have turned and shall turn. Which having already signified unto you by some neer means, having so fit a Messenger for mine own Letter, I thought good to redouble also by writing. And so I commend you to Gods protection. From *Grayes Inne*, &c.

FR. BACON.

*Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Robert Cecil after defeat of the Spaniards in Ireland.*

*It may please your Honour,*

AS one that wisheth you all increase of Honour, and as one that cannot leave to love the State, what interest soever I have, or may come

come to have in it, and as one that now this dead Vacation time have some leisure *ad aliud agend.* I will presume to propound unto you that which though you cannot but see, yet I know not whether you apprehend and esteem it in so high a degree, that is, for the best action of importation to your self, of sound honour and merit of her Majesty and this Crown, without ventosity or popularity, that the riches of any occasion, or the tide of any opportunity can possibly minister or offer. And that is the Causes of *Ireland*, if they be taken by the right handle: For if the wound be not ripped up again, and come to a festered sense by new foreign succours, I think that no Physitian will go on much with letting blood in *declinatione morbi*, but will intend to purge and corroborate. To which purpose I send you mine opinion without labour of words in the inclosed; and sure I am that if you shall enter into the matter according to the vivacity of your own spirit, nothing can make unto you a more gainfull return: For you shall make the Queens felicity compleat, which now as it is incomparable: and for your self, you shall make your self as good a Patriot, as you are thought Politique; and to have no less generous ends, then dexterous delivery of your self towards your ends; and as well to have true arts and grounds of government, as the facility and felicity of practice and negotiation; and to be as well seen in the periods and tides of estates, as in your own circle and way: then the which I suppose nothing can be a better addition and accumulation of honour unto you.

This I hope I may in privateness write, either as a Kinsman that may be bolder, or as a Scholar that hath liberty of discourse without committing of any absurdity. If not, I pray your Honour to believe I ever loved her Majesty and the State, and now love your self; and there is never any vehement love without some absurdity, as the *Spaniard* well saith, *De suario con la calentura.* So desiring your Honours pardon, I ever continue, &c.

FR. BACON.

*Considerations touching the Queens service in Ireland,  
by Sir Francis Bacon.*

**T**He Reduction of the Country as well to Civility and Justice, as to Obedience and Peace, which things as th'affairs now stand I hold to be unspeakable, consisteth in four points.

H

I. The

1. The extinguishing of the Reliques of War.
2. The Recovery of the hearts of the People.
3. The removing of the root and occasions of new troubles.
4. Plantation and buildings.

For the first, concerning the places, times and particularities of further prosecution in fact, I leave it to the opinion of men of war, onely the difficulty is to distinguish and discern the propositions which shall be according to the ends of the State here, that is, final and summary towards the extirpation of the trouble, from those, which though they pretend the publick ends, yet may referre indeed to the more private and compendious ends of the Councel there, or other particular Governors or Captains. But still as I touched in my letter, I do think much letting blood in *declinatione morbi*, is against method of cure and that it will but exasperate necessity and despair, and per case discover the hollowness of that which is done already, which none blazeth to the best shew: For *Taglaes*, and proscription of two or three of the principall Rebels, they are, no doubt *jure Gentium* lawfull, in *Italy* usually practised upon the *Banditi*, best in season when a side goeth down, and may do good in two kinds; the one if it take effect, the other in the distrust which followeth amongst the Rebels themselves. But of all other points (to my understanding) the most effectuall is, the well expressing or impressing of the design of this State, upon that miserable and desolate kingdom, containing the same between these two lists or boundaries: the one, that the Queen seeketh not an extirpation of the people, but a reduction; and now that she hath chastised them by Royall power and Arms, according to the necessity of the occasion, her Majesty taketh no pleasure in effusion of blood, or displanting of ancient generations; the other, that her Majesties Princely care is principally and intentionally bent upon that action of *Ireland*; and that she seeketh not so much the ease of charge, as the Royall performance of her Office of Protection, and reclaim of those her Subjects: And in a word, that the case is allowed as far as may stand with the honor of the time past, which it is eatie to reconcile, as in my last note I shewed. And again I do repeat, that if her Majesties design be *ex professo* to reduce wild and barbarous people to civility and justice, as well as to reduce Rebels to obedience, it maketh weakness true Christianity, and conditions turn graces, and so hath a fineness in turning utility upon point of honor of these times. And besides, if her Majesty shall suddenly abate the lists of her Forces, and shall do nothing to countervail it in the point of reputation of a publick proceeding, I doubt things may too soon fall back into the state they were in. Next to this, adding reputation to the cause by imprinting

imprinting an opinion of her Majesties care and intention upon this action, is the taking away the reputation from the contrary side, by cutting off the opinion and expectation of foreign succours: to which purpose this enterprize of *Algiers*, if it hold according to the advertisement, and if be not wrapped up in the period of this Summer, seemeth to be an opportunity *Cœlitus demissa*. And to the same purpose nothing can be more fit then a Treaty, or a shadow of Treaty of a Peace with *Spain*, which methinks should be in our power to fasten, at least *rumore tenus*, to the deluding of as wise a people as the *Irish*. Lastly, for this point that the Antients called *potestas facta redeundi ad sanitatem*, and which is but a mockery when the Enemy is strong or proud, but effectual in his declination; that is, a liberal Proclamation of grace and pardon to such as shall submit and come in within a time prefixed, and of some further reward to such as shall bring others in, that our sword may be sharpened against anothers, as a matter of good experience; and now I think will come in time. And per case though I wish the exclusions of such a Pardon exceeding few, yet it will not be safe to continue some of them in their strength, but to translate them and their generation into *England*, and give them recompence and satisfaction here for their possessions there, as the King of *Spain* did by divers families of *Portugal*. The effecting of all the which fall within the points aforesaid, and likewise those which fall within the divisions following: Nothing can be in priority either of time or matter precedent to the sending of some Commission of the continuance *ad res inspiciendas & componendas*. For it must be a very significant demonstration of her Majesties care of that Kingdom, a credence to any that shall come in and submit, a bridle to any that have their fortunes there, and shall apply their propositions to private ends, and an evidence of her Majesties politique courses without neglect or respiration; and it hath been the wisdom of the best examples of Government. Towards the recovery of hearts of the people, there be but three things in *natura rerum*.

1. Religion. 2. Justice and Protection. 3. Obligation and reward. For Religion, to speak first of Piety, and then of Policie. All Divines do agree, that if Consciences be to be enforced at all whereby they differ, yet two things must precede their enforcement; th' one means of information, th' other time of operation: Neither of which they have yet had. Besides till they be more like reasonable men then they yet are, their society were rather scandalous to true Religion then otherwise, as pearl cast before swine: For till they be cleansed from their blood, incontinencie, and theft, and which are now not the lapses of particular persons, but the very laws of the Nation, they are incompatible with



Religion formed with Policie. There is no doubt but to wrestle with them now, is directly opposite to their reclaim, and cannot but continue their alienation of mind from this government. Besides, one of the principal pretences whereby the heads of the Rebellion have prevailed both with the people and the Foreigner, hath been the defence of the Catholique religion; and it is that likewise hath made the Foreigner reciprocally more plausible with the Rebel. Therefore a Toleration of Religion for a time not definite, except it be in some principal Towns and Precincts, after the manner of some French Edicts, seemeth to me to be a matter warrantable by Religion, and in Policie of absolute necessity; and the hesitation of this, I think, hath been a great casting back of the affairs there. Neither if any English Papist or Recusant shall for liberty of his conscience transfer his person, family and fortunes thither, do I hold it a matter of danger, but expedient to draw on undertaking, and to further population. Neither if *Rome* will cozen it self by conceiving it may be some degree to the like Toleration in *England*, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of *Rome*, and to stay further Excommunications and Interdictions of *Ireland*. But there would go hand in hand with this some course of advantage. Religion indeed, where the people is capable of it, is the sending over of some good Preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous perswaders, and not Scholasticai, to be resident in the principal Towns, endowing them with some stipend out of her Majesties revenues, as her Majesty hath most religiously and graciously done in *Lancashire*; and the recontinuing and replenishing the Colledge begun at *Dublin*, the placing of good men Bishops in the Sea there; the taking care of the versions of Bibles, Catechisms, and other books of Instruction into the Irish language, and the like religious courses, both for the honour of God, and for the avoiding of scandal and insatisfaction here, by a toleration of Religion there. For instance, the Barbarism and desolation of the Country considered, it is not possible they should find any sweetness at all of it, (which hath been the error of times past) formal and fetched far off from the State, because it will require running up and down for process of polling and exactions by fees, and many other delays and charges: And therefore there must be an interim in which the Justice must be only summary, the rather because it is fit and safe for a time the Country do participate of Martial government. And therefore I do wish in every principal Town or place of habitation there were a Captain or a Governour, and a Judge, such as Records and learned Stewards are here in Corporations, who may have a Prerogative-Commission. to hear and determine *secundum sanam discretionem*.

*seretionem*, and as neer as may be to the Laws and Customs of England, and that by Bill or Plaint without Original Writ, reserving from their sentence matter of Freehold and Inheritance to be determined before a superior Judge itinerant, to be reversed if cause be, before the Council of the Province to be established with fit Informations.

For obligation and reward, it is true no doubt which was anciently said, That a State is contained in two words, *Premium & Poena*: And I am perswaded, if a penny in the pound which hath been spent in *poena*, a chastisement of Rebels, without other fruit or emolument of this State, had been spent in *premium*, that in rewarding, things had never grown to this extremity. But to speak forwards: The keeping of the principal Irish persons in term of contentment, and without particular complaint, as generally the carrying of an even course between the English and the Irish, whether it be in competition, or whether it be in controversie, as if they were one Nation, without the same partial course which hath been held by the Governours and Councillors, that some have favoured the Irish, and some contrary, is one of the best medicines for that State. And as for other points of governing their Nobility as well in this Court as there, of Knighthood, of Education of their Children, and the like points of comfort and allurements, they are things which fall into every mans consideration.

For the extirpating of the seeds of troubles, I suppose the main roots are but three: The first, the ambition and absoluteness of the chief of the Families and Sects; the second, the licentious idleness of their Kerns and Souldiers that lie upon their Country by sesses and such oppressions; the third, the barbarous customs in habits of apparel, in these Poets or Heralds that inchant them in savage manners, and sundry other such drags of Barbarism and Rebellion, which by a number of politique Statutes of Ireland meet to be put in execution are already forbidden, unto which such additions may be made as the present time requireth. But the reducing of this branch requireth a more particular notice of the state and manners there then falls within my compass.

For Plantations and buildings, I do find it strange, that in the last plot for the population of Munster, there were limitations how much in Demesnes, and how much in Farm and Tenantry, how many buildings should be erected, how many Irish in mixture should be admitted; but there was no restraint that they might not build *sparsum* at their pleasure, much less any condition that they should make places fortified and defensible, the which was too much security to my understanding. So as for this last point of plantations and buildings, there be two considerations which I hold most material; th<sup>t</sup> one of quickning, th<sup>t</sup> other for assuring.

assuring : The first is, that choyce be made of such persons for the government of Towns and places, and such undertakers be procured as be men gracious and wel-beloved, and are like to be well followed ; whereia for *Munster* it may be because it is not *Res integra*, but that the former undertakers stand interestted there, will be some difficulty ; but surely (in mine opinion) either with agreeing with them, or by over-ruling them by a Parliament in *Ireland* ( which in this course of a politique proceeding, infinite occasions will require speedily to be held ) it will be fit to supply fit qualified persons for underakers. The other, that it be not left as heretofore, to the pleasure of the undertakers and adventurers, where and how to build and plant, but that they do it according to a prescript or formality. For first, the places both Maritime and Inland, which are fittest for Colonies or Garrison, as well for doubt of Foreigners, as for keeping the Countrey in bridle, would be found surveighed and resolved upon ; and then that the Patentees be tied to build those places onely, and to fortifie as shall be thought convenient. And lastly, it followeth of course in Countries of new populations, to invite and provoke inhabitants by ample liberties and Charters.

FR. BACON.

*Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer touching his  
speech in Parliament.*

*It may please your good Lordship,*

I Was sorry to find by your Lordships speech yesterday, that my last speech in Parliament delivered in discharge of my conscience, my duty to God, her Majesty, and my Countrey, was offensive : if it were misreported, I would be glad to attend your Lordship to disavow any thing I said not ; if it were misconstrued, I would be glad to expound my words to exclude any sense I meant not ; if my heart be mis-judged by imputation of popularity, or opposition, I have great wrong, and the greater because the manner of my speech did most evidently shew, that I spake most simply, and onely to satisfie my conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the cause, and my terms carried all signification of duty, and zeal towards her Majesty and her service. It is very true, that from the beginning, whatsoever was a double Subsidy, I did wish might for presidents sake appear to be extraordinary, and for discontents  
sake



fake might not have been levied upon the poverty; though otherwise I wished it as rising as I think this will prove, or more. This was my mind, I confess it: and therefore I most humbly pray your good Lordship, first to continue me in your own good opinion, and then to perform the part of an honorable good friend towards your poor servant, and all in drawing her Majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my zeal, and to hold me in her Majesties favour, which is to me dearer then my life. And so, &c.

*Your Lordships most humble  
in all duty,*

FR. BACON.

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*Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Northampton.*

*May it please your good Lordship,*

**A**S the time of sowing of a seed is known, but the time of coming up and disclosing is casual, or according to the season; so I am witness to my self, that there hath been covered in my mind a long time, a seed of affection and zeal towards your Lordship, sown by the estimation of your vertues, and your particular honors and favours to my brother deceased, and to my self; which seed still springing now bursteth forth into this profession. And to be plain with your Lordship, it is very true, and no winds or noyses of evill matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great capacities and love towards studies and contemplations of an higher and worthier nature then popular, a matter rare in the world, & in a person of your Lordships quality almost singular, is to me a great and chief motive to draw my affection & admiration towards you: and therefore, good my Lord, if I may be of any use to your Lordship, I humbly pray your Lordship to hold me your own: and therefore withall, not to do so much disadvantage to my good mind, as to conceive that this commendation of my humble service proceedeth out of any straits of my occasions; but meerly out of an election, and indeed the fulness of my heart. And so wishing your Lordship all prosperity, I continue yours, &c.

FR. BACON.



*To the Lord Kinlofs, upon the entrance of K. James.*

*My Lord,*

**T**He present occasion awaketh in me a remembrance of the constant amity and mutual good offices which passed between my Brother deceased and your Lordship, whereunto I was less strange then in respect of the time I had reason to pretend ; and withall I call to mind the great opinion my Brother (who seldom failed in judgment of a person) would often express to me of your Lordships great wisdom and soundness both in head and heart towards the service and affairs of the Lord our Sovereign King. The one of those hath bred in me an election, and the other a confidence to address my good will and sincere affection to your good Lordship, not doubting in regard that my course of life hath wrought me not to be altogether unseen in the matters of the Kingdom, that I may be in some use both in points of service to the King and your Lordships particular : And on the other side I will not omit to desire humbly your Lordships favour in furthering a good conceit and impression of my most humble duty and true zeal towards the King, to whose Majesty words cannot make me known, neither mine own nor others, but time will to no disadvantage of any that shall forerun his Majesties experience by their humanity and commendations. And so I commend your Lordship to Gods protection.

*Your &c.*

From *Graves-Inne*, &c.

FR. BACON.

*To King James.*

**M**AY it please your most excellent Majesty : It is observed upon a place in the *Canticles* by some, *Ego sum Flos Campi & Lilium Convallium* ; that it is not said, *Ego sum flos horti & lilium montium* : because the Majesty of that Person is not inclosed for a few, nor appropriate to the great. And yet notwithstanding this Royal vertue of access, which nature and judgment hath placed in your Majesties mind as the portal of all the rest, could not of it self ( my imperfections considered )

sidered) have animated me to have made oblation of my self immediately to your Majesty, had it not been joyned to a habit of like liberty which I enjoyed with my late dear Sovereign Mistres, a Princess happy in all things, but most happy in such a Successor. And yet further and more neerly I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a supposal that unto your Majesties sacred eares (open to the aire of all vertues) there might have come some small breath of the good memory of my Father, so long a principal Councillor in your Kingdom, but also by the particular knowledge of the infinite devotion and incessant endeavours beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times, which appeared in my good Brother towards your Majesties service, and were on your Majesties part through your singular benignities by many most gracious and lively significations and favours accepted and acknowledged, beyond the thought of any thing he could effect: All which endeavours and duties for the most part were common to my self with him, though by design between brethren dissembled. And therefore, most high and mighty King, my most dear and dread Sovereign Lord, since now the corner-stone is laid of the mightiest Monarchy in Europe, and that God above, who is noted to have a mighty hand in bridling the floods and fluctuations of the seas, and of peoples hearts, hath by the miraculous and universal consent (the more strange, because it proceedeth from such diversity of causes) in your coming in, given a sign and token what he intendeth in the continuance; I think there is no Subject of your Majesty, who loveth this Island, and is not hollow and unworthy, whose heart is not on fire not only to bring you Peace-offerings to make you propitious, but to sacrifice himself as a Burnt-offering to your Majesties service: Amongst which number no mans fire shall be more pure and fervent; but how far forth it shall blaze out, that resteth in your Majesties employment. For since your fortune, in the greatness thereof, hath for a time debarred your Majesty of the fruitly vertue which one calleth the principal, (*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*) because your Majesty hath many of yours which are unknown unto you, I must leave all to the trial of further time; and thirsting after the happiness of kissing your Royal hand, continue ever

Your &c.

FR. BACON.

*To the Earl of Northumberland, concerning a Proclamation upon the Kings entry.**It may please your Lordship,*

**I** Do hold it a thing formal and necessary for the King to forerun his coming, be it never so speedy, with some gracious Declaration for the cherishing, entertaining, and preparing of mens affections. For which purpose I have conceived a draught, it being a thing to me familiar in my Mistres her times to have my pen used in politique writings of satisfaction. The use of this may be in two sorts: First properly, if your Lordship think convenient to shew the King any such draught, because the veins and pulses of this State cannot but be known here; which if your Lordship should, then I would desire your Lordship to withdraw my name, and only signifie that you gave some heads of direction of such a matter to one of whose stile and pen you had some opinion. The other collateral, that though your Lordship make no other use of it, yet it is a kind of pourtraicture of that which I think worthy to be advised to the King, to expresse himself according to those points which are therein conceived, and perhaps more compendious and significant then if I had set them down in Articles. I would have attended your Lordship, but for some little Physick I took. To morrow morning I will wait on you. So I ever continue, &c.

FR. BACON.

*To the Earl of Southampton.**It may please your Lordship,*

**I** Would have been very glad to have presented my humble service to your Lordship by my attendance, if I could have foreseen that it should not have been unpleasing unto you. And therefore because I would commit no error, I chose to write, assuring your Lordship how credible soever, yet it is as true as a thing that God knoweth, that this great change in me hath wrought no other change towards your Lordship then this, that I may safely be now that which I was truly before:

before : And so craving no other pardon then for troubling you with this letter, I do not now begin to be, but continue to be

*Your Lordships most humble and devoted,*

FR. BACON.

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*To the Earl of Northumberland.*

*It may please your Lordship,*

I Would not have lost this journey, and yet I have not that I went for : For I have had no private conference to purpose with the King, no more hath almost any other *English* ; for the speech his Majesty admitteth with some Noblemen, is rather matter of grace then matter of businesse : with the Attorney he spake, urged by the Treasurer of *Scotland*, but no more then needs must. After I had received his Majesties first welcome, and was promised private accessse, yet not knowing what matter of service your Lordship carried, for I saw it not, and knowing that priviness in advertisement is much, I chose rather to deliver it to Sir *Thomas Hoskins* then to let it cool in my hands, upon expectation of accessse. Your Lordship shall find a Prince the furthest from vain-glory that may be, and rather like a Prince of the ancient form then of the latter time ; his speeches swift and cursory, and in the full Dialect of his Nation, and in speech of businesse short, in speech of discourse large : he affecteth popularity by gracing them that are popular, and not by any fashions of his own ; he is thought somewhat generall in his favours ; and his vertue of accessse is rather because he is much abroad, and in presse, then that he giveth easie audience : he hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and nations, faster perhaps then policy will well bear. I told your Lordship once before my opinion, that methought his Majesty rather asked counsell of the time past, then of the time to come. But it is yet early to be found in any settled opinion. For other particularities I refer to conference, having in these generals gone further in these tender arguments then I would have done, were not the bearer hereof so assured. So I continue your, &c.

FR. BACON.



*To Sir Edward Coke expostulatory.**Mr. Attorney,*

I Thought best once for all to let you know in plainness what I find of you, and what you shal find of me To take to your self a liberty to disgrace and disable my Law, experience, discretion : what it pleases you, I pray think of me. I am one that know both mine own wants and other mens, and it may be perchance that mine may mend when others stand at a stay : And surely I may not in publike place endure to be wronged, without repelling the same to my best advantage to right myself. You are great, and therefore have the more enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at anothers cost. Since the time I missed the Solicitors place, the rather I think by your means, I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as Attorney and Solicitor ; but either to serve with another upon your remove, or to step into some other course. So as I am more free then ever I was from any occasion of unworthy conforming my self to you, more then generall good manners, or your particular good usage shall provoke : And if you had not been short-sighted in your own fortune (as I think) you might have had more use of me ; but that tide is past. I write not this to shew any friends what a brave Letter I have writ to Mr. Attorney, I have none of those humours : but that I have written is to a good end, that is, to the more decent carriage of my Masters service, and to our particular better understanding one another. This Letter, if it shall be answered by you in deed, and not in word, I suppose it will not be worse for us both ; else it is but a few lines lost, which for a much smaller matter I would adventure. So this being to your self, I for my part rest

*Your &c.*

FR. BACON.

*To the same after Lo. Chief Justice, and in disgrace.**My very good Lord,*

**T**Hough it be true, that who considereth the wind and the rain, shal<sup>1</sup> neither sow nor reap, *Eccles. 9. 15*, yet there is a season for every action : And so there is a time to speak, and a time to keep silence ; there is

is a time when the words of a poor simple man may profit : and that poor man in the Preacher which delivered the City by his wisdom, found, that without this opportunity, the power both of wisdom and eloquence lose but their labour, and cannot charm the deaf Adder. God therefore, before his Son that bringeth mercy, sent his servant the Trumpeter of repentance to level a very high hill, to prepare the way before him, making it smooth and streight. And as it is in spiritual things, where Christ never comes before his Way-maker hath laid even the heart with sorrow and repentance, since self-conceited and proud persons think themselves too good and too wise to learn of their inferior, and therefore need not the Physitian : so in the rules of earthly wisdom it is not possible for nature to attain any mediocrity of perfection, before she be humbled by knowing her self and her own ignorance. Not only knowledge, but also every other gift (which we call the gifts of fortune) have power to pull up earthly ——— Afflictions only level these Molehills of pride, plough the heart, and make it fit for Wisdom to sow her seed, and for Grace to bring forth her increase. Happy is that man therefore both in regard of heavenly and earthly wisdom, that is thus wounded, to be cured; thus broken, to be made straight; thus made acquainted with his own imperfections, that he may be perfected.

Supposing this to be the time of your affliction, that which I have propounded to my self is, by taking this seasonable advantage, like a true friend (though far unworthy to be counted so) to shew you your true shape in a glass, and that not in a false one to flatter you, nor yet in one that should make you seem worse then you are, and so offend you, but in one made by the reflexion of your own words and actions, from whose light proceeds the voice of the people, which is often not unfitly called the voice of God : but therein (since I purposed a truth) I must intreat liberty to be plain, a liberty that at this time I know not whether or no I may use safely, I am sure at other times I could not : yet of this resolve your self, it proceedeth from love, and a true desire to do you good, that you knowing the generall opinion, may not altogether neglect or contemn it, but mend what you find amiss in yourself, and tain what your judgment shall approve; for to this end shall truth be delivered as naked as if your self were to be anatomized by the hand of opinion. All men can see their own profit, that part of the waller hangs before. A true friend (whose worthy office I would perform, since I fear both your self and all great men want such, being themselves true friends to few or none) is first to shew the other, and which is from your eyes.

First therefore behold your errors : In discourse you delight to speak too much, not to hear other men; this some say becomes a pleader, not a Judge : for by this sometimes your affections are intangled with a love of your own arguments though they be the weaker , and rejecting of those which when your affections were settled, your own judgment would allow for strongest. Thus while you speak in your own Element, the Law, no man ordinarily equals you ; but when you wander, ( as you often delight to do ) you then wander indeed, and give never such satisfaction as the curious time requires. This is not caused by any naturall defect, but first for want of election, when you having a large and fruitfull mind, should not so much labour what to speak, as to find what to leave unspeken ; rich soils are often to be weeded.

Secondly, you cloy your auditory when you would be observed, speech must either be sweet or short.

Thirdly, you converse with Books, not men, and Books specially humane, and have no excellent choyce with men, who are the best Books: for a man of action and imployment you seldome converse with, and then but with your underlings, not freely, but as a Schoolmaster with his Scholars, ever to teach, never to learn. But if sometimes you would in your familiar discourse hear others, and make election of such as know what they speak, you should know many of these tales you tell to be but ordinary, and many other things which you delight to repeat and serve in for novelties, to be but stale. As in your pleadings you were wont to insult over misery, and to inveigh bitterly at the persons (which bred you many enemies whose poyson yet swelleth, and the effects now appear) so are you still wont to be a little careless in this point to praise or disgrace upon slight grounds, and that sometimes untruly, so that your reproofs or commendations are for the most part neglected and contemned; when the censure of a Judge (coming slow, but sure) should be a brand to the guilty, and a crown to the vertuous. You will jest at any man in publique, without respect of the persons dignity or your own. This disgraceth your gravity more then it can advance the opinion of your wit, and so do all actions which we see you do directly with a touch of vain-glory, having no respect to the true end. You make the Law to lean too much to your opinion, whereby you shew your self to be a legall Tyrant, striking with that weapon where you please, since you are able to turn the edge any way. For thus the wise Master of the Law gives warning to young Students, that they should be wary lest while they hope to be instructed by your integrity and knowledge, they should be deceived with your skill armed with authority. Your too much love of the world is too much seen, when having the living of 10000*l.* you relieve few



or none. The hand that hath taken so much, can it give so little? Herein you shew no bowels of compassion, as if you thought all too little for your self; or that God had given you all that you have (if you think wealth to be his gift, I mean that you get well, for I know sure the rest is not) only to that end you should still gather more, and never be satisfied, but try how much you could gather to accompt for all at the great and generall Audit-day. We desire you to amend this, and let your poor Tenants in *Norfolk* find some comfort, where nothing of your estate is spent towards their relief, but all brought up hither to the impoverishing of your Country.

In your last, which might have been your best peece of service to the State, affectioned to follow that old rule which giveth Justice leaden heels and iron hands, you used too many delays, till the Delinquents hands were loosed, and yours bound. In that work you seemed another *Fabius*, here the humour of *Marcellus* would have done better: What needed you have sought more evidences then enough? While you pretended the finding out of more, (missing your aim) you discredited what you had found. This best Judgments think, though you never used such speeches as are fathered upon you, yet you might well have done it, and but rightly: For this crime was second to none but the Powder-plot: That would have blown up all at one blow, a mercifull cruelty; this would have done the same by degrees, a lingring, but a sure way; one might by one be called out, till all opposers had been removed. Besides, that other Plot was scandalous to *Rome*, making Popery odious in the sight of the whole world: This hath been scandalous to the truth of the whole Gospel, and since the first nullity to this instant, when Justice hath her hands bound, the Devil could not have invented a more mischievous practice to our State and Church then this hath been, is, and is like to be. God avert the evil.

But herein you committed another fault, that you were too open in your proceedings, and so taught them whereby to defend themselves; so you gave them time to undermine Justice, and to work upon all advantages both of affections and honor, and opportunity, and breach of friendship: which they have so wel followed, sparing neither pains nor cost, that it almost seemeth an offence in you to have done so much indeed, then that you have done no more: you stopt the confessions & accusations of some, who perhaps had they been suffered, would have spoken enough to have removed some stumbling-blocks out of your way: and that you did not this in the favour of any one, but of I know not what present unadvised humours, supposing enough behind to discover all, which sel not out so. Howsoever, as the Apostle saith in another case,

you



you went not rightly to the truth, and therefore though you were to be commended for what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for many circumstances in the doing; and doubtless God hath an eye in this cross to your negligence, and the briers are left to be pricks in your sides, and thorns in your eyes. But that which we commend you for, are those excellent parts of Nature, and knowledge in the Law, which you are indued withall; but these are only good in their good use: wherefore we thank you heartily for standing stoutly in the Commonwealths behalfe, hoping it proceedeth not from a disposition to oppose Greatness (as your enemies say) but to do justice, and deliver truth indifferently without respect of persons; and in this we pray for your prosperity, and are sorry that your good actions should not always succeed happily. But in the carriage of this you were faulty, for you took it in hand in an evill time, both in respect of the present business which it interrupted, and in regard of his present sickness whom it concerned, whereby you disunited your strength, and made a gap for the enemies to pass out at, and to return and assault you.

But now, since the case so standeth, we desire you to give way to power, and so to fight that you be not utterly broken, but reserved intirely to serve the Commonwealth again, and do what good you can, since you cannot do all the good you would; and since you are fallen upon this rock<sup>1</sup>, cast out the goods to save the bottom, stop the leaks and make towards land, learn of the Steward to make friends of the unrighteous Mammon. Those *Spaniards* in *Mexico* who were chased of the *Indians*, tell us what to do with our goods in our extremities, they being to passe over a river in their flight, as many as cast away their gold swam over safe; but some more covetous, keeping their gold, were either drowned with it, or overtaken and slain by the Savages: you have received now learn to give. The *Beaver* learns us this lesson, who being hunted for his stones, bites them off: You cannot but have much of your estate (pardon my plainnesse) ill got, think how much of that you never spake for, how much by speaking unjustly or in unjust causes. Account it then a blessing of God if thus it may be laid out for your good, and not left for your heir to batten the wasting of much of the rest, perhaps of all; for so we see God oftentimes proceeds in judgement with many hasty gatherers: you have enough to spare, being well laid, to turn the Tide, and fetch all things again. But if you escape (I suppose it worthy of an if) since you know the old use, that none called in question must go away uncensured; yet consider that accusations make wounds, and leave scarres; and though you see your tale behind your back, your self free, and the Covert before, yet remember there are stands, trust not a reconciled

reconciled enemies, but think the peace is but to secure you for further advantage, expect a second and a third encounter, the main battell, the wings are yet unbroken, they may charge you at an instant, or death before them : walk therefore circumspectly; and if at length by means of our good endeavours and yours, you recover the favour that you have lost, give God the glory in action, not in words onely, and remember us with sense of your past misfortune, whose estate hath, doth, and may hereafter-lye in the power of your breath. There is a great mercy in dispatch, delays are tortures wherewith we are by degrees rent out of our estates: do not you (if you be restored) as some others do, fly from the service of vertue to serve the time, as if they repented their goodness, or meant not to make a second hazard in Gods House; but rather let this cross make you zealous in Gods cause, sensible in ours, and more sensible in all, which express thus. You have been a great enemy to Papists, if you love God, be so still, but more indeed then heretofore: for much of your zeal was heretofore wasted in words: call to remembrance that they were the persons that prophesied of that cross of yours long before it hapned, they saw the storm coming, being the principall contrivers and furtherers of the plot, the men that blew the coals, heat the Iron, and made all things ready, they owe you a good turn, and will, if they can, pay it you, you see their hearts by their deeds, prove then your faith so too. The best good work you can do, is to do the best you can against them, that is, to see the Law severely, justly, and diligently executed. And now we beseech you, my Lord, be sensible both of the stroak, and hand that striketh: learn of *David* to leave *Shimei*, and call upon God, he hath some great work to do, and he prepareth you for it, he would neither have you faint, nor yet bear this cross with a Stoical resolution. There is a Christian mediocrity worthy of your greatness: I must be plain, perhaps rash. Had some notes which you have taken at Sermons, been written in your heart to practise, this work had been done long ago, without the envy of your enemies: But when we will not mind our selves, God (if we belong to him) takes us in hand; and because he seeth that we have unbridled stomacks, therefore he sends outward crosses, which while they cause us to mourn, do comfort us, being assured testimonies of his love that sends them: to humble our selves therefore before God, is the part of a Christian; but for the world, and our enemies, the counsell of the Poet is apt, *Tunc cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*

The last part of this counsell you forget, yet none need be ashamed to make use of it, that so being armed against casualties, you may stand firm against the assaults on the right hand and on the left. For this is

certain, the mind that is most prone to be puffed up with prosperity, is most weak and apt to be dejected with the least puff of adversity. Indeed she is strong enough to make an able man stagger, striking terrible blows; but true Christian wisdom gives us armour of proof against all assaults, and teacheth us in all estates to be content: for though she cause our truest friends to declare themselves our enemies, though she give heart then to the most cowardly to strike us, though an hours continuance countervail an age of prosperity, though she cast in our dish all that ever we have done, yet hath she no power to hurt the humble and wise, but onely to break such as too much prosperity hath made stiff in their own thoughts, but weak indeed and fitted for renewing, when the wise rather gather from thence profit and wisdom by the example of *David*, who said, *Before I was chastised, I went wrong*. Now then, he that knoweth the right way, will look better to his footing. *Cardan* saith, That weeping, fasting, and sighing, are the chief purgers of griefes. Indeed naturally they help to assuage sorrow; but God in this case is the onely and best Physician: the means he hath ordained are the advice of friends, the amendment of our selves: for amendment is both Physician and Cure. For friends, although your Lordship be scant, yet I hope you are not altogether destitute; if you be, do but look on good books, they are true friends, that will neither flatter nor dissemble; be you but true to your self, applying what they teach unto the party grieved, and you shall need no other comfort nor counsell. To them, and to Gods holy Spirit directing you in the reading of them, I commend your Lordship, beseeching him to send you a good issue out of these troubles, and from henceforth to work a reformation in all that is amiss, and a resolute perseverance, proceeding, and growth in all that is good, and that for his glory, the bettering of your self, this Church and Commonwealth, whose faithfull servant whilst you remain, I remain a faithfull servant to you.

*To Sir Vincent Skinner, expostulatory.*

*Sir Vincent Skinner,*

I See that by your needlesse delayes this matter is grown to a new question: wherein for the matter it self, if it had been staied at the beginning by my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Chancellor, I should not so much have stood upon it: For the great and daily travels which I take in his Majesties



Majesties service either are rewarded in themselves, in that they are but my duty, or else may deserve a much greater matter. Neither can I think amiss of any man, that in furtherance of the Kings benefit moved the doubt, that I knew not what warrant you had: But my wrong is, that you having had my Lord Treasurers and Mr. Chancellors warrant for payment above a moneth since, you (I say) making your payments belike upon such differences as are better known to your self, then agreeable to due respect of his Majesties service, have delayed all this time, otherwise then I might have expected either from our antient acquaintance, or from that regard as one in your place may owe to one in mine. By occasion whereof there ensueth to me a greater inconvenience, that now my name in sort must be in question amongst you, as if I were a man likely to demand that that were unreasonable, or to be denied that that is reasonable: And this must be, because you can pleasure men at pleasure. But this I leave with this, that it is the first matter wherein I had occasion to discern of your friendship: which I see to fall to this, That whereas Mr. Chancellor the last time, in my mans hearing, very honourably said that he would not discontent any man in my place, it seems you have no such caution. But my writing to you now is, to know of you where now the stay is, without being any more beholden to you, to whom indeed no man ought to be beholden in those cases in a right course. And so I bid you farewell,

FR. BACON.

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*To Mr. Toby Matthews.**Mr. Matthews,*

**D**O not think me forgetfull, or altered towards you: But if I should say I could do you any good, I should make my power more then it is. I do fear that which I am right sorry for, that you grow more impatient and busie then at first; which makes me exceedingly fear the issue of that which seemeth not to stand at a stay. I my self am out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused when you were first seduced; and that which I take in compassion, others may take in severity. I pray God, that understands us all better then we understand one another, continue you, as I hope he will, at least within the bounds of loyalty to his Majesty, and natural piety to your Country. And I intreat you much to meditate sometimes upon the effect of Superstition in this last *Powder-Treason*, fit to be tabled and pictur'd in the chambers of *Meditation* as



another Hell above the ground ; and well justifying the censure of the Heathen, that *Superstition is far worse then Atheism* : by how much it is less evil to have no good opinion of God at all, then such as are impious towards his divine Majesty and goodness. Good Mr. *Matthews*, receive your self back from these courses of perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue

*Your &c.*

FR. BACON.

*To the Lord Treasurer, concerning the Solicitors place.*

**A**fter the remembrance of my humble duty, though I know by late experience how mindfull your Lordship vouchsafeth to be of me and my poor fortune ; and since it pleased your Lordship during your indisposition, when her Majesty came to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me for my imployment and preferment : yet being now in the Country, I do presume that your Lordship, who of your self had an honorable care of the matter, will not think it a trouble to be solicited therein. My hope is this, that whereas your Lordship told me her Majesty was somewhat gravelled upon the offence she took at my Speech in Parliament, your Lordships favourable endeavour, who hath assured me that for your own part you construe that I spake to the best, will be as a good tide to remove her from that shelf : And it is not unknown unto your good Lordship, that I was the first of the ordinary sort of the lower House that spake for the Subsidie ; and that which I after spake in difference, was but in circumstance of time, which methinks was no great matter, since there is variety allowed in Councel as a Discord in Musick to make it more perfect.

But I may justly doubt her Majesties impression upon this particular, as her conceipt otherwise of my insufficiencie and unworthines : which though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the less, because I purpose not to divide my self between her Majesty and the causes of other men, as others have done, but to attend her business only ; hoping that a whole man meanly able, may do as well as half a man better able : And if her Majesty thinketh that she shall make an adventure in using

one that is rather a man of study then of practice and experience, surely I may remember to have heard that my Father (an example I confesse rather ready then like) was made Solicitor of the Augmentation (a Court of much business) when he had never practised, and was but 27 years old: And Mr. *Brograve* was now in my time called Attorney of the Dutchy, when he had practised little or nothing, and yet hath discharged his place with great sufficiency. But those and the like things are as her Majesty shall be made capable of them: wherein knowing what authority your Lordships commendations hath with her Majesty, I conclude with my self that the substance of strength which I may receive will be from your Lordship. It is true, my life hath been so private, as I have had no means to do your Lordship service: but yet, as your Lordship knoweth, I have made offer of such as I could yield. For as God hath given me a mind to love the publique, so incidently I have ever had your Lordship in singular admiration, whose happy ability her Majesty hath so long used to her great honour and yours. Besides, that amendment of state or countenance which I have received hath been from your Lordship: And therefore if your Lordship shall stand a good friend to your poor Ally, you shall but *tueri opus* which you have begun; and your Lordship shall bestow your benefit upon one that hath more sense of obligation, then of self-love.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of so long a Letter, I wish your Lordship all happiness.

June 6. 1595.

*Your Lordships in all humbleness  
to be commanded,*

FR. BACON.

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*To the Earl of Salisbury concerning the same.*

*It may please your Lordship,*

I Am not privy to my self of any such ill deserving towards your Lordship, as that I should think it an impudent thing to be a Suitor for your favour in a reasonable matter, your Lordship being to me as (with your good favour) you cannot cease to be: but rather it were a simple and arrogant part in me to forbear it.

It

It is thought Mr. Attorney shall be Chief Justice of the Common-Place; in case Mr. Solicitor rise, I would be glad now at last to be Solicitor: chiefly because I think it will increase my practice, wherein God blessing me a few years, I may mend my state, and so after fall to my studies and ease, whereof one is requisite for my body, and the other ferveth for my mind: wherein if I shall find your Lordships favour, I shall be more happy then I have been, which may make me also more wise. I have small store of means about the King, and to sue my self is not fit; and therefore I shall leave it to God, his Majesty, and your Lordship: for I must still be next the door. I thank God, in these transitory things I am well resolved. So beseeching your Lordship not to think this Letter the less humble, because it is plain, I rest, &c.

FR. BACON.

*Again to the Earl of Salisbury.*

*It may please your good Lordship,*

**I** Am not ignorant how mean a thing I stand for, in desiring to come into the Solicitors place: For I know well it is not the thing it hath been, time having wrought alteration both in the profession, and in that special place. Yet because I think it will increase my practice, and that it may satisfy my friends, and because I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein I may say to your Lordship, in the confidence of your poor Kinsman, and a man by you advanced, *In idem fer opem qui spem dedisti*: For I am sure it was not possible for a man living to have received from another more significant and comfortable words of hope: your Lordship being pleased to tell me during the course of my last service, That you would raise me; and that when you were resolved to raise a man, you were more carefull of him then himself; and that what you had done for me in my marriage, was a benefit for me, but of no use to your Lordship, and therefore I might assure my self you would not leave me there, with many like speeches: which I know too well my duty to take any other hold of, then the hold of a thankfull remembrance: And I know, and all the world knoweth, that your Lordship is no dealer of Holy-water, but noble and real; and on my part on sure ground, that I have committed nothing that may deserve any alteration; and if I cannot observe you as I would, your Lordship

ship will impute it to my want of experience, which I shall gather better when I am once settled.

And therefore my hope is, your Lordship will finish a good work, and consider that time groweth pretious, and that I am now *vergentibus annis*; and although I know your fortune is not to want an hundred such as I am, yet I shall be ever ready to give you my best and first fruits, and to supply, as much as in me lieth, a worthiness by thankfulness.

FR. BACON.

Sir Fr. Bacon to the Lord Chancellor.

*It may please your Lordship,*

AS I conceived it to be a resolution both with his Majesty, and among your Lordships of his Councell, that I should be placed Solicitor, and the Solicitor to be removed to be the Kings Serjeant; so I most humbly thank your Lordships furtherance and forwardness therein, your Lordship being the man that first devised the mean: wherefore my humble request unto your Lordship is, That you would set in with some strength to finish this your work, which (I assure your Lordship) I desire the rather; because, being placed, I hope for your many favours, to be able to do you some better service: for as I am your Lordship cannot use me, nor scarcely indeed know me; not that I vainly think I shall be able to do any great matters, but certainly it will frame me to use a more industrious observance and application to such as I honour so much as I do your Lordship, and not, I hope, without some good offices, which may deserve your thanks. And herewithal, good my Lord, I humbly pray your Lordship to consider that time groweth pretious with me, and that a married man is seven years older in his thoughts the first day: And therefore what a discomfortable thing it is for me to be unsettled still. For surely were it not that I think my self born for to do my Sovereign service, and therefore in that station will I live and die; otherwise for mine own private comfort, it were better for me that the King should blot me out of his book, or that I should turn my course to endeavour to serve him in some other kind, then for me to stand thus at a stop, and to have that little reputation which by my industry I gather, to be scattered and taken away by continual disgraces, every new man coming in before me; and sure I am I shall never have fairer promises and hope from



from all your Lordships, and I would believe you in a far greater matter; and if it were nothing else, I hope the modesty of my suit deserveth somewhat: for I know well the Solicitors place is not as your Lordship left it, time working alteration somewhat in the profession, much more in that special place. And were it not to satisfy my wives friends, and to get my self out of being a common gaze, and a speech (I protest before God) I would never speak word for it. But to conclude, as my honorable Lady was some mean to make me to change the name of another: so if it please you to help me, as you said, to change mine own name, I cannot be but more and more bounden to you. And I am much deceived, if your Lordship find not the King well inclined; as for my Lord of *Salisbury*, he is forward and affectionate. Yours, &c.

FR. BACON.

*To King JAMES.**It may please your excellent Majesty,*

**H**OW honestly ready I have been, most gracious Sovereign, to do your Majesty humble service to the best of my power, and in a manner beyond my power as I now stand, I am not so unfortunate but your Majesty knows; both in the Commission of Union, the labour whereof for men of my profession, rested most upon my hands; and this last Parliament for the Bill of Subsidy, both body and preamble. In the Bill of Attainders; of *Tresham*, and the rest; in the matter of Purveyance, in the Ecclesiasticall Petitions, in the grievances, and the like, as I was ever carefull not without good success, sometime to put forward that which was good, sometime to keep back that which was worse: so your Majesty was pleased kindly to accept of my services, and to say to me, such conflicts were the warres of peace, and such victories the victories of peace; and therefore such servants as obtained them, were by Kings that reign in peace, no less to be esteemed then Conquerors in the warres. In all which nevertheless I can challenge to my self no sufficiency, that I was diligent and reasonably happy to execute those directions which I received either immediatly from your Royall mouth, or from my Lord of *Salisbury*. At that time it pleased your Majesty also to assure me that upon the remove of the then Attorney, I should not be forgotten, but be brought into ordinary place: and this was after  
confirmed

confirmed unto me by many of my Lords. And towards the end of the last Term, the manner also in particular spoken of, that is, that Mr. Solicitor should be made your Majesties Serjeant, and I Solicitor, for so it was thought best to sort with both our gifts and faculties for the good of our service. And of this resolution both Court and Country took notice. Neither was this any invention or project of mine own, but moved from my Lords, I think first from my Lord Chancellor: whereupon resting, your Majesty well knoweth I never opened my mouth for the greater place, although I am sure I had two circumstances that Mr. Attorney that now is could not alleadge: the one, nine years service of the Crown; the other, the being Cousin-german to my Lord of *Salisbury*; for of my Fathers service I will not speak. But for the less place, I conceive it was never meant me: but after that Mr. Attorney *Hubbard* was placed, I heard no more of any preferment, but it seemed to be at a stop, to my great disgrace and discontentment. For, gracious Sovereign, if still when the waters be stirred, another shall be put in before me, your Majesty had need work a miracle, or else I shall be a lame man to do your services. And therefore my most humble suit unto your Majesty is, That this which seemed to me intended, may speedily be performed, and I hope my former service shall be but as beginnings to better when I am better strengthened. For sure I am, no mans heart is fuller, I say not but many may have greater hearts, but I say, not fuller of love and duty towards your Majesty and your children, as I hope time will manifest against envy and detraction, if any be. To conclude, I humbly crave pardon for my boldness, &c.

Your, &c.

FR. BACON.

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*Mr. Edmond Anderfons Letter to Sir Francis Bacon.*

*Noble Sir,*

**T**Here is ever a certain presumption to be had of the favour of great men, so as there be a reason added to accompany their justice; mine, that gives boldness to call upon your succour, is, that I am fallen more under the malignity of rumor, then severity of laws, though that hath ever set mine offence at the blackest mark: to force this latter cloud away, none can but the breath of a King: th'other which threatneth and

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oppresseth

oppresseth more, every good Spirit may help to disperse. In this name, honorable Sir, I beseech your goodness to spend some few words to the putting of false fame to flight, which hath so often endangered even the innocent: And if the saving of a poor penitent man may come to be part of your care, let it ever be reckoned to your virtue, that you have not only assisted to preserve, but create a person so corrected by necessity, as the example of his repentance was not worthy to be lost, who will live and die thankfully yours,

EDMOND ANDERSON.

*Sir Thomas Bodeley to Sir Francis Bacon upon his  
new Philosophy.*

*Sir,*

**A**S soon as the Term was ended, supposing your leisure was more then before, I was coming to thank you two or three times, rather chusing to do it by word then letter; but I was still disappointed of my purpose, as I am at this present upon an urgent occasion, which doth tie me fast to *Fulham*, and hath made me now determine to impart my mind in writing. I think you know I have read your *Cogitata & visa*, which I protest I have done with great desire, reputed it a token of your singular love, that you joyned me with those your friends, to whom you would commend your first perusal of your draught: for which I pray you give me leave to say but this unto you, First, that if the depth of my affection to your person and spirit, to your works and your words, and to all your ability, were as highly to be valued as your affection is to me, it might walk with yours arm in arm, and claim your love by just desert; but there can be no comparison where our states are so uneven, and our means to demonstrate our affections so different, inasmuch as for mine own I must leave it to be prized in the nature that it is, and you shall evermore find it most addicted to your worth. As touching the subject of your Book, you have set afoot so many noble speculations, as I cannot chuse but wonder, and I shall wonder at it ever, that your expence of time considered in your publique profession, which hath in a manner no acquaintance with Scholarship or Learning, you should have culled forth the quintessence, and sucked up the sap of the chiefeft kind of Learning. For howsoever in some points you do vary altogether from that which is and hath been ever the received doctrine of our Schools and

and was always by the wisest (as still they have been deemed) of all Nations & Ages adjudged the truest, and yet it is apparent that in those very points, in all your propofals and plots in that book, you shew your self a Master workman. For my self, I must confesse, and I speak it *Ingenue* that for the matter of learning I am not worthy to be reckoned in the number of smatterers; and yet because it may seem that being willing to communicate your Treatise with your friends, you are likewise willing to listen to whatsoever I or others can except against it: I must deliver unto you for my private opinion, that I am one of the crew that say there is, and we profess a greater holdfast of certainty in your Sciences, then you by your discourse will seem to acknowledge: For where at first you do object the ill success and errors of practitioners of Physick, you know as well they do proceed of the Patients unruliness: for not one of an hundred doth obey his Physitian in their own indisposition, for few are able in that kind to explicate themselves, or by reason their diseases are by nature incurable, which is incident, you know, to many sorts of maladies, or for some other hidden cause which cannot be discovered by course of conjecture; Howbeit I am full of this belief, that as Physick is ministred now-a-days by Physicians, it is much to be ascribed to their negligence or ignorance, or other touch of imperfection that they speed no better in their practise: for few are found of that profession so well instructed in their Art, as they might by the precepts which their Art doth afford, which though it be defective in regard of such perfection, yet for certain it doth flourish with admirable remedies, such as tract of time hath taught by experimentall effects, and are the open high-way to that knowledge that you recommend. As for Alchimie and Magick, some conclusions they have that are worthy the preserving: but all their skill is so accompanied with subtilties and guiles, as both the Crafts and the Crafts-masters are not onely despised, but named with derision. Whereupon to make good your principall assertion, methinks you should have drawn the most of your examples from that which is taught in the liberrall Sciences, not by picking out cases that happen very seldom, and may by all confession be subject to reproof, but by controlling the generals, and grounds, and eminent Positions and Aphorisms which the greatest Artists and Philosophers have from time to time defended: for it goeth for currant among all men of learning, that those kind of Arts which Clerks in times past did term *Quadrivials*, confirm their propositions by infallible demonstrations. And likewise in *Trivials*, such lessons and directions are delivered unto us, as will effect very neer, or as much altogether, as every faculty doth promise. Now in case we should concur to do as you advise, which is to renounce our common notions, and cancel



cell all our Theorems, Axioms, Rules and Tenents, and so to come babes *ad regnum natura*, as we are willed by Scriptures to come *ad regnum caelorum*. There is nothing more certain in my understanding, then that it would instantly bring us to Barbarism, and after many thousand years leave us more unprovided of Theoricall furniture, then we are at this present: For that were indeed to become *Tabula rasa*, when we shall leave no impresson of any former principles, but be driven to begin the world again, to travell by trials of actions and sense, (which are your proofs by particulars) what to place in *intellectu* for our generall conceptions, it being a Maxim of all mens approving, *In intellectu nihil esse quod non prius fuit in sensu*. And so in appearance it would befall us, that till *Plato's* year be come about, our insight in learning would be of less reckoning then now it is accounted. As for that which you inculcate of a knowledge more excellent then now is among us, which experience might produce if we would but essay to extract it out of Nature by particular probations, it is no more upon the matter, but to incite us unto that which without instigation by a naturall instinct men will practise of themselves: for it cannot in reason be otherwise thought, but that there are infinite in all parts of the world, (for we may not in this case confine our cogitations within the bounds of *Europe*) which embrace the course which you propose, with all diligence and care, that any ability can perform. For every man is born with an appetite of knowledge, wherewith he cannot be glutted, but still as in a drop-sie thirst after more. But yet why men should hearken to any such persuasions, as wholly to abolish those settled opinions, and generall Theories to which they have attained by their own and their Ancestors former experience, I see nothing yet alledged to induce me think it. Moreover, I may speake as I suppose with good probability, that if we should make a mentall survey what is like to be effected all the world over, those five or six inventions which you have selected, and imagined to be but of modern standing, would make but a slender shew among so many hundreds of all kinds of natures which are daily brought to light by the enforcement of wit or casuall events, and may be compared or partly preferred above those that you have named. But were it so here, that all were admitted that you can require for the augmentation of our knowledge, and that all our Theorems and generall Positions were utterly extinguished with a new substitution of others in their places, what hope may we have of any benefit of learning by this alteration? Assuredly as soon as the new are brought *ad a'um* by the Inventors and their followers by an interchangeable course of naturall things, they will fall by degrees in oblivion to be buried, and so in continuance to perish outright,

outright; and that perchance upon the like to your present pretences by propofall of some means to advance all our knowledge to an higher pitch of perfectness; for still the same defects that antiquity found, will reside in mankind, and therefore other issues of their actions, devices and studies, are not to be expected then is apparent by Records were in former time observed. I remember here a note which *Paterculus* made of the incomparable wits of the *Grecians* and *Romans* in their flourishing state, that there might be this reason of their notable downfall in their issue that came after, because by nature, *Quod summo studio petum est ascendit in summum, difficilisque imperfecto mora est*: in somuch that men perceiving that they could not go further, being come to the stop, they turned back again of their own accord, forsaking those studies that are most in request, & betaking themselves to new endeavours, as if the thing they sought had been by prevention fore-prized by others. So it fared in particular with the eloquence of that age, that when their successors found that hardly they could equall, by no means excell their predecessors, they began to neglect the study thereof, and speak for many hundred years in a rustical manner, till this later revolution brought the wheel about again by inflaming gallant spirits to give the onset a-fresh, with straining and striving to climb unto the top and height of perfection, not in that gift alone, but in every other skill in any part of learning. For I do not hold it any erroneous conceit to think of every science, that as now they they are professed, so they have been before in all precedent ages, though not alike in all places, nor at all times alike in one and the same; but according to the changes and turning of times with a more exact and plain, or with a more rude and obscure kind of teaching.

And if the question should be asked what proof I have of it, I have the doctrine of *Aristotle*, and of the deepest learned Clerks of whom we have any means to take any notice, That as there is of other things, so there is of Sciences: *ortus & interitus*: which is also the meaning (if I should expound it) of *nihil novum sub sole*, and is as well to be applied *ad facta* as *ad dicta*; *ut nihil neque dictum neque factum, quod non est dictum aut factum prius*. I have further for my warrant that famous complaint of *Solomon* to his son against the infinite making of books in his time, of which in all congruity great part were of observations and instructions in all kind of literature, and of those there is not now so much as one Pamphlet (only some parcels of the Bible excepted) remaining to posterity. As then there was not in like manner to be found any footing of millions of Authors that were long before *Solomon*, and yet we must give credit to that which he affirmed; that whatsoever was

was then or before, it could never be truly pronounced of it, Behold this is new. Whereupon I must for my final conclusion infer, Seeing all the endeavours, study and knowledge of mankind in whatsoever art or science have ever been the same as they are at this present, though full of mutabilities according to the changes and accidental occasions of ages, and Countries and Clerks dispositions, which can never but be subject to intention and remission both in their devices and in their practises of their knowledge. If now we should accord in opinion with you, First to condemn our present knowledge of doubt and incertitude (which you confer but by averment) without other force of argument, and then to disclaim all our Axioms and Maxims, and general assertions that are left by tradition from our Elders to us, which (for so it is to be pretended) have passed all probations of the sharpest wits that ever were *Abecedarii*, by the frequent spelling of particulars to come to the notice of new generals, and so afresh to create new principles of Sciences, the end of all would be, that when we should be dispossessed of the learning which we have, all our consequent travel will but help us in a circle to conduct us to the place from whence we set forwards, and bring us to the happiness to be restored *in integrum*, which will require as many ages as have marched before us to be perfectly achieved. And this I write with no dislike of increasing our knowledge with new-found devices (which is undoubtedly a practice of high commendation) in regard of the benefit they will yield for the present, that the world hath ever been, and will assuredly continue very full of such Devisers, whose industry that way hath been very obstinate and eminent, and hath produced strange effects above the reach and the hope of mens common capacities; and yet our Notions and Theorems have always kept in grace both with them and with the rarest that ever were named among the learned.

By this you see to what boldness to I am brought by your kindness, That (if I seem to be too sawcy in this contradiction) it is the opinion that I hold of your noble disposition, and of the freedom in these cases that you will afford your special friend, that hath induced me to do it. And although I my self, like a Carriers horse, cannot bawke the beaten way in which I have been trained; yet since it is my censure of your *Cogitata* that I must tell you, to be plain, you have very much wronged your self and the world, to smother such a treasure so long in your coffer: For though I stand well assured (for the tenor and subject of your main discourse) you are not able to impanel a Jury in any University that will give up a verdict to acquit you of error, yet it cannot be gainsaid that all your Treatise over doth abound with choice  
con-



concept of the present state of learning, and with so worthy contemplations of the means to procure it, as may perswade with any Student to look more narrowly to his business, not only by aspiring to the greatest perfection of that which is now adays divulged in the Sciences, but by diving yet deeper as it were into the bowels and secrets of nature, and by inforcing of the powers of his judgment and wit to learn of St. Paul, *Confestari meliora dona*: which course would to God (to whisper so much into your ear) you had followed at the first when you fell to the study of such a study as was not worthy such a Student. Nevertheless being so as it is, that you are therein settled, and your Country soundly served, I cannot but wish with all my heart, as I do very often, that you may gain a fit reward to the full of your deserts. Which I hope will come with heaps of happiness and honour.

From *Fulham*, Feb. 19. 1607.

*Yours to be used and commanded,*

THO. BODELEY.

Sir, one kind of boldness doth draw on another, insomuch as methinks I should offend to signifie, that before the transcript of your book be fitted for the Press, it will be requisite for you to cast a Censors eye upon the stile and the elocution; which in the framing of some periods, and in divers words and phrases, will hardly go for current, if the Copie brought to me be just the same that you would publish.

THO. BODELEY.

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*Mr. George Brook to a Lady in Court.*

*Madam,*

**T**He message which you sent me of her Majesties gracious purpose altered towards me, hath put me into that extasie, that I know not whereupon to rest my self, not having power to believe that which I am bound to know. Is it possible that you should be so weak in grace with her Majesty, as not to prevail in so small a matter for any man but of an intire reputation? or shall I believe that her Majesty, who suffers not the merit of her servants to be buried with them, should not hold  
me



me equivalent with any new *Melchisedech* without father or mother. I protest (Madam) I could not preface any ill success to my self, but onely out of the means of my ambition, and have held it therefore superfluous to claim any favour in vertue of supererogation, esteeming it too great a derogation from my self for so poor a thing as a Spittle-house to raise the dead to speak for me, or challenge any thing more then my own. But it is neither the strangeness of the matter, nor the hardness of my belief that can alter the decree of a Prince. But I must take it in good payment, that is no less then for as great a disgrace as can outwardly befall me; yet must I ever hold my self beholding to this suit: for though I lose the Hospital, yet have I lost many errors; withall I have weighed my friends in a balance, and taken a just measure of my fortune. I must not despair, it is not impossible for a man well taught to make a retreat into himself, neither will I yet despair of my suit, onely for this reason, that this change cannot proceed of her Majesties proper motion, but must be procured by some blind practise that dares not see the light, though it may be my fortune to bring it forth blushing; howsoever it be, it shall never distemper my dutifull affection towards her Majesty, though that be for ever barred from her knowledge: for they who are able to prevent her goodness, will be ever likely to prevent my service. That the place is already meant to a Divine, cannot be true, nor my impediment: For there is no kind of her Majesties servants and subjects so provided for, there being such store of places that fall daily both better then this in value, and more proper for their function. Your Ladiship hath been hitherto an honorable and faithfull intercessor for me; Good Madam, be not weary to continue so still, as I shall do ever to acknowledge it, and if I be able, in part to deserve it.

G. B.

*To his Wife.*

Let me intreat you to read my Letter once again, and if you can find no cause of quarrell, do but then think what you have done all this time to send me such a Cartoll; you cannot be more void of fault then I of suspition, and what you speak I cannot understand. But doth my imprisonment abridge me that I cannot give you counsell? Or have you resolved to follow the counsell of the Lady you know? Know then, as my ill fortune cannot deject me, so ought it much less to make you brave and

and insolent. You have your choyce of two courses, let me know which you will take, that I trust not to a broken Reed. And yet what need I care, seeing that you who were my chief care, do now begin to sever your self: I will not yet condemn you, you may see how unapt I am to entertain ill thoughts. I will yet both hold and write my self

*Your loving Husband,*

G. BROOKS.

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*King James to the Major and Aldermen of London after  
he was proclaimed, March 28. 1605.*

*To our trusty and wel-beloved Robert Loe, Lord Major of our City of London, and to our welbeloved the Aldermen and Commons of the same.*

**T**RUSTY and welbeloved, we greet you heartily well. Being informed of your great forwardness in that just and honorable action of proclaiming us your sovereign Lord and King, immediately after the decease of our late deceased Sister the Queen; wherein you have given a singular good proof of your ancient fidelity, a reputation hereditary to that our Citie of London, being the Chamber of our Imperiall Crown, and ever free from all shades of tumultuous and unlawfull courses; We could not omit with all possible speed we might, to give you hereby a Test of our thankfull mind for the same; and withall assurance that you cannot crave any thing of us fit for the maintenance of you all in generall, and every one of you in particular, but it shall be most willingly performed by us, whose speciall care shall ever be to provide for the continuance and increase of your present happinels, desiring you in the mean time to go constantly forward in doing all and whatsoever things you shall find necessary or expedient for the good government of our said City, in execution of justice, as you have been used to do in our said dearest Sisters time, till our pleasure be known to you in the contrary. Thus not doubting but you will do, as you may be fully assured of our gracious favour towards you in the highest degree, we bid you heartily farewell.

*Hallyrud-House March 28. 1603.*

JAMES R.

*The Roman Catholiques Petition to King James  
for Toleration.*

**M**OST puissant Prince, and orient Monarch ! Such are the rare perfections and admirable gifts of wisdom, prudence, valour, and justice, wherewith the bountifull hand of Gods divine Majesty hath endued your Majesty, as in the depth of your provident judgment we doubt not but you foresee what concerneth both the spiritual and temporal Government of all your Kingdoms and Dominions. Notwithstanding your Graces most afflicted Subjects and devoted Servants the Catholiques of *England*, partly to prevent sinister informations which haply may possels your sacred ears before our answer be heard, partly as men almost overwhelmed with persecutions for our consciences, we are inforced to have speedy recourse in hope of present redress from your Highness, and to present these humble lines unto your Royal person to plead for us some commiseration and favour. Alas, what allegiance or duty can any Temporal Prince desire or expect at his Vassals hands, which we are not addressed to perform ? How many Noblemen and worthy Gentlemen, most zealous in the Catholique Religion, have endured, some loss of lands and livings, some exile, others imprisonment, some the effusion of blood and life, for the advancement of your blessed Mothers right unto the Scepter of *Albion* ? Nay, whose finger did ever ake but Catholiques, for your Majesties present title and dominions ? How many fled to your Court, offering themselves as hostages for their friends to live and die in your gracious quarrel, if ever adversary had opposed himself against the equity of your cause ? If this they attempted with their Princes disgrace to obtain your Majesties grace, what will they do, nay what will they not do to live without disgrace in your Graces favor ? The main of this Realm, if we respect Religion, setting petty Sects aside, consists of four parts : Protestants, who have domineered all the Queens dayes ; Puritans, who have crept up apace amongst them ; Atheists or Politicians, who were bred upon their brawls and contentions in matters of faith ; and Catholiques, who as they are opposite to all, so are they detested of all, because error was ever an enemy to truth. Hardly all, or any two of the first three can be suppressed : Therefore we beseech your Majesty to yield us as much favour, as others of contrary Religion to that which shall be publicly professed in *England* shall obtain at your hands : For if our fault be like less, or none at all,

all, in equity our punishment ought to be like less, or none at all. The Gates, Arches, and Pyramids of *France* proclaimed the present King *Pater patriæ & Pacis restitutor*, that is, the Father of his Country, and Restorer of their peace; because that Kingdom being well neer torn in peeces with Civil wars, and made a prey to foraign foes, was by his providence, wisdom and valour acquitted in it self, and hostile strangers expelled: the which he principally effected by condescending to tolerate them of an adverse Religion to that which was openly professed. Questionless, Dread Sovereign, the Kingdom of *England* through the cruel persecution of *Catholiques*, hath been almost odious to all Christian Nations: Trade and traffique is exceedingly decayed, Wars and blood hath seldom ceased, Subsidies and Taxes never so many, discontented minds innumerable. All which your Princely Majesties connivance to your humble suppliants the afflicted *Catholiques*, will easily redress, especially at this your Highness first ingress. *Si loquaris ad nos verba levita, erunt tibi servi cunctis diebus* (1 King 12..7.) that is, if you speak comfortable things unto them, or if you hearken unto them in this thing, they will be servants unto you, or they will serve all their days,] say the sage Councillors of *Solomon* to *Roboam*. For, enlargement after affliction resemblenth a pleasant gale after a vehement tempest; and a benefit in distress, doubleth the value thereof. How gratefull will it be to all *Catholique* Princes abroad, and honorable to your Majesty, to understand how Queen *Elizabeths* severity is changed into your Royal clemencie; and that the lenity of a man reedified what the misinformed anger of a woman destroyed; that the *Lyon* rampant is passant, whereas the passant had been rampant. How acceptable shall your Subjects be to all *Catholique* Countries, who are now almost abhorred of all, when they shall perceive your Highness prepareth not pikes or prisons for the Professors of their Faith, but permitteth them Temples and Altars for the use of their Religion. Then we shall see with our eyes, and touch with our fingers that happy benediction of *Isa.* 14.7. in this Land, that swords are turned into mattocks or ploughs, and lances into sithes; and all Nations admiring us will say, *Hi sunt semen cui benedixit Dominus*, that is, these are the seed which the Lord hath blessed.

We request no more favour at your Graces hands, then that we may securely believe and profess that *Catholique* Religion which all your happy Predecessors professed, from *Donaldus* the first converted, unto your late blessed Mother martyred; a Religion venerable for antiquity, majestical for amplitude, constant for continuance, irreprehensible for doctrine, inducing to all kind of vertue and piety, disswading from all sin and wickedness; a religion beloved by all primitive



Pastors, established by all Oecumenicall Councils, upholden by ancient Doctors, maintained by the first and best Christian Emperours, recorded almost alone in all Ecclesiasticall Histories, sealed with the blood of millions of Martyrs, adorned with the vertues of so many Confessors, beautified with the purity of thousands of virgins, so conformable unto naturall sense and reason; and finally, so agreeable with the sacred Texts of Gods Word and Gospel: The free use of this Religion we request, if not in publick Churches, at the least in private houses; if not with approbation, yet with toleration without molestation. Assuring your Grace, that howsoever some Protestants or Puritans incited by morall honesty of life, or innated instinct of nature, or for fear of some temporall punishment, pretend obedience unto your Highness Laws; yet certainly the onely Catholiques for conscience sake observe them: For they defending that Princes Precepts and Statutes oblige no subject under the penalty of sin, will have little care in conscience to transgress them, which principally are tormented with the guilt of sin. But Catholiques professing merit in obeying, and immerit in transgressing, cannot but in Soul be grievously tortured for the least prevarication thereof: Wherefore, most mercifull Sovereign, we your loving afflicted subjects, in all dutifull subjection, protest before the Majesty of God, and all his holy Angels, as loyal obedience, and immaculate allegiance unto your Grace, as ever did faithfull subjects in *England* or *Scotland* unto your Highness Progenitors, and intend as sincerely with our goods and lives to serve you, as ever did the loyallest Israelites King *David*, or the trustiest Legions the Roman Emperours. And thus expecting your Majesties customary favour and gracious bounty, we rest your devoted suppliants to him whose hands do manage the hearts of Kings, and with reciprocate mercy will requite the mercifull.

*Your Majesties most devoted servants  
the Catholiques of England.*

Sir

## Sir Walter Raleigh to King James before his triall.

**I**T is one part of the Office of a just and worthy Prince, to hear the complaints of his vassals; especially such as are in great misery. I know not amongst many other presumptions gathered against me, how your Majesty hath been perswaded, that I was one of them who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyall. But the great God so relieve me in both worlds as I was the contrary, and I took as great comfort to behold your Majesty, and always learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by hearing your Majesties discourse. I do most humbly beseech your Sovereign Majesty not to believe any of those in my particular, who under pretence of offences to Kings, do easily work their particular revenge. I trust no man under the colour of making examples, should perswade your Majesty to leave the word *Mercifull* out of your Stile; for it wil be no less profit to your Majesty, & become your greatness, then the word *Invincible*. It is true, that the Laws of *England* are no less jealous of the Kings then *Cæsar* was of *Pompey's* wife: for notwithstanding she was cleared for having company with *Claudius*, yet for being suspected, he condemned her. For my self, I protest before Almighty God, and I speak it to my Master and Sovereign, that I never invented treason against him; and yet I know I shall fall *in manibus eorum a quibus non possum evadere*, unless by your Majesties gracious compassion I be sustained. Our Law therefore (most mercifull Prince) knowing her own cruelty, and knowing that she is wont to compound treason out of presumptions and circumstances, doth give this charitable advice to the King her Supream, *Non solum sapiens esse sed & misericors, &c. cum tutius sit reddere rationem misericordie quam judicii*. I do therefore on the knees of my heart beseech your Majesty from your own sweet and comfortable disposition, to remember that I have served your Majesty twenty years, for which your Majesty hath yet given me no reward; and it is fitter I should be indebted unto my Sovereign Lord, then the King to his poor Vassal; Save me therefore, most mercifull Prince, that I may ow your Majesty my life it self, then which there cannot be a greater debt. Limit me at least, my Sovereign Lord, that I may pay it for your service when your Majesty shall please. If the Law destroy me, your Majesty shall put me out of your power, and I shall have none to fear but the King of Kings.

WALTER RALEIGH.

*Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Car, after Earl  
of Somerset.*

S I R,

**A**fter many losses, and many years sorrows, of both which I have cause to fear I was mistaken in their ends : It is come to my knowledge, that your self ( whom I know not but by an honorable favour ) hath been perfwaded to give me and mine my last fatal blow , by obtaining from his Majesty the Inheritance of my Children and Nephews, lost in Law for want of a word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the name of life : His Majesty, whom I never offended, ( for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate goodness ) staid me at the graves brink ; not that I thought his Majesty thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold mine cast out of the world with my self, but as a King that knoweth the poor in truth , hath received a promise from God that his Throne shall be established.

And for you, Sir, seeing your fair day is but in the dawn, mine drawn to the setting ; your own vertues and the Kings grace assuring you of many fortunes and much honour : I beseech you begin not your first building upon the ruines of the innocent, and let not mine and their sorrows attend your first plantation. I have ever been bound to your Nation as well for many other graces, as for the true report of my trial to the Kings Majesty ; against whom had I been malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion, and the minds of the greatest number then present into the commiseration of mine estate. It is not the nature of foul Treason to beget such fair passions ; neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithfull Subjects ( especially of your Nation ) to bewail his overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal Lord. I therefore trust that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless : which, if it please you to know the truth, is far less in value then in fame. But that so worthy a Gentleman as your self will rather bind us to you ( being sixe Gentlemen not base in birth and alliance ) which have interest therein : And my self with my uttermost thankfulness will remain ready to obey your commandments.

WALTER RALEIGH

*Sir*

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*Sir Thomas Egerton Chancellor, after Lord Ellesmere,  
to the Earl of Essex.*

*S I R,*

**H**OW things proceed here touching your self, you shall partly understand by these inclosed. Her Majesty is gracious towards you, and you want not friends to remember and commend your former services. Of these particulars you shall know more when we meet. In the mean time by way of caution take this from me : There are sharp eyes upon you, your actions publique and private are observed : It behoveth you therefore to carry your self with all integrity and sincerity both of hands and heart, lest you overthrow your own fortunes, and discredit your friends that are tender and carefull of your reputation and well-doing. So in haste I commit you to God, with my very hearty commendations, and rest

*Your assured loving Friend,*

*At the Court at Richmond,  
21 Octob. 1599.*

THO. EGERTON, C. S.

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*Lord Chancellor Ellesmere to King James.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

**I** Find through my great age, accompanied with griefs and infirmities, my sense and conceipt is become dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and speech failing and faltering, and in all the powers & faculties of my mind & body great debility. Wherefore, *conscientia imbecilitatis*, my humble suit to your most sacred Majesty is, to be discharged of this great Place wherein I have long served, and to have some comfortable Testimony under your Royal hand, that I leave it at this humble suit with your gracious favour. So shall I with comfort number and spend the few dayes I have to live, in meditation, and prayers to Almighty God, to preserve your Majesty and all yours in all heavenly and earthly felicity and happines.

This



This suit I intended some years past, *ex dictamine rationis & conscientie* : Love and fear stayed it ; now Necessity constrains me to it, I am utterly unable to sustain the burthen of this great service ; for I am come to *St. Pauls* desire, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo*. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Majesty most favourably to grant it.

Your Majesties most humble and loyal  
poor Subject and Servant,

THO. ELLESMERE *Canc.*

*Again to the same King.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

**Y**Our royal favour hath placed and continued me many years in the highest place of ordinary Justice in this your Kingdom, and hath most graciously borne with my many, but unwilling errors and defects, accepting in stead of sufficiencie, my zeal and fidelity, which never failed. This doth encourage and stir in me an earnest desire to serve still. But when I remember *St. Pauls* rule, *Let him that hath an office wait on his office*, and do consider withall my great age and many infirmities, I am dejected and do utterly faint : For I see and feel sensibly, that I am not able to perform those duties as I ought, and the place requires ; and thereupon I do seriously examine my self what excuse or answer I shall make to the King of Kings, and Judge of all Judges, when he shall call me to accompt ; and then my conscience shall accuse me, that I have presumed so long to undergo and weild so mighty and great a charge and burthen: and I behold a great Cloud of witnesses ready to give evidence against me.

1. Reason telleth me, and by experience I find, *Senectus est tarda & obliuiosa, & insanabilis morbus*.

2. I heard the precepts and counsel of many reverend, sage, and learned men, *Senectuti debetur otium, solve senectutem mature, &c.*

3. I read in former Laws, that old men were made *temerarii & rude donati* : And one severe Law that saith, *Sexagenarius de ponte*, whereupon they are called *Deportanei*. And *Plato lib. 6. de legibus*, speaking of a great Magistrate which was *Prefectus legibus servandis*, determineth

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neth thus, *Minor annis 50 non admittatur; nec major annis 70 permittatur in eo perseverare.* And to this Law, respecting both mine office and my years, I cannot but yeeld. But leaving foreign Laws, the Stat. anno 13. E. 1. speaketh plainly, *Homines excedentes aetatem 70 annorum non ponantur in Assissis & Juratis.* So as it appeareth that men of that age are by that Law discharged of greater painfull and carefull, especially Judiciall Offices.

4. Besides, I find many examples of men of great wisdom, knowledge and judgment, meet and worthy to be followed; of which (leaving all other) I will remember that of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*, who after long service, was upon his humble suit discharged of the office of Chancellor of *England* in respect of his great age. Seeing then such a cloud of witnessses against me, which in my private Soliloquies and Meditations, are daily and continually represented to my view, and mine own conscience (more then a thousand witnessses) concurring with me; Pardon me, my most gracious Sovereign, to conclude with good *Barzillai*, *Quot sunt dies annorum vita mea, quare servus tuus sit oneri domino nostro Regi, obsecro ut revertar servus tuus & moriar, &c.* So I most humbly beseech your sacred Majesty, graciously to regard the great age, infirmity, and impotency of your most devoted, obedient, loyall and faithfull servant. Let me not be as *Domitius* after was, *Maluit deficere quam desinere.* But with your Princely favour give me leave to retire myself from the careful service of this great office, and from the troubles of this world, and to spend the small remnant of this my life in meditation and prayer, & I will never cease to make my humble supplications to Almighty God to bleſs & prosper your Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, all your Royal issue, with all heavenly and earthly felicity, which is the last and best service your poor, aged, weak and decayed servant can do for you.

THO. ELLESMERE *Canc.*

Sir Francis Norris to King James.

Most gracious Sovereign,

THE advantage which mine adversary hath taken, in first presenting his complaint freely and uncontrolled, would have afflicted me greatly, had I not known that your Majesty hath given to your Judges  
N injunction,

Injunction, *Audite alteram partem*. That I entered into discourse with the Lord *Willoughby* in Church or Church-yard, may make it manifest, that I had no disposition at all to quarrell. The rest of the world is wide enough for men so affected. They that prophane such places, trust more to the place the ntheir own worth. That I was improvidently in such a place by him surprized, musted in my own Cloak, and treacherously buffeted, shewed that I suspected no such assault as was there made upon me, and where I was so disgracefully and ignobly assaulted by the Lord *Willoughby*, and he in no sort by me. yet wel I hope to satisfise every indifferent judgement, much more the supream Judge, that I had nothing in my intention either towards the Master or the Man. It is true most gracious Sovereign, that after the Lord *Willoughby's* dishonorable indignity by me expelled, I seeing an unknown face coming fiercely with his sword upon me for my life, (in defence whereof God himself, the law of Nature and Nations doth warrant us to contend) I was forced to have forgone it at a Ruffins command, or by resisting to yeild it up to your Majesty, to whom I have vowed it (whensoever you shall command it) to your service. This I presume to write to a King in whom rests the spirit of honor; and by that spirit I hope your Majesty will judge, that he which will run from his own defence, being injuriously assaulted, will also run from the defence of his Sovereign Master. I also presume in all humility to address my self to a Prince indued with the spirit of Justice, joyned to the divine vertue of compassion; by both which I nothing doubt your Majesty will judge when you shall be truly informed, of the preceding and succeeding wrongs offered me, that I am and will be

*Your Majesties most humble  
and loyall subject,*

FR. NORRIS.

### *A Patent for the Admiralty of Ireland.*

**R**ight trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, We greet you well. Whereas we are graciously pleased, as well for the increase of our Navy and Navigators, as also for the better enabling and enriching of

of our subjects in our Realm of *Scotland*, to give way and licence unto our loving subjects of *Scotland*, and so many of them as may make a full, able, and compleat company for Traffick and Merchandizing into the East Indies, to erect and set up among themselves a Company, to be called *The East Indian Company of Scotland*, making their first Magazin Storehouse for the said Company in some parts of our Realm of *Ireland*. But for that our Ports and Seas upon the Coasts of our said Realm of *Ireland*, have of late, and still are likely, without our speciall aid and assistance, to be much troubled and annoyed with Pirats, and other Sea-Robbers, to the great discouragement of our loving Subjects and Merchants passing that way: We, for the avoyding of those inconveniences, and for the better heartning of the said Company in their intended voyage and traffick, have, for reasons to us best known, resolved (notwithstanding any other employments of our Ships there) by our Letters Patents under our great Seal of *England*, and at the humble request and Petition of our loving Subjects of the said Company, to nominate and appoint *A. B.* our trusty servant, to be employed in those Seas and Coasts of *Ireland*, as fully and amply as our servant *Sir F. H.* is now for our narrow Seas. And to the end he may with more courage and less prejudice to our said servant *Sir F. H.* by his diligence and industry in the said employment free those Seas from the said annoyances, our pleasure is, That you by your Deed Poll do give unto our said Servant such and the like power and authority for the *Irish* Seas and Chanell of *St. George*, as the said *Sir F. H.* hath for the Narrow Seas: So always as the power and authority of the said *A. B.* may begin where the power and authority of the said *Sir F. H.* doth end, that is to say, from our Island of *Scilie* in our Realm of *England*, unto and alongst the Coast of *Ireland*, and the Chanell of *St. George*. So not doubting of your speedy effecting of what is here required for the furtherance of so good a work, We bid you heartily farewell.

*From our Court at, &c.*



*A Commission to divers Lords, &c. for the delivery of  
Uluſhing, Brill, &c. May 14. Jac. 14.*

**I** AMES by the grace of God King of England, &c. To the right Reverend Father in God, our right truſty and welbeloved Councellor *George* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to our right truſty and welbeloved Councellor *Tho. Elleſmere* Lord Chancellor of *England*, and to our right truſty and welbeloved Couſins and Councellors *Tho. Earl of Suffolk* Lord Treafurer of *England*, *Edward* Earl of *Worceſter* Lord Keeper of our Privy-Seal, *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox* Lord Steward of our houſhold, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral of *England*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Chamberlain of our houſhold, *Tho. Earl of Exeter*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Dumfermlin*; and to our right truſty and right welbeloved Councellors, *Tho. Viſcount Fenton*, *Tho. Biſhop of Winton*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch* Lord Warden of our Cinque-Ports, *William* Lord *Knowls* Treafurer of our houſhold, *John* Lord *Stanhop*, and *Tho. Lord Bannings*; and to our right truſty and welbeloved Councellors, Sir *John Digby* Knight our Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *John Herbert* Knight one of our principal Secretaries of State, Sir *Fulk Grevil* Knight Chancellor and Under-Treafurer of our Exchequer, Sir *Tho. Parry* Knight Chancellor of our Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, Sir *Edward Coke* Knight Chief Juſtice of our Bench, and Sir *Julius Ceſar* Knight Maſter of our Rolls, greeting.

Whereas the States-Generall of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries have divers times ſollicited us by their reſident Ambaſſador Sir *Noel Caron* Knight, that we would be pleaſed to render into their hands the Towns of *Fluſhing* in *Zeland*, with the Caſtle of *Ramakins*, and of *Bril* in *Holland*, with the Forts and ſconces thereunto belonging, which we hold by way of caution, untill ſuch ſums of money as they owe unto us be reimbursed, upon ſuch reaſonable conditions as ſhould be agreed on between us and them for the reimbursing and repayments of the ſaid monies: And whereas we have recommended the conſideration of this ſo mighty and important an affair to the judgment and diſcretion of you the Lords of our Privy-Council, and have received from you after long and mature deliberation and examination of the circumſtances an advice, That as the preſent condition of our State now ſtandeth, and as the nature of thoſe Towns is meer cautionary, wherein we can chal-  
lenge

lenge no interest of propriety ; it would be much better for our service, upon fair and advantageous conditions to render them, then longer to hold them at so heavy a charge. Now forasmuch as in our Princely wisdom we have resolved to yield up our said Towns, with the said Castle and Sconces belonging unto them, upon such conditions as shall be most for our advantage as well in point of honour as of profit, Know ye therefore that we have assigned and appointed you the said Archbishop, L. Treasurer, L. Privy-Seal, L. Steward, L. Admiral, L. Chamberlain, E. of *Exeter*, E. of *Mar*, E. of *Dunfermlin*, Vicount *Fintons*, L. Bishop of *Winton*, L. *Zouch*, L. *Knowls*, L. *Stanhop*, L. *Banning*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *John Herbert*, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Sir *Tho. Lake*, Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Sir *Tho. Parry*, Sir *Edm. Coke*, Sir *Julius Cesar*, our Commissioners, and do by these presents give full power & authority unto you or the more part of you for us and in our name to treat and conclude with the said Sir *Noel Caron* Knight Ambassador from the States of the United Provinces, being likewise for that purpose sufficiently authorized from the said States his superiours, touching the rendition and yielding up of the said Town of *Flushing*, with the Castle of *Ramakers* in *Zeland*, and of the Town of *Bril* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereto belonging, and of the Artillery and Munition formerly delivered by the States, with the same which are now remaining in them or any of them, and have not been spent and consumed. And for the delivery of them into the hands of the said States on such terms as by you shall be thought fit for our most honour and profit ; and for the manner thereof to give instructions to our said several Governours of the said Garrisons, according to such your conclusion. And this our Commission or the enrollment or exemplification thereof shall be unto you and every of you a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness &c. Witness our self at *Westminster*, the 31 day of *May*, in the 14 year of our Reign, &c. and of *Scotland* the 49.

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*A Commission to Viscount Lisle Governour, to deliver them up, 22 May, 14. Jac.*

**I**AMES by the grace of God, &c. To our right trusty and welbeloved Cozen, *Robert Lord Viscount Lisle*, Lord Chamberlain to our dear Consort the Queen, and our Governour of our Town of *Vlushing*, and of the Castle of *Ramakers*, greeting. Whereas we  
by

by Our Letters Patents sealed with Our great Seal of *England*, bearing date at *Westminster* the 22. day of *April*, in the fifth year of Our reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland* of *Scotland* the 36. for the consideration therein expressed, did make, ordain, and constitute you the said Viscount *Lisse*, by the name of Sir *Robert Sydney* Knight, for Us to be the Governour and Captain of the said Town of *Flushing*, and of the Castle of *Ramakers* in the *Low-Countries*, and of all the Garrisons and Souldiers that then were, or hereafter should be there placed for Our service and guard of the said Town and Castle, to have, hold, exercise and occupy the Office of the said Governor and Captain of the said Town and Castle by your self, or your sufficient Deputie or Deputies, to be allowed by Us during Our pleasure; giving unto you full power and authority by your said Letters Patents, to take the Oath and Oaths of all Captains & Souldiers then serving, or that hereafter should serve in the same Town and Castle, as in like causes was requisite, with divers other powers therein mentioned, as by Our said Letters Patents at large appeareth. And whereas the States generall of the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, have divers and sundry times for many years together solicited Us by their Resident Ambassador Sir *Noel Caren* Knight, that We would be pleased to render into their hands the said Town of *Flushing* in *Zealand*, with the said Castle of *Ramakers*, and the Town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts & Sconces thereunto belonging, which We hold by way of Caution until such sum of money as they owe unto Us, be reimbursed upon such reasonable conditions as should be agreed upon between Us & them for the reimbursing and repayment of the said monies. And whereas thereupon We recommended the consideration of this so weighty and important an affair to the judgement and discretion of the Lords of the Privy Councell, and have received from them (after long and mature deliberation and examination of Circumstances) an advice, that as the present condition of Our State now standeth, and as the nature of those towns is lying onely Cautionary, wherein we can challenge no interest of propriety, it should be much better for our service upon fair and advantagious conditions to render them, then longer to hold them at so heavy a charge. Now forasmuch as in Our Princely Wisdom We have resolved to yeild up Our said Towns with the said Castle, and Sconces belonging unto them, upon such conditions as shall be most fit for Our advantage, as well in point of honor as of profit: And to that end by Our Commission under Our great Seal of *England*, have assigned and appointed the Lords and others of Our Privy Councell Our Commissioners, and thereby give full power and authority unto them, or the more part of them for Us, and in Our name to treat and conclude with

with the said Sir *Noell Caron* Knight, Ambassador from the States of the United Provinces, being likewise for that purpose sufficiently authorized from the said States his superiors, touching the rendition and yielding up of the said Town of *Vlushing*, with the Castle of *Ramakers* in *Zealand*, and of the said town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereunto belonging, and of the Artillery or Munition formerly delivered by the said States, with the same Towns, and Castles, and Forts, and which are now remaining in them, or any of them, and have not been spent or consumed. And for the delivery of the said Towns, Castle, Forts, Artillery, and Munition into the hands of the said States, upon such terms as by the said Lords, and other of our Privy Council, or the more part of them, shall be thought fit for our most honor and profit, and for the manner thereof to give instructions to our several Governors of our said Garrisons according to such their conclusion, which conclusion according to our said Commission is already made and perfected.

We do therefore hereby give power and authority unto, and do charge and command you the said Lord *Lisle* for us and in our name to render and yield up into the hands of the said States of the United Provinces, or to such persons as shall be lawfully deputed by them, the aforesaid Town of *Vlushing*, and Castle of *Ramakers*, whereof now you have charge by vertue of our Letters-Patents aforesaid, together with the Artillery and Munition now remaining in them or any of them, heretofore delivered by the said States with the said Town and Castle, and as yet not spent or consumed; observing and performing in all points such instructions as you shall receive under the hands of the said Lords and others of our Privy-Council, or the more part of them, concerning the rendring up and delivery of the said Town. And we do further give you full power and authority, and by these presents do charge and command you, for us and in our name to discharge and set free all the subordinate Officers, Captains and souldiers under your charge, of that oath and trust which heretofore they have taken for the keeping and preserving of that Town and Castle to our use and service; and for that purpose to make such Declaration, Proclamation, and other signification of our Royal pleasure, commandment and ordinance in that behalf, as in your wisdom you shall think fit; and these our Letters-Patents, or the inrollment or exemplification thereof shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness, &c. Witness our self at *Westminster*, the 22 day of *May* in the 14 year of our reign of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the 49.



*Countess of Nottingham to the Danish Ambassador.*

SIR,

**I** Am very sorry this occasion should have been offered me by the King your Master, which makes me troublesom to you for the present. It is reported to me by men of honour, the great wrong the King of the *Danes* hath done me, when I was not by to answer for my self: For if I had been present, I would have letten him know how much I scorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not to urge the particular of it, for the King himself knows it best. I protest to you Sir, I did think as honorably of the King your Master, as I did of my own Prince; but now I perswade my self there is as much baseness in him as can be in any man: For although he be a Prince by birth, it seems not to me that there harbours any Princely thought in his breast; for either in Prince or Subject, it is the basest that can be to wrong any woman of honour: I deserve as little that name he gave me, as either the mother of himself or of his children; and if ever I come to know what man hath informed your Master so wrongfully of me, I should do my best for putting him from doing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the tongue of any woman, I dare say she would be glad to have companions. So leaving to trouble you any further, I rest, Your friend

M. NOTTINGHAM.

*Sir Charls Cornwallis Lieger in Spain, to the Spanish King, July 23. 1608.*

**Y** Our Majesty hath shewed the sincerity of your Royal heart in applying remedy to many inconveniences and injustice offered by your Ministers to the King my masters subjects in their goods and bodies, and therein have performed not only what belongeth to your Kingly dignity, but also what might be expected from a Prince so zealous of justice and of so good intention. It resteth that now I beseech you to cast your Royal eyes upon another extreme injustice offered not only to their bodies and goods, but to their very souls; who being by your Majesties

jesties agreement confirmed with your oath to live within these your Kingdoms free from molestation for matter of opinion and conscience, except in matters of scandal to others, are here laid hold on and imprisoned by your Majesties Officers of Inquisition continually upon every light occasion of private information of some particular persons of their own Country, who being fugitives out of their own houses, and having according to the nature of our people removed not only their bodies, but their hearts from the soil that bred them, and from their brethren that were nourished with them, do here seek to grace themselves by professing and teaching the observations of the Romish Church; and that not out of any zeal, but as plainly appeareth by many of their actions, out of malice and envy. By the Commissioners authorized by both your Majesties for the agreeing of the Peace, it was clearly discerned, that if upon private or particular informations his Majesties vassals here should be questioned for matter of Religion, it was not possible that they should exercise any commerce in these kingdoms, where they should be no one moment assured either of their goods or liberties. It was therefore provided that they should in no sort be impeached but in case of scandal; and that scandal, with your Majesties favour, must be understood to grow out of some publike action, not out of private opinion or single conscience; for if otherwise, very vain and inutile had been that provision. How the word *scandal* is in the most usual and common sense to be understood, is in no books more evident then in the Divine Scriptures themselves. Our Saviour, in regard of his publike teaching of the Gospel, and the abolishing of the Law-Ceremonial, was said to be to both houses of *Israel* a stone of scandal. The sin of *David*, if it had lain covered in his own heart, or been committed in private, should not have been either published or punished as a scandal to the enemies of God. *St. Paul* himself declareth, that his own eating of flesh offered to Idols could not be an offence, but only his eating before others of weak conscience whereby to give the scandal. Besides, I humbly beseech your Majesty consider how fitly that of the Apostle *Quis es qui judicas alienum servum*, may be applied to those Officers of the Inquisition attempting to lay hands on the subjects of another Prince your Majesties confederate, offering none offence to the Laws, or publike prejudice to their profession: yea, in divers parts of your Majesties dominions the subjects of my Master have suffered this restraint. The Inquisitor-Generall lately deceased, who in all his actions shewed himself a considerate Minister, and carefull in regard of your Majesties honour of the observing of what you have capitulated, upon my complaint never failed to give the remedy that in justice I required. He being now with God,

and one of my Sovereigns subjects having been long without cause detained by the Inquisitors in *Lisbon*, and another of good account, a man moderate and temperate in all his actions, lately apprehended by that Office in *Almonte*, and restrained in their prison at *Sivil*: I am commanded from his Majesty, and importuned by my Country-men, who all with one voice complain and protest that they dare not longer continue their commerce without present order for remedy of so extream and perillous an injustice, do beseech your Majesty that you will be pleased not only to give present order for the release of those that without scandal are known for the present in your prisons, but also that in time to come the true intention of that Article be observed, which is, That without known offence and scandal the King my Masters subjects be not molested. The accomplishment of this ( considering how much it imports your Majesty in honour, your Majesty and the Archduke having in that Article in no other sort then in all the rest covenanted by especial words, that your selves would provide that in no case but only in giving scandal to others, the subjects of my Sovereign should be troubled for their consciences ) I cannot but expect from so just and sincere a Prince: And therefore will not trouble your Majesty with more words; but offering my self in all things within my power to your Majesties service, I remain with a desire to be reckoned in the number of your Majesties humble and affectionate servants,

C. C.

*Iuly 23 filo novo, 1608.**Sir Charls Cornwallis to the Spanish King, Jan. 16. 1608.*

**T**He largeness and liberality of your Majesties Royall hand being such, that it hath made your Greatness and Munificence of so much note through most parts of this world; I assure my self it is far removed from the thoughts of your Princely heart to straiten in matter of Justice, that so naturally and necessarily belongeth to your Kingly Office: your Majesty hath been pleased to refer to the Constable, the Duke of *Infantasque*, and two of the Regents of your Councell of *Arragon*, the understanding and determining of the extream and barbarous usage, outrage and spoyl committed by ships set out in course under the commission, & at the charge of your Majesties Viceroy of *Sardinia*, and his son-in-law *Don Lewis de Calatana*, and others by their procurement; those Lords and others there authorized by that Commission,

very

very nobly and justly desiring that of the spoyl committed there might be made intire satisfaction, gave order divers months since; but your Majesties Viceroy adding to his former offence, contempt of your Majesties authority, hath not onely disobeyed in his own person, but contradicted and withstood in others the accomplishment of your commandements; it seemeth that God is pleased for the good of your Majesties Estate and Government to disvizard that man, and make apparent to the world how unfit he is to be trusted with your command of so great importance, whose covetous and ungodly condition is come to such height, as hath drawn him not onely to spoil unlawfully, and so barbarously to use the subjects of so great a King your confederate, and thereby to hazard a breach of the amity between your Majesties so necessary for both your Estates, and so utile to the whole Commonwealth of Christendom, but also to neglect and contemn the authority of your Majesty his own Sovereign, to whom, besides the obligation of his naturall allegiance, he is so infinitely bound for preferring and trusting him with a matter of so great consequence and dignity. By this paper inclosed your Majesty shall understand the manner of proceeding of the King my Master against such of his subjects as commit the like crimes and outrage against any of yours, and thereby conceive what my said Sovereign expecteth of your Majesty in this and the like, and what I am commanded in conformity thereof to require, which is, that there be no proceeding in so clear and plain a case, by way of processe or suit in Law, which in this kingdom as by experience is known, are immortall; but that according to the sixth Article of the Peace, and the most Christian and just example shewed by my Sovereign, who so punctually and conscionably in all things observeth with your Majesty, you will be pleased that there be not onely an intire and immediate satisfaction to the parties, but that as well your said Viceroy, and *Don Lewis* his son-in-law, as all others their aiders, partners, and receivers in that crime may be criminally proceeded against, and suffer such punishment as so enorm and unlawfull actions have justly deserved: The performance of this (considering with what patience the King my Master out of his love to your Majesty, notwithstanding the daily complaints and importunities of the parties, & the generall exclamation of other his subjects, who hold it rather agreeable with his honor and Kingly Office, not so long to permit unsatisfied or unpunished so intollerable an outrage, hath more then three whole years attended it) I cannot but expect from so just and pious a Prince without further delay or protraction of time. *Jan. 16. novo stilo. 1608.*



## Sir Charls Cornwallis to the Spanish King.

WEll knoweth your Majesty in your Royall wisdom, how necessary to Kings is the conservation of authority and respect to their Kingly dignities; as also that the greatest and most absolute precept of Justice, is to do to others what we would be done unto our selves: How religiously & punctually the King my master hath observed these unto your Majesty, hath appeared by many demonstrations, and not the least in the deniall he made to *Antonio de Perez* to abide in his Kingdom, or to have access to his person; onely out of a conceit he had, that he came with a mind determined to disauthorize your Majesty in his speeches, or to make offer of some practise against your estates in his overtures. Your Majesties own Royall and gratefull inclination I know to be such, as you are not without desire to pay my Sovereign with the like equivalent retribution: but with your Majesties pardon and favour, duty inforceth me plainly to tell you, that the Ministers of these your Kingdoms shew not the like affection; where not one, but many my of Sovereigns worst affected subjects are daily received, cherished and honored with entertainments in your service. Were that sort of people contented onely to abuse your Majesties Kingly munificence and Christian charity, and to deceive your Ministers with their falsified genealogies, and with putting the *Don* upon many whose fathers and Ancestors were so base and beggerly, as they never arrived to be owners of so much as convenient apparell to cover their nakedness, it were much more tolerable: but when having here tasted the warmth of your Majesties liberall and pious hand, they become furnished in such ample and abundant manner, as their poor and miserable ancestors durst never so much as dream of, like *Afrops* serpent they turn their venomous stings towards the bosoms that gave them heat and life, and endeavour with all the force and Art they have, to give cause of distaste, and by consequence of division between your Majesty and your faithfullest and most powerful Confederate, in uneven payment for your Majesties so great and gracious favour. With generalities for the present I will not deal, as he whose cares and desires have ever been to soften, and not to sharpen. Two *Irish* in your Court, the one a son, as by his own Countrey-men is generally reported, either to a vagabond Rimer, a generation of people in that Countrey of the worst account; or to give him his best title, of a poore Mechanicall Surgeon. The other descended rather of  
more

more base and beggerly parents; neglecting what by the Laws of God they ow to their own Sovereign, and as little regarding their obligation to your Majesty, who from the dust of the earth and miserable estate hath made them what they are, notwithstanding that they cannot be ignorant of the strait charge and commandements your Majesty hath given, that all due respect be had to the King my Master, and his Ministers and subjects; the first in irreverend and irrespective behaviour towards my self and some of mine; the other in obstinate defending his companions unmannerlinefs, delivering by way of direct asseveration, that I am an heretique, and such an one as to whom it is not lawfull under the pain of deadly sin, to use any courtesie or reverence whatsoever, have of late miscarried themselves, as I hold it not agreeable either with what I ow to the King I serve, or the honor I have to represent his person, to passe over with silence, but to present it instantly to your Majesty. The names of the parties are, *Magg Ogg*, a Solicitor (as here is said) for the fugitive Earle of *Tyrone*, condemned by the verdict of his own Contreymen, besides his delict of Treason, of thirteen several murders. The other names himselve *Condio Mauricio*, and is here (as I am informed) allowed for a — for his vagabonding Countreymen, hath put on the habit of a Priest, and hath of your Majesty thirty crowns a moneth in Pension. The parties and the offences I have made known unto your Secretary of State, and I cannot doubt your Majesty in conformity of what the King my master hath by so many arguments demonstrated towards your Majesty and your Ministers, will command such exemplary punishment to be made of them, as a behaviour so undecent, a slander and reproach so intolerable, and an opinion so desperate and dangerous, and so contrary to what your Majesty and all those of your Councill, Nobility and Clergy do practise, do worthily merit, &c. *Feb. 1608.*

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*Sir Charls Cornwallis to the Spanish King.*

**Y**our Majesty to whom God hath given so large an Empire, & so much exceeding that of other Princes, and whom he hath blessed with so great an inclination to piety, clemency, and other vertues becoming your Royall dignity and Person, will I know hold it evil beseeming so rare a greatness, to come behind any King how pious & vertuous soever, either in the observance of the laws of mutual charity and friendship, or in love or zeal to justice, which to all Kingdoms and Governments gives the assuredst

assuredst foundation; and in defect whereof by the Spirit of God himself, Kingdoms are said to be translated from one Nation to another. The first King that God gave unto his people, he elected of higher stature then the rest by the shoulders upwards, signifying thereby how much Kings are to strive to exceed and excell in the height and measure of vertue and justice; also how fit it is for them to over-look with their authorities and providences the highest head of their Ministers, and to observe how they guide themselves.

By the contents of this paper inclosed, your Majesty shall perceive the Christian and Kingly care the King my Master hath had, not onely of the observances of the Articles of Peace since the same between your Majesties were concluded; but of the punctuall accomplishment of the true Laws of amity and friendship, which are more surely and expressively imprinted in Royall and Noble hearts, then possibly they can be written or characterized by any pen in paper. In your Majesties Kingdoms (pardon I humbly beseech you if I speak plainly) much contrary to that example, the King my Masters subjects suffer all manner of spoils, oppressions and miseries, and are (as well I may term them) made a very prey to the hungry and greedy; your Viceroyes and others enter their ships under cover and colour of Peace and Justice, finding them rich, they lay crimes to their charge, whereof there appears neither proof nor probability; yet serve their pretences to possess them of their goods, &c to put the poor Merchants to a demand in Law: wherein were truth alone the ballance they should be weighed by, (though that form of redress were far short of the immediate remedy provided by the King my Sovereign for your Majesties subjects) yet were it much more allowable and to be endured; but having here complained two whole years without any course at all taken for redress, as in the cause with the Duke of *Ferri* three intire years, as in that with the Viceroy of *Sardinia* one year and more, as in that of his Majesties servant *Adrian Thibaut*, taken and spoiled by your Majesties Generall *Don Luis*; as in that of *Estry* and *Bispich*, imprisoned and bereaved of their goods by *Iuan de Vendoza Alcalde of Madrid*, we are after so long a time spent in misery and charge countervailing a great part of the value of the goods taken from us, enforced still to all punctualities and extremities of forms of law, and to abide the uttermost perill of all advantages that by the inventions, wits & tongues of Lawyers can be devised, to obscure and hide the light and right of truth. The false colour given by every of these, and the barbarous cruelty used to the parties, would require too long and tedious a declaration. It satisfieth that none of their pretences are proved; nay, which is more they are so false and fabulous as to no indifferent understanding they appear so much as probable.

My



My humble desire is, your Majesty would be pleased to pass your own Royal eyes upon this paper ; and therefore to affect all possible brevity, I will pass unto your Majesties other inferior ministers of your Ports, of which few there are ( those in *Biscay*, and some in *Portugal* only excepted ) where we have not divers oppressions, imprisonments, and unjust imbagements, in *Sivil* especially ; whereof forty several suits, and as many false sentences given, raised and pursued by a man now dead, and therefore in charity left unnamed. We have hitherto in your Majesties Council of war ( where before those noble Lords all passed by the equal line of Justice ) not failed in my remembrance in the overthrowing of any, save one mistaken that passed in a wrong name, and another concerning merchandise that had their manufacture in *Embden*, ( whereof I suppose those Lords were not rightly informed ) only excepted. In that Court I must acknowledge we have had redress, but yet with your Majesties favour a miserable one ; our gain being whether we shall be owners of our own or not, our expences and charges certain, and the time without measure large, whereby many have been undone, some dead in prison in *England* for want of what was unjustly detained from them here. Yet neither the false Judges in *Sivil* nor Promoters ever chastised, or for any thing that I yet have understood, so much as ever reprehended or found fault with.

I haste to a conclusion, fearing lest I should dwell too long in a matter so unfavoury and displeasing to your Majesties pittifull ears and Christian heart, so much of it self disposed to all clemency and piety. I will for the next resort to the ships, cordage, corn, and other victuals and provisions taken from the King my Sovereigns subjects for your Majesties own services, and the relief of the extreme necessity in your Gallies, and Garrisons of the Navy, of whom some have been enforced for want of payment of their monies to send their ships home unfreighted, a loss extreme to poor Merchants that live by trade and time, to repair to this Court, and here remain some of them 14 moneths, and others two years and more, till their very charges had eaten out a great part of what was due unto them, and in the end recover only their own without any relief or recompence either for their expences, times lost, or damages. I will only instance two, because their causes are most strange and pittifull, and yet unsatisfied ; the one named *Thomas Harrison*, and the other *Richard Morris* : The first served your Majesty with his ship, till the same with one of his sons and all of his men were swallowed with the seas, and hath been here more then four years suing for his recompence and salary, recommended by the King my Sovereign, by Letters from your Majesties Ambassadors in *England*, and by my self all that long  
time



time furthered with my earnest solicitation ; which hath begot infinite promises, but to this day no manner of payment or performance : The other, who sometimes hath been a man of wealth and reputation, and falling into great poverty, served your Majesty with all that in the world he was worth, and all that in value above 6000 Ryals. I blush I protest to think of it, and my heart is grieved to mention it to so great a King, of whose liberality and magnificence the world taketh so much notice. His right and his necessity being well known unto your Officers, he hath been more then three years and a half fed with hopes, and put off with schedules and sending from one Port to another for the receipt of his mony, till he hath indebted himself the most part of the sum, and at present wanteth wherewith both to feed and cover him. Now at last he is promised payment out here of your Royal chests, but after so many ceremonies and circumstances to be performed with your Officers in other parts, as God knows hunger may end the poor man before they begin to satisfie him. By all this will plainly appear to your Majesty, that your Majesties subjects are by the favour and Christian justice of the King my master entred into the new Testament and law of Grace, having restitution and remedy without the delays of ceremony and formality ; and we still remain under the old, and tyed in all things to the hand-writing of the Law, to the burthenous circumstances and intolerable dilatory formalities of proceeding in this your Kingdom, and what else your unpittifull Ministers will out of uncharitable and unsensible minds of other mens harms charge and impose upon us.

Well doth your Majesty conceive, that would the King my Master wink at the like courses to be taken by his subjects and ministers with such of yours as they might meet upon the seas, the English are not of so little invention, but they could devise as good colours and pretences ; nor their Lawyers of so small skill and so much conscience, but they could form and protract suits ; nor the ships of *England* so weakened and lessened, but they could equal and surmount their losses. I have out of mine own humble affection to your Majesty, out of my generall and ever continuing desire to hold firm the ancient amity so necessary for your own estates, and utile for the whole common-weal of Christendom, out of the force of duty I owe to my King and Country, thus far adventured to unburthen my soul and thoughts, not doubting but your Majesties magnanimous and Christian heart will be moved as well in desire to equal the pious and immutable example of the King my Master, as in a just compassion of a Nation now confederate with you, and that so gladly would entertain any cause to love and serve you, to give present remedy to those wofull and intolerable oppressions ; and that since  
you

you have firmed and consented by your Articles of Peace of new orders ( which being confirmed by your oath stand now in force of Laws ) you would be pleased in like manner to give them a new form of indilatory execution, conformable to that of the King my Sovereign, &c.

King James to the University of Cambridge,  
Mar. 4. 1616.

JACOBUS Dei gratia Magne Britannia, Franciæ & Hibernia Rex,  
Fidei defensor, &c. Academia Cantabrigia communi salutem.

SI jus civitatis impetret à nobis Cantabrigia, veremur ne emula urbis potentia crescente minuat Academia securitas, sat erit apud nos metus vestri judicium fecisse, nec enim tam vobis convenit Academia periculum deprecari quam nobis, sponte nostra quicquid in speciem illi noxium sit avertere. Glorietur urbs illa se à Majoribus nostris electam doctrinarum sedem, ingeniorum officium, sapientia palestram. Quicquid his titulis addi potest nimis, & non honestatur plebeia Civitatis appellatione Musarum domicilium vel sane literatorum dicatur Civitas, vel quod in villa nostra ville & in incolitarum tegitur celebritate. Hæc ejus fuerint privilegia Academia dignitatem comiter observare (cujus frequentia facta & seipsa major affluentia bonarum artium studiosos amicè excipere quorum congressu dilata est) Literatorum deinceps honori ancillari unde hæc illa nata est felicitas, hæc artes quibus crevit tenenda, non aucupandam titulorum novitas incerti eventus facessat popularis vocabuli fastus, unde certa oriatur emulationis necessitas qua eo turpior urbi est futura quo majori erga Academiam obstrictam & reverentiam, nolumus sacrum illum musarum asylum minuti prætoris ense temerari nec strepere tetrica edicta, ubi septem geminus vestri Chori auditur concentus satis & in vetera purpura invidiæ nova pompa tam illi futura, & supervacua quam vobis suspecta. In nostra solvis tutela & post Deum opt. max. Alma scientiarum Mater nostro fovebitur sceptro indefessa illius fecunditas non abortiet ad prætorii gladii tericulum nullum honoris titulum Cantabrigia indulgemus, qui cum Academia sollicitudine conjunctus sit. Valete. Datum è Palatio nostro Westmonast. 4 Calend. Mar. 1616.

JACOBUS REX.

## Mr. Ruthen to the Earle of Northumberland.

My Lord,

**I**T may be interpreted discretion sometimes to wink at private wrongs, especially for such a one as my self, that have a long time wrastled with a hard Fortune, and whose actions, words and behaviour are continually subject to the censure of a whole State; yet not to be sensible of publique and Nationall disgrace, were stupidity and baseness of mind: For no place, nor time, nor State can excuse a man from performing that duty and obligation wherein Nature hath tied him to his Countrey and to himself. This I speak in regard of certain infamous verses lately by your Lordships means dispersed abroad to disgrace my Countrey and my self, and to wrong and stain by me the honor of a worthy and vertuous Gentlewoman, whose unspotted and immaculate vertue your self is so much more bound to admire and uphold, in that having dishonorably assaulted it, you could not prevail. But belike, my Lord, you 'dare do any thing but that which is good and just. Think not to bear down these things either by greatness or denyall; for the circumstances that prove them are so evident, and the veil wherewith you would shadow them, is too transparant. Neither would I have you flatter your self, as though, like another *Giges*, you could passe in your courses invisable. If you owe a spight to any of my countrey-men, it is a poor revenge to rail upon me in verse: or if the repulse of your lewd desire at the Gentlewomans hands, hath inflamed and exasperated your choler against her, it was never known that to refuse *Northumberlands* unlawfull lust was a crime for a Gentlewoman deserving to have her honour called in question. For her part, I doubt not but her own unspotted vertue will easily wipe out any blot which your malice would cast upon it; and for me and my Countrey men (know my good Lord) that such blowes as come in time, are too weak to reach or harm us. I am asham'd in your Lordships behalfe for these proceedings, and sorry that the world must now see how long it hath been mistaken in *Northumberlands* spirit: and yet who will not commend your wisdom in chusing such a safe course to wrong a woman & a prisoner; the one of which cannot, and the other by nature & quality of the place, may not right his own wrongs. Wherefore (setting aside the most honorable order of the Garter, and potestating that whatsoever is here said, is no way intended to the Nobility and Gentry of *England* in generall, which I doubt not but will condemn this  
your

your dishonorable dealing, and for which both my self, and I dare truly say all my Countrymen shall be even as ready to sacrifice our bloods as for our own mother *Scotland*) I do not only in regard of our own persons affirm, that whatsoever in those infamous Verses is contained is utterly false and untrue, and that your self hath dealt most dishonorably, unworthily, and basely, but this I'll ever maintain. If these words sound harshly in your Lordships ear, blame your self, since your self forgetting your self have taught others how to dishonour you: And remember that though Nobility make a difference of persons, yet Injury acknowledged none.

PATRICK RUTHEN.

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*Sir Henry Yelvertons submission in the Star-chamber.*

*My Lords,*

**I** Humbly beseech you to think that I stand not here either to outface the Court, or to defend this cause otherwise then justly I may; only I desire in mine own person to second the submission which hath been opened by my Council: for hitherto hath nothing been opened unto you, but that which hath passed under the advised pen of others, and hitherto hath appeared from my self neither open nor inward acknowledgment.

My Lords, it may seem strange to the hearers, that against a Bill so sharpened I should abruptly fall upon a submission or confession, whereby I may seem to bow down my neck to the stroke. But my Lords, in this I weighed not my self, but I did it to amplify the honour and mercy of his Majesty, from whom I may say Clemencie springs as the blood that runs in his own veins. For, my Lords, when this Charter was sometime questioned, & divers of my Lords here present had out of their great wisdoms discovered that shame in it (which I must here confess I did not then see) & had related the same to his Majesty, it pleased his Maj. out of his great favour to me his unworthy servant to send me this message by two great honorable persons here present, and therefore under your Lordships favour I think not fit to hide so great a favour of his Maj. from the eyes of the people, who offered to my choice either to submit to himself in private, or defend here openly; and when I saw I fell into such faithful hands, I remember my answer then was, that the offer was gracious, and the choice was easie, and his mercy free. After came this Information against



me: I took it but as trial whether I would make his Majesty King of my confidence, or not: And though there was offered unto me and my Council such a way of defence as I might have escaped, yet I protest I did reject it, because I would not distrust his Majesties mercy to let go the anchor-hold I had thereof; and whatsoever becomes of me, I protest I shall still honour the King, though I go lame to my grave. I humbly confesse the manifold errors of this Charter to your Lordships, wherein I have miscarried; and I beseech his Majesty and your Lordships to think they are rather crept in unawares, then usher'd in by consent. The errors are of divers natures, some of negligence, some of ignorance, some of misprision; I mistook many things, I was improvident in some things, too credulous in all things. But I who was chosen, when I had so much provoked his Majesty by mine unexperienced years, and having since found so many favours from his Majesties hands, and this day having served him full seven years, who this day hath translated me from a low estate unto a place whereof I enjoy now only the name, and now since hath so much quickned and enlightned me by his gracious countenance, and assured me by his daily favours to make me to depend upon him; and that I should deliberately and determinately take any flowers from his Crown to place them on the heads of others, or to betray his Majesties interest into the hands of others, I hope his Majesty will vouchsafe me so much favour not to value me at so low a rate, as to think these things came in *de industria*: For if I had felt any such Echo arise in my breast, I protest I would have laid hands on my self, and judged my self unworthy of any society.

My Lords, the corruption of my hands are far inferior to the corruption of the heart; and the hand that runs wilfully into error, works meerly from the corruption of the heart, and that makes it the more inexcusable, as the bleeding of a wound inwardly ever becomes mortal; and were I conscious to my self, I would not have any color of excuse. I thank his Majesties Council, that howsoever these hands were at first mistrusted, yet since they are not at all misdoubted, nor the least corruption laid to my charge. But this doth most grieve me, that my faithfulness to his Majesty should be suspected: And I humbly desire upon my knees, that his Clemencie in this case may stop the issue of his Justice; that though a long time his face hath been hid, yet now at length his mercy will break through the clouds to support me that am now fallen. I lay my self at his Majesties feet to do with me as it pleaseth him, and humbly desire his Majesty would take me to his own sentence. I never thought of my self otherwise then clay in his Majesties hands, to mould me to honour or dishonour. When I look and behold this solemnity and spectacle  
about.

about me, I make no other account of it then *Pompa mortis*; and such a Prince as he is, knows that Life and Reputation are equall, if the last be not the greatest. I know your Lordships have such power, and his Majesty takes such pleasure in you, you are so dear in his eyes, that he can deny you nothing, and therefore I would desire you that you would be suiters in my behalf, that his favour might once again shine upon me. I know his grace and clemency sleepeth, if I be not unworthy to partake, and the rather because the River that did run another way, is now turned into the Sea again, and the Charter given up, surrendred and cancelled. I know much life might be added to the sinewes of my happineffe by your Lordships intercessions for me; in vouchsafing whereof I shall pledge a perpetuall assurance of better service for the time to come, and shall be bound and engaged to every one of your Lordships: so that my desire is, that his Majesty might first be acquainted with this submission before you proceed into the merits of the cause, remaining still a prisoner to his Justice, knowing his Majesty may if he please, turn me to vanity.

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*Ferdinand the second, Emperour, to the Catholique King.*

*Most gracious King, my most loving Nephew,*

**F**ather *Jacinthus* comes over to your Court to negotiate with your Majesty in the Popes name, about a business much concerning the conservation of our holy Faith, and consequently the support of our Family, as your Majesty shall understand of the said Father, to whom I refer my self, as also to *Don Balthazar de Zuniga*, to whom I have written more distinctly, fearing to be over-tedious to your Majesty, and being well assured how well your Majesty stands inclined to either of these points.

*Ferdinand*

Ferdinand the Emperour to Don Balthazar de Zuniga,  
October 15. 1621.

To the Honorable and sincerely beloved Don Balthazar de Zuniga, *Cousin*  
and Councillour of State to the most excellent and Catholique King  
of Spain.

*Honorable and sincerely beloved,*

W Hat my mind and purpose is touching the translating of the Electorship to the Duke of *Bavaria*, according to the promise I made him, and wherefore I think that business so necessary and profitable, as for *Germany* in generall, so particularly for securing our House from all attempts of Heretiques, as his Holiness exhorts me not to be further delayed: You shall understand as well by conference with Father *Jacinthus*, whom his Holiness hath for that purpose addressed unto me, his Majesty of *Spain* my Nephew, and other Catholique Princes of *Germany*, as by these ensuing reasons, whereof the principall are, That when I repeat from the beginning the whole course of my Reign, and the difficulties through which I have attained my Kingdoms and Provinces, I behold with reverence the admirable providence of God over me, which makes me the more bound to repose my trust in him, and not to omit any occasion which may tend to the advancement of his glory, and the honor of so admirable tried providence: and therefore that I should use that most notable victory to the honor of God, and extirpation of all seditious factions, which are nourished chiefly among the *Calvinists*, and that I should withdraw my self from that judgement that the Prophet threatens to the King of *Israel*, *Because thou hast dismissed a man worthy of death, thy Son shall be for his soule*. The Palatine keeps now in *Holland*, exiled not onely from the Kingdom which he rashly attempted, but despoiled almost of all his own Territories, expecting as it were the last cast of Fortune; whom, if by an impious kind of commiseration and subtile Petitions, I be perswaded to restore to his Electorall dignity, and nourish in my bosome as a troden half living snake, what can I expect less then a deadly stinging? For it is in vain for me to think that he should be able to discern the greatness of such a benefit: For the Politicians saying is true, *Ultionem quævis, gratiam oneri habere*; especially since the injuries he did me are so heynous,

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his projects so subtle, that although I should overcome him with Christian charity, yet I should never be able to take him from the guilt of his offences, and make him soundly faithfull unto me; but he will always gape at all occasions whereby he may free himself from fear of his ill deservings, and cover his own prostituted honor with new attempts. Add hereunto the *Calvinists* institution, of whose Sect the proper genius is to hold nothing either fraud or wickedness, which is undertaken for the Religion; no sanctity of oath, nor fear of dishonour hinders them. From such an one, what caution can either the house of *Austria*, or other Catholique Princes with whom he is no less in enmity, because for Religion, as because they are interessed in the war, receive? The King of *England* will be engaged, but of the same Religion; nor is there any thing more easie then when there is occasion of perpetrating any wickedness, to palliate it with a pretext of a breach of the League. Histories are fraughted with examples; in some there are no cautions sufficient in such a business: then to drive him where he cannot hurt, all other means are frail, and he which once believed is despised. It is likewise a consideration of no less moment, that the *Palatine* being restored will draw all his power and policie, as hitherto, so hereafter, where he thinks he can do most hurt, and that most easily, to wit, to *Bethlem-Gabor* and the *Turks*, whom he hath already incited to hostility against me, and will never cease hereafter to instigate the *Calvinists* intire hopes in them. These, untill they recover breath, and recollect their forces, they endeavour to disarm and exhaust me of monies ranging in my territories as they have done hitherto by fire and sword. But if with them also, whom notwithstanding I cannot trust alike, I should make peace, what conditions will *Gabor* who remains yet unconquered require, if I should restore the *Palatine* (already conquered) to his Electoral dignity?

Therefore since long before God granted me that famous victory, I firmly forecast with my self, that the *Palatine* could not be restored to his Electoral dignity without the extreme danger of the Catholiques and my house, I offered freely on my own motion, but being directed questionless by God, the Electorship to the Duke of *Bavaria*, a most eager Defender of the Catholique cause, whose territories on the other side lie as a Rampire between me and other Princes of *Germany*; and since I made so good use of his help, and so profitable in the recovery of my Kingdoms and Provinces, and continue yet to this day, time it self more then the said Duke doth cry out that I should accomplish my promise without further delay, and by translation of the Electorship take away quite all hopes from the *Palatine* and them that sollicite us so importu-



importunately for a restitution, that we may be freed from all molestation; which thing, since it needs the help of his Majesty of *Spain*, although I know his Majesty be propense enough of himself to all things which appertain to the honor of God, and the security of our House, yet I thought good to admonish you of this occasion, lest this opportunity of establishing of our Religion and Family escape, which I conceive might conveniently be done by you. Neither do I suppose his Majesty to be ignorant, that it was alwayes judged of our Ancestors, that the House of *Austria*, which by Gods permission doth now signiorize far and neer upon the earth, to have its chief foundation here in *Germany*, which is the more to be defended, the nearer its ruine depends thereupon. In times past this House hath had proof of many adversaries to its greatness, as the Histories under *Maximilian* the first, *Charles* the first, *Ferdinand* the second, and *Rodulf* the second do shew: the perfidiousness of *Holland* against his Majesties Grandfather *Philip* the second, fetcht her food from the Palatinate, neither can his Majesty ever reduce the rebellious *Hollanders* to obedience, unlesse his root be pluckt up; which onely motive, besides these which I alledged before, might justly induce him not to suffer a fallen enemy to rise and resume (as his stomach will never fail him) strength again.

But albeit it is not to be dissembled that the *Lutheran* Princes, especially the Elector of *Saxony* will not approve haply of this translation, because they fear it conduceth too much to the corroborating of the Catholic Cause: Nevertheless, since he cannot accuse that act of *Charles* the fifth, who for a far lighter cause deprived *John Frederick* of the Electorship, and confer'd it on *Maurice* this Dukes great Uncle; and perceiving that all the Councils of the *Calvinists* do aim to bring in the Turk, he will not condemn his translation: For no less is the *Lutherans* hatred against the *Calvinists*, as the Catholics and they think less danger do proceed from the later. It is to be hoped therefore, that the Elector of *Saxony*, and other *Lutheran* Princes, when they see the business brought to this point, will not so far disapprove thereof, as to put themselves in Arms; which I shall shortly understand of the most excellent Archduke *Charles* my brother, who is for this cause to treat with the Elector of *Saxony*. And these motives as they are of great consequence, so I imagine you, which are daily of his Majesties Councell, have pondered them as diligently as my self, and therefore that you will omit nothing that is pertinent to establish this business, whereby we obtain the long and wished fruit thereof, which is the propagation of the honor of Almighty God through the Empire, and the augmentation of the common safety, Family and Dignity.

Beloved

Beloved *Don Balthazar*, I understand that there was a motive of great consideration omitted in my Letter; to wit, that if we had more countenance of his Catholique Majesty then we have at this present, the Empire should always remain in the hands of Catholiques, and so according to reason in our House, to whose advancement the Duke of *Bavaria* will willingly concur in recognition of such a benefit, being promoted by an Emperour of that House, to so eminent and high a dignity as in our letters.

*Vienna Octob. 15. 1621.*

*King James to Ferdinand the Emperour concerning the  
Palatinate. Novemb. 12. 1621.*

**I**AMES by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. wisheth health and constant peace unto the most mighty and invincible Prince *Ferdinando*, by the same grace elected Roman Emperour, King of Germany, Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, &c. our loving friend and cousin.

Most mighty and invincible Prince, Brother, Cousin, and speciall loving Friend; It is not unknown unto the whole world, much less to your Imperiall Majesty, how earnestly we have hitherto sought and endeavoured as well by the diligence of our Ambassadors whom we have sent, as by the intercession of the chief German Princes, the appeasing of those *Bohemian* wars ever since they first began, and with what ardent zeal and affection we have so much hunted after the desire of peace: Let it not therefore seem strange unto any man, that we take it ill, that all the very time when we were (to the uttermost of our power) treating of peace, and giving our best furtherance for the overture of wholesome means to effect it; even then notwithstanding, we found clean contrary effects to ensue thereupon; whereat we much marvelled, seeing the Treaty was in hand, and already begun on all sides: as namely among the rest, that our son-in-law was wholly despoiled and robbed of his hereditary patrimony that remained unto him, excepting the lower Palatinate, which was all by commandment of your Imperiall Majesty, taken and possessed by the Duke of *Bavaria*, according as himself confessed, with strong hand and force of Arms, and that for such reasons as are meerly new, and such as the like were never hitherto once heard of. That notwithstanding it plainly appeareth by the answer given unto

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our Ambassador, that your Imperial Majesty had caused the suspension of that Ban or prescription in those Countries, yet did your Imperial Majesty permit the taking of Arms again in hand: which also after the same your Imperial Majesties answer, was yet again likewise commanded to be done in the Lower *Palatinate*, whereby there hath therein been since raised a grievous and cruel war, and most part of the Country taken in by the *Spaniards* powerfull strength. But as we diligently observed those things, we cleerly see what great trouble and misery hath been occasioned by this our great patience and long delaying, forbearing and doubtfulness, which without all doubt may be hereafter further occasioned, and which may perhaps prove heavier then the chief reasons of this misery it self. And therefore we hold it best and most expedient that your Imperial Majesty do at length put a period to this most unhappy business: And for that end and purpose have thought good at this time to propound what we prescribe our Son in law on th'one part to perform towards your Imperial Majesty, which we have always counselled and exhorted our Son in law to do, nor will we so much as in the least once doubt of the contrary and adverse success therein, but are perswaded that your Imperial Majesty will be most graciously moved to receive our Son in law into grace and favour, to redeliver unto him his hereditary lands and titles which he had enjoyed before those *Bohemian* wars, and fully to restore him to his former honours and dignities. In regard whereof the Count *Palatine* shall perform unto your Imperial Majesty as followeth.

1. He shall for himself and his Son wholly renounce and acquit all pretence of right and claim unto the Crown of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Countries thereof.

2. He shall from henceforward yield all constant due devotion unto the Imperial Majesty, as do other obedient Princes Electors of the Empire.

3. He shall upon his knee crave pardon of the Imperial Majesty.

4. He shall not hereafter any manner of way either unfittingly carry or demean himself towards the Imperial Majesty, or disturb your Kingdoms or Countries.

5. He shall upon reasonable conditions reconcile himself with other his neighbour Princes and States of the Empire, and hold good friendship with them.

6. And shall really do all other like things as is above contained, and that shall be reasonable and necessary.

Which proposed Conditions if your Imperial Majesty shall please to receive and accept of, the same will be a notable testimony of your Imperial



perial Majesties goodness and grace : which how well and acceptable it will be unto us, shall be acknowledged and shewed by our very willing service and unfeigned friendship as well towards your Imperial Majesty as towards the most renowned house of *Austria*. But if it shall fall out contrary to our expectation, that these our just demands and well-willed presentation shall not find acceptance, or after this our diligent endeavor you shall seek to delay us by the using some new tergiversation, and pretend to use that long counsel and deliberate advice of the Princes of the Empire upon these our propounded conditions, whereas notwithstanding your Imperial Majesty expressly promised in your last answer freely to declare what should be your purpose and resolution therein : So that there being no ground to the contrary (as we call God and the world to witness there is not) and being forced and constrained by the duty and natural affection which we owe and bear to our Children for the preservation of their honour and welfare, we are resolved to try the uttermost of our power for their relief ; especially seeing we sue for, desire, and would obtain and retain no new title of honour for our Son in law, but only to have again those of his own now lost, which he then had and enjoyed when we matched him with our dear and only daughter : For if in this distress we should leave our Children and their Partisans without counsel help and protection, it would be a foul stain to our honour.

Let not therefore your Imperial Majesty in regard hereof blame us at all, if we with a mighty and puissant Army by force and strong hand seek to recover that which by propounded and reasonable conditions we could not obtain for the continuance of our friendship. But for as much as it is most certain this cannot be without the great hurt and prejudice of all Christendom, the breach of publike peace, and the wounding of our contracted amity and friendship with the house of *Austria*, which we have ever hitherto by manifold testimonies uprightly, faithfully and inviolably observed : It is therefore requisite and necessary that your Majesty of your innate gracious mildness and goodness, and of that most reverent discretion wherewith you are endowed, to seek in time to meet with and prevent these so great evils likely to ensue, and use brotherly love & good will. God almighty long preserve your Imperial Majesties life, and at last so direct your heart, that sweet peace and the concord of all Christendom now rent asunder, may be recovered and again maintained.

At our Royal Residence-Town of  
*Royston, Novemb. 12. 1621.*

*JACOBUS REX.*



*His Imperial Majesty to King James, Jan. 14. 1621.*

**C**onstans atque eadem nobis semper fuit mens, idem desiderium, non tam verbis quam re ipsa demonstrandi quanti tranquillitatem in Imperio publicam & mutua amicitia cum vicinis Principibus, potissimum Serenitatis vestrae sincere colenda studium aestimaremus. Inde si praecepti temporis successus de rebus in utroque Palatinatu tam superiore quam inferiore innovat. de quo literis ad nos datis Serenitas vestra conqueritur deflexisse videri possint, illi culpa venit omnis imputanda, quem ab improba cupiditate aliena regna captantem, nec divini nec humani juris respectus, nec supremi Domini sui reverentia, nec sacri fœus-jurandi religio, nec prudentissimi Soceri concilium cohibere potuerint; imo qui iusto Dei judicio ea acie in fugam profligatus usque adeo obstinatione sua pertinaciter etiamnum inheret, ut continuis machinationibus per Jagardorfium, Mansfeildum, aliosq; crudeles pacis publicae perturbatores, Acharonta potius movere quam sanioribus acquiescere consiliis ab usurpatoque regni nostri titulo desistere (non officii per Serenitatem vestram per quam sane diligenter interpositis, sua ex parte quid deferens) videatur, nec ullum in hanc usque horam animi pœnitentis signum dederit. Itaque in tractatu de pace instituenda uti condescendamus videt Serenitas vestra ab eis quos principaliter id concernit quam nulla nobis causa vel occasio præbeatur. Id quidem ingenue profiteremur, in exulceratissimo eo negotio, cujus calamitas universum pene orbem involvit, eum Serenitatis vestrae candorem, eam animi moderationem, & equitatis justitiaeque respectum enituisse, ut nihil sit vicissim quod non ejusdem desiderii salva suprema auctoritate nostra Cæsarea, salvisque Imperii legibus libenter tribuamus, qui pro innata nobis benignitate — aequisque conditionibus Arma poni & optatam afflictissima Germaniæ pacem restitui, quam legitime executiones insisteri per cades & sanguinem Christianum gloriosa nomini nostro trophæa figi nunquam non maluimus. In gratiam itaque Serenitatis vestrae, ut res ipsa deprehendat quanti nobis sit perpetuum cum eadem amicitia cultum novo fomite subinde revocari, licet hactenus prosperus militiæ nostræ successus divina benignitas tribuit, acquiescimus, ut benevolo tractatu almae pacis redintegranda rationes opportune ineantur, eumque in finem ad evitandum viarum temporumque dispendia nunc in eo sumus ut serenissima Principi Domina Elizabethæ Clara Eugeniæ natæ, Infanti Hispaniarum, Archiducissæ Austriae, Ducissæ Burgundiae, Stiriae, Carinthiae, Carniole, & Wirtinburgiæ, & Provinciarum Belgii Bur-

*gundiarumq; Domina, Consobrina ac sorori nostrae charissima, ut istic in aula sua, quorsum vestra quoque Serenitas si ita libuerit suos cum plena facultate ablegare poterit primum eumque proximum assequende pacis gradum cessationem ab armis aqnis conditionibus nomine nostro Caesari stabiliendum permittemas, prope diem expedituri Legatam nostrum viram nobilem, qui diligentissime in gravissimo hoc negotio mentem nostram plenius aperiet, atque inde ad Serenitatem vestram animum nostrum ad reintegranda pacis studia proclivem, qui non aliter quam quibuscunque benevolentiae officiis cum Serenitate vestra cernare studet magis magisque restificetur, cujus interim consilia generosa prapotens Deus publico orbis commodo in felicissimos eventus disponat. Dat. Vienna, 14 Jan. 1621.*

Earl of Bristol to King James.

**M**ost gracious Sovereign, it may please your Majesty to remember, that at my coming out of *Spain* I signified unto your Majesty how far the Duke of *Lerma* had upon severall occasions intimated unto me an extraordinary desire of this King and State, not onely to maintain peace and amity with your Majesty, but to lay hold of all things that may be offered for the nearer uniting of your Majesty and your Crowns; and that from this generality he had descended often to have discourse with me of a match for the Princes Highness with the second daughter of *Spain*, assuring me, that in this King and his Ministers there was a forward disposition thereunto. But from me he received no other answer but to this effect, That I in the treaty of the former match for the late Prince, had received so strange and unexpected answer from them, & that their demands seemed so improper and unworthy, that I conceived that your Majesty had little reason to be induced again to give eare to any such overture, or that I should again enter into any such treaty, much less to be the motioner thereof: Although I would confess, that if I were fully perswaded of the sincerity of their intentions, and of a possibility of having the said match effected, I know not any thing wherein I would more willingly imploy my endeavours; but as the case now stood, I was certain, that if I should but make any such motion in *England*, I should but draw imputation of much weakness upon me there, and no whit advance the cause, for that your Majesty and your Ministers would make no other construction of the motion, but as construed to divert the Match of *France*; which was treated of, for that your Majesty who but the year before had received so displeasing and unequal

an answer, should now be perswaded that there was here so great a change, as that a match was really desired, there would now need more then ordinary assurance. But the Duke of *Lerma* continuing severall times the same profession, and telling me besides that the greatest Cases might be altered by circumstances, and that the Age of this Prince was much more proper then that of his brother; I freely let the Duke know that in case I might see that it was really desired here, and that I might be able to propound unto my Master conditions of so much advantage and certainty as might put him and his ministers out of doubt that this overture was not again revived from hence either for diversion or winning of time, I would then willingly intimate unto your Majesty the inclination and desire I found here of having a proposition for this match once again set on foot. The Duke told me he would have a further conference with me, and that he then no ways doubted to give such satisfaction as might well assure your Majesty and your Ministers, that they sincerely desired the match in generall, and would omit nothing on their side for the accomodating of particulars that might give furtherance unto it. But the very night before the Duke had appointed a meeting with me, there came a Post dispatcht out of *England* from the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the arrivall of Sir *Thomas Edmonds* into *England*, who brought word that the match with *France* was absolutely concluded, and that within few days it was to be published: Whereupon the Duke at our meeting the next morning, told me that it would be needless now to descend to any particulars in the business whereof we are to treat, since that they had newly received advertisement that the match with *France* was fully concluded. And thus for the present the matter rested untill some five or six weeks after; about which time my self was to go into *England*, and so taking leave of the Duke, he asked me whether I had not received advertisement that the match with *France* was published. I told him no, but I had certainly heard that it was not as yet fully concluded: Whereupon he intreated me, that in case I found not the *French* match in such forwardness as it could not be stayed, I would let him know of it; and that if I should see any kind of possibility that the business we had spoken of might be set on foot, I would advertise him, and that thereupon he would proceed to those particulars which he formerly intended for my satisfaction.

Herewith I acquainted your Majesty, and finding the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England* had notice from the Duke of our former proceedings, and order to further them by all possible means he could, especially if he should understand that your Majesty were not fully resolved of the *French* match, I thought it fit by this means to let the  
Duke



Duke understand in what estate I found those busineses in *England*; and thereupon with your Majesties permission, I wrote a letter unto him to this effect.

That although it were true that the Match with *France* had been treated of with much earnestness on both sides, and with great likelihood of being concluded; yet there daily arose so many difficulties, and new cases of delay, that I judged it far from any perfect conclusion, neither did I see cause absolutely to despair of the busineses which our selves pretended, unless the difficulty of the Conditions should make it desperate. But if those things should be expected by *Spain*, which in the Treaty for the late Princess were demanded, it were better by much not to renew the business, then by impossible or unfitting propositions on either side to give distaste, or lessen the friendship which now was betwixt your Majesties. And therefore except that in *Spain* they would be contented with such conditions as your Majesty most fittingly and conveniently might yield unto, and all other Catholique Princes were willing to content themselves with, I neither saw cause to hope for good success, or reason to set the treaty on foot. But in case I might know that the conditions in point of Religion might be such as I should see a possibility of your Majesties condescending unto them, I should be far from despairing of some good effect; for that I knew that divers not of the meanest nor least power with your Majesty were hereunto well inclined, and would give their helping hands.

Hereupon the Spanish Ambassador dispatcht his Secretary into *Spain*, and received answer from the Duke, that he should give me all assurance that there was a great desire and inclination to the making of the Match, and that at my return into *Spain* they no way doubted but that I should receive such satisfaction, as should make it appear on their part there should be nothing wanting for the effecting of it.

It now remaineth what hath passed herein since my last coming to this Court. I arrived here in *Madrid* only a day or two before Christmas; and having some six dayes after my audience appointed by the King, whilst I was in a withdrawing chamber expecting the Kings coming forth, the Duke of *Lerma* came thither to bear me company; and after many respectfull demands of your Majesty, and the Queens and the Princes health, and some few complements unto my self concerning my welcom again unto this Court, he fell to speak of the false Alarms we had in *England* concerning a Spanish Armado, seeming much to be displeased that any credit should be given to any thing to his Majesties dishonour and want of fidelity (as he termed it,) But your Majesty (he said) did never believe it: And it seems he heard of some pleasant answer

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your Majesty should make to some one of your Ministers, that in great haste came unto your Majesty when you were a hunting, and told you that the Spanish Fleet was in the Channel. From this he entred into great protestations of the sincerity of this Kings affection and intention towards your Majesty, telling me that I should now see how much they desired to work a greater neernes and uniting between your Majesties : And that of the principal business of which we had in former time spoken, meaning the Marriage, he desired to speak with me, but it must be at more leisure. I answered, that I would not fail shortly to wait upon him, and that he should find me answerable to the professions I had made, which was, that being induced thereunto by such sufficient and good grounds as might satisfie my Master both for the conveniencie and fittingness of having such a Treaty set on foot, and likewise might take away all objections of their intents of entertaining and diverting your Majesty hereby, I would be as ready to do all good offices and give furtherance to the business, as any Minister the King of *Spain* had. And this was all that at our first meeting passed in this business.

About some eight days after, I having not in all this time stirred out of my house under colour of being ill disposed, though the truth was indeed to inform my self of some particulars which concerned your Majesties service, before I would speak with the Duke : He being (as I have since understood ) something troubled that in all this time I made no means to come unto him, one morning by nine of the clock very privately came to my house, without advertising of his coming ( as the custom is here ) untill the Coach stayed at my gate, and then he sent in a Gentleman to me, telling me that the Duke was there to speak with me. When I had conducted the Duke into a room where we were private, he fell into th' aforesaid matter, and in the manner as I shall here set down unto your Majesty, without making any other pretence or intent of his coming, or without using in the space of an houre any speech touching any other business.

After some few questions of your Majesty and the Queen, he began to ask many things of the Prince, as of his age, his stature, his health, his inclination, to what sports he was chiefly given ? And then suddenly, as it were with a passionate expression of affection, he desired God to bless him, and to make him the means by which your Majesties might be conjoynd in a neerer alliance, and your Kingdoms in a perpetual amity : saying unto me, that he was out of doubt of my good inclination to this business, both by what had formerly passed between our selves, as likewise by my proceedings in *England*, whereof he had been fully informed by the Spanish Ambassador. And therefore he would in few words deal  
with

with me with much cleernes and freeness, assuring himself he should receive the like measure from me; and thereupon entred into a solemn protestation, how much this King desired the Match; and for himself he solemnly swore, there was no one thing in the world he more desired to see before he dyed, then the effecting thereof. But my Lord Ambassador (said he) you must deal as justly with me to let me understand whether you conceive the like desire to be in the King of *England* and his Ministers, and then I shall proceed to speak further unto you.

I answered the Duke, That I ever esteemed more the reputation of a man of truth and integrity, then of skill and subtilty: which I did hope he did well perceive by what I was to say, for that I was much more desirous fairly to go off from this business, then easily to go into it. And therefore if he would have me speak my conscience, I neither conceived that either in your Majesty or any of your Ministers there was any kind of inclination thereunto; for that they having formerly given so resolute and distastefull an answer, your Majesty had just cause never again to cast so much as your thoughts this way: And though it might be alleged, that the fitness of the Prince his years, and other civil regards might cause new resolutions, yet the difference of Religion were still the same, and the same were the truths, and opinions of Divines in matter of conscience; and therefore it would not but be a thing of great difficulty to perswade your Majesty and your Ministers that a Match should be hearkened unto, much less desired from hence, but upon the same terms the very thought and remembrance whereof is yet displeasing in *England*. So that to deal plainly with him, I neither found in your Majesty or in the Council any kind of thought or imagination of any possibility of having any such motion again revived. But this I found not to grow from any particular dislike or want of affection in your Majesty to *Spain*, or that many of the greatest or the principallest person in *England* judged not the nearness and alliance of *Spain* equally valuable with any other of Christendom; but that out of a distastefulness of the former answer given from hence, all expectation of any business of this nature was absolutely extinguished, and therefore again to revive it there would need more then ordinary endeavours or ordinary assurances: But in case that they might be given, I know that this Match would neither want well-willers nor assistants; and for my own part I would freely make profession that no man more desired it then my self, nor would more willingly imploy his endeavours for the furthering thereof, when by the descending to particulars I should see both in regard of the conditions and the assurances of sincere proceeding, the motion worthy and fit by a

discreet and good servant to be offered to his Master; neither then should I be wholly out of hope of good success, though I would not but esteem it a business of infinite difficulty.

The Duke replied, That any discourse that I thought fit herein should be condescended unto, for that all time was lost that was spent in generalities: And therefore if I so liked, he would move this King, that one or two besides himself might be appointed to have conference with me; for that if he should only retain it in his hands, by reason of his many occupations it would have a slower progress then he wished; but if I would by way of conference digest the difficulties into heads and particulars, he would as often as he might be present at our meeting: But for his own part, he said he apprehended few but what would arise out of the difference of Religion.

I told the Duke, that I very well approved of the descending into particulars, neither should I refuse conference with any herein whom the King would appoint to speak with me: But if his meaning were, that these persons should be nominated or joyned by way of Commission, I thought fit to let him understand that I neither had any time, nor did at present speak of this business either by order or direction, no nor so much as by your Majesties privy, but as a Minister that desired to lay hold of all occasions for the increasing of further love & nearness betwixt his Master and the Prince to whom he is employed, I should be glad to the uttermost of my power to advance and further this cause, as that which I apprehended to be the greatest which the world now affordeth for the firm uniting of your Majesties and your estates.

The Duke told me, that the King would make no scruple to declare his good inclination and desire to have this Match proceeded in; and that for the accommodating of the difficulties, he had already used divers diligences with the Pope, as likewise with the greatest Divines of this Kingdom, whereof he named some unto me, whom he said he found very well inclined to the Match: he told me also he would be glad they might speak with me, to the end I might truly understand of them all kind of scruples that could be alleaded. I answered, I desired nothing more; and that I could not but approve of those courses he prescribed, as the most probable to produce a good effect, and that I hoped God would give happy success unto the business: But I should be bold in one thing to deliver my opinion, which was, No wayes to interests our Masters herein, unless by the understanding and clearing the difficulties on both sides, there should be great appearances and probabilities that the business would take effect: For if their names should be herein used, and after their Treaty should not be successfull, it would but exasperate and  
breed



breed a greater distaste betwixt your Majesties. The Duke told me, he himself misliked not my opinion; though he said that howsoever that business succeeded, yet your Majesty should have reason to accept kindly this Kings good intention, for that if it miscarried, it should appear not to be their default, but that they had stretched as far as honor and conscience would give them leave. And thus much he said I might write unto your Majesty if I thought fit, or to my confident friends in *England* upon his word and assurance: and so telling me that he would presently appoint those that should confer with me in this business, we then parted.

Within two days after I went to the Duke, and after that I had spoken with him about the business of *Cleves* according to my instruction, whereof I gave an account unto Mr. Secretary in a dispatch directed unto him, we fell again into the speech of the match.

The Duke told me had well considered of that which I had said unto him, and much approved it, not to interest our Masters in the business, until we should see some likelihood of good success.

And for that he supposed the difference of Religion like to prove the onely difficulty of consideration, he thought it fit that it should be first cleared; and therefore he would break the matter with the Cardinall of *Toledo*, & the Kings Confessor, and with them he joyned another learned man, one Father *Frederick*, who since I understand is a Jesuite, but truly hath the report of a moderate man. These the Duke said should have order to confer with me as far as might be, reserving safe the grounds and sincerity of their Religion. I answered the Duke, that I was well satisfied herewith, and that if their demands were such as might content any other Catholique Prince, I should have hope of good success; if otherwise, I should judge it a happiness to be put out of doubt and suspence, and so we passed from this subject.

I presume to set down to your Majesty all the passages of this business with so much length and fulness, for that I no way dare adventure to offer unto your Majesty any opinion or belief of my own, either for the fitness of the match, or the sincerity of their intention, or the possibility of accommodating differences of Religion. But your Majesty seeing undisguised all that hath hitherto passed, with every circumstance, may be pleased out of the consideration and knowledge of those particulars to frame unto your self both such a believe of their direct meaning, and such a resolution of the further proceeding herein, as shall be most suitable to your Majesties wisdom: onely I think it fit to set down further unto your Majesty the particular ends which may be conceived they aim at by setting this business afoot at this present, in case they should not



intend really to perform it : The first may be to stagger and divert your Majesties Treaty with *France* : The second for entertaining your Majesty with fair hopes and promises, thereby to keep you from declaring your self opposite unto them in the present business of *Juliers* and *Cleves* which remaineth still uncompounded. But this being so, your Majesty may be pleased to understand that they serve themselves with this occasion, not that there could be any such thing primarily in their intention, for that the expression of their desire to the match was the last year long before these differences happened.

Further, the Duke of *Lerma* should be the most fass and dishonorable man living, without Christianity or soul, if he should voluntarily damn himself with oathes and protestations of a thing that he sincerely meant not ; and truly he should deal contrarily to the wisdom of his other proceedings, wherein he layeth all occasions of distaste or discourtesie upon other inferior Ministers, labouring still to clear himself of the imputation of them, if in this he should make himself the author and instrument of so unjust and indirect proceeding between Princes. But the course of most security and caution is , that your Majesty suffer none of your other resolutions to be interrupted by this overture; onely if your Majesty be pleased for a while to entertain and suspend the conclusion of the match with *France*, I conceive it can be little to your Majesties disadvantage.

It lastly now remaineth , that I become an humble suiter unto your Majesty for your clear and full directions in this business, desiring if your Majesty will have it further entertained, that I may have ample instructions from your Majesty, both that I may intimate what may be expected in point of Dowry, and in all other things to be required by your Majesty , as likewise how far I may proceed in satisfying in point of Religion. For it is not to be supposed that they wil proceed with that freeness and directness which is to be wished, unless in a fitting measure they shall see me likewise able and willing to declare my self in such points wherein they may expect satisfaction. I intend not hereby to move for a formall Commission to treat, but onely a private instruction for my direction and warrant how to behave my self as may be most advantageous to the cause, and your Majesties ends. So humbly desiring your Majesty to command this Bearer to be dispatched back with all convenient speed, I commend your Majesty to the holy protection of God. Your Majesties faithfull subject and servant,

BRISTOL.

Abignoto to Conde Gondomar, concerning the death  
of Philip the third.

**V**Pon the last day of *February*, being *Sunday*, 1620. his Catholique Majesty, after he had heard Mass and the Sermon in the Chappel, was taken with a Feaver, which continued with him eight dayes with a ruddiness and pimples which appeared plainly in his face, which afterwards began to diminish: but he was suddenly taken with a vomiting and a great feaver, which continued with him till the 21. day; and the Physitians were of opinion to have him rise out of his bed, which was accordingly done both that day and the next: but about dinner-time happened unto him a great swooning, which much astonisht him; and the 23. day, in the night, his feaver did redouble upon him with a vomiting and a flux in the belly, and a great melancholy and an opinion that he should die: which feaver continued with divers reduplications, the Physitians having an ill opinion of him till on Saturday night the 27. when his reduplications were more violent, his water bad; and the King persevered in saying how he saw well that he should die, he commanded that the Image of our Lady of *Antiochia* should be carried about, which was performed on Sunday the 28. in a solemn Procession, wherein the Councillors of *Spain* assisted.

In the evening commandment was given to the Churches, that the blessed Sacrament should be set upon the Altar, and the body of *S. Isidore* should be placed in the Court. On Munday the 29. about four of the clock in the evening, his disease then grew violent, and some ulcers appeared on his belly, on his reins, and on his thighs; and the King still assuring himself that he should die, the Physitians then feeling his pulse affirmed that undoubtedly they assented unto the King in the opinion he conceived of his infirmity. At the same time the President of *Castile* was sent for, and the Confessor, who having had some speech with the King and the Duke of *Osuna*, they went and fetcht the Councillors, before whom and the Grandees of *Spain* who were present, the King sealed his Testament, which *John de Serita* Secretary of State had set down in writing in his presence. Afterwards they caused him to eat somewhat; and being advised how it would be good for him to sleep, he made this answer in Spanish, *En jornada tan longa y tiempo tan breve ne conviène reposar*; Upon so long a journey, and so short a time to per-  
form.

form it, I must not rest. Then he sent for the Prince, and the young Child *Don Carlo*, to whom having spoken for a good while, at length in particular to the Prince he said aloud how he recommended unto him the Child, and that he grieved that he should have been unprovided, but he hoped he left him in the hands of a good & loving brother. Then said he to the Prince, that he requested him that he would not do as he did at his coming to the Crown, in removing his Fathers old Officers and Servants, but that he would imploy those who were experienced in affairs of the Commonwealth: he then commended unto him particularly *John de Luenza* Secretary of the Memorials, and his Confessor, and afterwards the Duke of *Ossuna*. Then was presently brought in the Infanta *Maria*, and the Infante-Cardinal. He cryed out when he saw the Infanta and said, *Maria*, I am full sorry that I must die before I have married thee; but this thy brother shall have care of. He then turned towards her brother, and said unto him, Prince, do not forsake her till you have made her an Empress. Then he spake unto the Cardinal Infant, whom he appointed to be a Priest so soon as he should come to be of fit age, and said that he should be much grieved if he thought he would not undertake this profession. He had sent for Madam the Princess, but she swooned upon her entry at the chamber-door, which was the cause that she was conducted back again unto her own chamber, fearing lest it might be prejudicial unto her being great with child. Which being reported to the King, he shewed great compassion thereat, and said that he ever constantly believed that Madam the Princess loved him as well as any of his own children. After that he began to speak of the Queen, saying how she should lose a good Husband, and that he had always loved her dearly. Afterwards he distributed between the Prince and the Infanta the Reliques and other memorials he had, except one Crucifix which hung at the teltorn of the bed, and said unto the Prince that he could not give it him then, because it was the same with which his Grandfather and Father had dyed; but he commended it to him to be held with great reverence after his death, and that the Popes had given unto it special Indulgences. Afterwards giving them all his blessing, he caused them to go forth; and so calling for the blessed Sacrament, which was administered unto him about midnight, he received the Extreme unction at two of the clock in the morning, and so commended himself unto God. Yet did he not for all this forbear to seal to a great number of papers which were brought him: And complaining very much, he refused such meat as they would have had him take. About noon the Body of St. *Isidore* was placed neer unto his bed, his Confessor and Father *Florence* perswading him to make a vow for his health, and that he would build a

Chappel

Chappel to the same Saint, which he did, but withall said, *Peró ya es tarde*, But now it is very late. He continued all the rest of the day speaking continually to the Father Confessor, Father *Florence*, and *Rochas*. Many processions of penance were solemnized in the Town, and the Councel assembled twice. About the evening his infirmity renewed with violence, and having languished the whole night, in the morning his departure was published, though indeed it was not till about nine of the clock in the morning, the last of *March*, the self same day of our return. Which will inform you of all things passed, at least of such as came any ways to our knowledge. The Queen stir'd not out of her bed all that day, for fear lest either trouble or grief of mind (whereof she gave plentiful testimony by her tears) might prejudice her health, or the fruit of her body, which she hath passed over (thanks be to God) whereof we send you word, that the good news may shut up the discourse of an accident so lamentable and unlooked for.

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*King James to the Earl of Bristoll Ambassador in Spain,  
Octob. 3. 1622.*

*Right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Councillor, we greet  
you well.*

**T**Here is none knowes better then your self how we have laboured ever since the beginning of these infortunate troubles of the Empire, notwithstanding all opposition to the contrary, to merit well of our good brother the King of *Spain*, and the whole House of *Austria*, by a long and lingring patience grounded still upon his friendship and promises, That care should be had of our honour, and of our Childrens patrimony and inheritance. We have acquainted you also from time to time since the beginning of the Treaty at *Bruxels* how crossly things have there proceeded, notwithstanding the fair professions made unto us both by the King of *Spain*, the Infanta & all his Ministers, and the Letters written by him unto the Emperor, and them effectually (at the least as they endeavoured to make us believe) but what fruits have we of all these, other then dishonour and scorn? Whilst we are treating, the Town and Castle of *Heidilbergh* taken by force, our Garrison put to the sword, *Manheim* besieged, and all the hostility used that is within the power of an Enemy, as you will see by the relation which we have commanded our Secretary to send you.

Our



Our pleasure therefore is, That you shall immediatly as soon as you can get audience, let the King understand how sensible we are of those proceedings of the Emperour towards us; and withall are not a little troubled to see that the *Infanta* having an absolute commission to conclude a suspension and cessation of Arms, should now at last when all objections were answered, and the former (solely pretended obstacles remained) not onely delay the conclusion of the Treaty, but refuse to lay her command upon the Emperours Generals for abstaining from the siege of our Garrisons during the Treaty upon pretext of want of authority. So as for avoyding of further dishonor, we have been enforced to recall both our Ambassadors, as well the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who is already returned to our presence) as also the Lord *Chichester*, whom we intended to have sent unto the Emperour to the Dyet at *Ratisbone*. Seeing therefore that out of our extraordinary respect meerly to the King of *Spain*, and the firm confidence we ever put in the hopes and promises which he did give us, desiring nothing more then for his cause principally to avoid all occasions that might put us into ill understanding with any of the House of *Austria*, We have hitherto proceeded with a stedfast patience trusting to the treaties, and neglecting all other means which might probably have secured the remainder of our childrens inheritance. Those Garrisons which we maintained in the Palatinate, being rather for honor sake to keep a footing untill the generall accommodation, then that we did rely so much upon their strength as upon his friendship, and by the confidence & security of ours are thus exposed to dishonor & reproach: you shal tell that King, that seeing all those endeavours and good offices which he hath used towards the Emperour in this business, on the behalf of our son-in-law, upon confidence whereof that our security depended, which he continually by his Letters and Ministers here laboured to beget and confirm in us, have not sorted to any other issue then to a plain abuse both of his trust and ours; whereby we are both of us highly injured in our honour, though in a different degree we hope, & desire that out of a true sense of this wrong offered unto us, he will as our dear and loving brother faithfully promise and undertake upon his honor, confirming the same also under his hand and seal, either that the Castle and Town of *Heidelbergh* shall within threescore and ten dayes after this your audience, and demand made, be rendred into our hands, with all things therein belonging, to our son-in-law, or our daughter, as neer as maybe, in the state wherein they were taken; and the like for *Manheim* and *Frankindale*, if both or either of them shall be taken by the enemy whilst these things are in treating; as also that there shall be within the said term of threescore and ten

days

days, a cessation or suspension of Arms in the Palatinate for the future upon the severall Articles and Conditions last propounded by our Ambassador Sir *Richard Weston*, and that the generall treaty shall be set on foot again upon such honorable terms and conditions as were propounded unto the Emperour in a letter written unto him in *November* last, and with which the King of *Spain* then (as we understand) seemed satisfied, or else in case all these particulars be not yeilded unto, and performed by the Emperour, as is here propounded, but be refused or delayed beyond the time afore mentioned, that then the King of *Spain* do joyn his forces with ours, for the recovery of our childrens honors and patrimony, which upon this trust hath been thus lost. Or if so be his forces at this present be otherwise so employed, as that they cannot give us that assistance which we here desire, and as we think we have deserved, yet at the least he will permit us a free and friendly passage through his Territories and Dominions for such forces as we shall send and imploy into *Germany* for this service: of all which disjunctively, if you receive not of the King of *Spain* within ten days at the furthest, after your audience and proposition made, a direct assurance under his hand and seal, without delay or putting us off to further Treaties and Conferences, that is to say, of such restitution, cessation of Arms, and proceeding to a generall treaty, as is before mentioned, or else of assistance and joyning his forces with ours against the Emperour, or at least permission of passage for our forces through his said Dominions, that then you take your leave and return unto our Presence without further stay; otherwise to proceed in the negotiation of the marriage of our Son, according to the instruction we have given you. Given, &c. at *Hampton Court*, *Octob. 3. 1622.*

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*Earl of Bristol to King James, Octob. 21. 1622.*

**M**AY it please your most excellent Majesty, I received your Majesties Letter of the 9. of *Septemb* the 23. of the same moneth, & by them understand that your Majesty hath received much satisfaction by what I had formerly written unto your Majesty both concerning the restitution of the Prince Palatine, as likewise of this Kings resolution to proceed to the conclusion of the Match: but that your Majesty findeth the effects very unsuitable, both by the proceeding at *Bruxels*, & in the *Palatinate*, as also by what you understand from *Rome* by Mr. *Gage* of the

Popes demands. I hope by the arrival of Mr. *Cottingham* your Majesty will have received satisfaction in some measure, at least that there hath been no diligence or time omitted either for the redressing of any thing that hath been amiss, or for the advancing of your Majesties affairs.

The very day I received your Letters, I sent a Gentleman post unto the King who was gone into the Escorial, to demand audience, which he presently granted me, and I repaired thither unto him upon the third of *October*, the Conde de *Gondomar* being likewise commanded to wait upon the King, I was there well received; and presently upon my arrival the Conde de *Olivarez* came to me to the lodgings which were appointed for me to rest in. To him I delivered fully in the presence of Sir *Walter Aston* and the Conde de *Gondomar*, what I had to negotiate with the King, both in the business of the Match, and of the Palatinate. In the Match I represented how much it imported your Majesty that a speedy resolution might be taken therein, both in regard of the Prince being your Majesties onely son, now arrived to the age of 22 years, and for the settling of your affairs in *England*. I repeated unto him all the passages in this Treaty, how many years had been already spent in it; that after so long an expectation, the diligences used in *Rome* for the obtaining of the Dispensation had wrought but small effect, since the Pope had lately made such demands as were altogether impossible for your Majesty to condescend unto; and therefore your Majesty seeing the business still delayed, held it fit that some such course might be taken that both your Majesties might speedily know what you were to trust unto; and therefore had comanded me to signifie unto this King your uttermost resolution how far you would condescend in point of Religion towards what the Pope had demanded; & if herewith this King could be satisfied, your Maj. desire that we might proceed to a final and speedy conclusion; otherwise that this King would likewise cleerly declare himself, that your Majesty might lose no more time in the disposing of the Prince your son. Hereunto the Conde de *Olivarez* answer'd with some length, the substance I shall only presume to set down briefly to your Majesty. He proposed a sincere intention and resolution in the King to make the Match, and that there should not be one day lost; for the speedy dispatch thereof imported them as much as your Majesty; and to the end that no time may be lost, this King had the next day after for Don *Balthazar de Zuniga* appointed Don *Ferdinando de Giron* in his place in the Commission: That for the going of Mr. *Gage* from *Rome*, and the Popes demands, they were absolutely ignorant of them; That the King had done all that I my self desired for the redress of this error: That I might assure your Majesty that you shall find all sincerity and cleer proceeding, without any houres delay more then of necessity, the nature of the business required.



As for the business of the *Palatinate*, I presented at large the merits of your Majesties proceeding, the many promises made from hence; yet notwithstanding the whilst your Majesty was treating at *Bruxels*, *Heidelberg* one of the three places which were only left, and where your Majesty had Garrisons, was besieged by the Archduke *Leopold* and Monsieur *Tilly*; that this King had withdrawn his Forces, and so exposed the *Palatinate* absolutely to the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Conde de *Olivarez* answered me, by acknowledging how much your Majesties proceedings had deserved at the Emperor and this Kings hands: That whatsoever your Majesty could expect, or had been at any time promised, should by this King be really performed: That the Prince Palatines own courses hitherto had been the only hinderance of the effecting of it: That he referred it unto your Majesties own just judgment, whether the calling of this Kings forces out of the *Palatinate* were with any ill intention, or meerly for the defence of *Flanders*, which otherwise had been put in great hazard by Count *Mansfield*, as your Majesty saw by what had really passed: That the siege of *Heidelberg* was no way by the consent or knowledge of this King or any of his Ministers, but was generally disapproved by them all.

I told them, I conceived that was not enough; for that your Majesty had engaged your self to this King, that in case your Son-in-law would not conform himself, you would not only forsake him, but would declare your self against him, and give the Emperor assistance for the reducing of him to reason, and that your Majesty could not but expect a like reciprocal proceeding from the King. He answered, your Majesty should see the Kings sincerity by the effects; and that if *Heidelberg* should be taken, and the Emperor refuse to restore it, or to condescend to such accommodation as should be held reasonable, this King would infallibly assist your Majesty with his Forces. And this he spake with great assurance, and wished me to desire your Majesty to be confident you would find nothing but real and sincere proceedings from hence.

I was then presently called for to the King, to whom I spake first in the business of the Match, and delivered him the contents thereof in writing, which I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I received from him the same answer in effect as from the Conde de *Olivarez*, That he desired the Match no less then your Majesty; That on his part there should be no time lost for the bringing of it to a speedy conclusion. In the business of the *Palatinate* I spake unto the King with some length, repeating many particulars of your Majesties proceedings, and how much your honour was like to suffer, that now whilst you were treating, *Heidelberg*



defended by your Garrisons, was like to be taken. The King answered me, He would effectually labour that your Majesty should have entire satisfaction; and rather then your Majesty should fail thereof, he would imploy his Arms to effect it for you. My Lord Ambassador Sir *Walter Aston* accompanied me at my audience, and was a witness of all that passed as wel with the King, as with the Conde de *Olivarez*.

Within few dayes after the newes of the taking of *Heidelbergh* came hither: whereupon I dispatched again to the King in such sort as I have at large advertised Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. The effect of my Negotiation was, that they on the 13. of *October* dispatched Letters away of the Emperors and Duke of *Bavaria's* proceedings. But pressing them further in regard their former Letters have wrought so little effect, they have given me at present a second Dispatch, which I have sent unto the *Infanta*, and whereof Mr. Secretary will give your Majesty an account, which I conceive will procure your Majesties better satisfaction then hitherto you have received from the Emperor and his party.

For the business of the match, I have written to Mr. Secretary what is so be said at present; and will only add, that as I should not willingly give your Majesty hope upon uncertain grounds, so I will not conceal what they profess, which is, That they will give your Majesty real and speedy satisfaction therein. And if they intended it not, they are falser then all the Devils in hell; for deeper oaths and protestations of sincerity cannot be made.

It will only remain, that I humbly cast my self at your Majesties feet for that addition of Title wherewith it hath pleased you to honour me and my posterity. My gratitude and thankfulness wanteth expression, and shall only say unto your Majesty, That as all I have either of fortunes or honour, I hold it meerly of your bounty and goodness; so shall I ever cheerfully lay them down with my life into the bargain, for the service of your Majesty and yours.

So with my humble prayers for the health and prosperity of your Majesty, I humbly commend your Majesty to Gods holy protection, and rest,

*Your Majesties most humble  
servant and subject,*

*Madrid, Octob. 21. 1622.*

BRISTOL.

*King*

*King Philip the third of Spain to the Conde of Olivarez.*

**T**He King my Father declared at his death that his intention never was to marry my sister the *Infanta Donna Maria* with the Prince of *Wales*, which your Uncle *Don Baltezer* well understood, and so treated this match ever with an intention to delay it, notwithstanding it is now so far advanced, that considering withall the avernesness unto it of the *Infanta*, as it is high time to seek some means to divert the treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatsoever it be; but in all other things procure the satisfaction of the King of *Great Britain*, who hath deserved very much, and it shall content me, so that it be not the match.

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*Conde Olivarez his Answer to the King.*

*Sir,*

**C**onsidering in what estate we find the Treaty of marriage between *Spain* and *England*, and knowing certainly how the Ministers did understand this business, that treated it in the time of *Philip* the third, who is now in heaven, that their meaning was never to effect it; but by enlarging the treaties and points of the said marriage, to make use of the friendship of the King of *Great Britain*, as well in the matter of *Germany* as those of *Flanders*; and suspecting likewise that your Majesty is of the same opinion (although the demonstrations do not shew so) joyning to those suspicions that it is certain that the *Infanta Donna Maria* is resolved to put her self into the Monastery the same day that your Majesty shall press her to make the marriage, I have thought fit to present to your Majesty that which my good zeal hath afforded me in this occasion, thinking it a good time to acquaint your Majesty withall, to the end you may resolve of that which you shall find most convenient with the advice of those Ministers that you shall think fit.

The King of *Great Britain* doth find himself at this time equally in the two businesses, the one is the marriage to the which he is moved by the conveniences which he finds in your Majesties friendship with making an agreement with those Catholics that he thinks are secretly in his Kingdom, and by this to assure himself of them, as likewise to marry his

his son to one of the house of *Austria*, knowing that the *Infanta Donna Maria* is the best born Lady in the world. Th'other businesse is, the restitution of the Palatinate, in which he is yet more engaged. For (besides that his reputation is at stake there is added) the love and interest of his Grandchildren, sons of his onely daughter. So that both by the law of Nature, and reason of State, he ought to put them before whatsoever conveniences might follow by dissembling what they suffer. I do not dispute whether the King of *Great Brittain* be governed in this businesse of the Palatinate by Art or friendship, I think a man may say he hath used both; but as a thing not precisely necessary to this discourse, I omit it. I hold it for a maxime, that these two Engagements in which he finds himself, are unseparable: for although the marriage be made, we must fail in that which in any way of understanding is most necessary, which is the restitution of the Palatinate. This being supposed, having made the marriage in the form as it is treated, your Majesty may find your self, together with the King of *Great Brittain*, engaged in a war against the Emperour, and the Catholique league, so that your Majesty shall be forced to declare your self with your Arms against the Emperour and the Catholique league, a thing which to hear will offend your Majesties godly ears: or declaring your self for the Emperour and the Catholique league as certainly you will, your Majesty will find your self engaged in a war against the King of *England*, and your sister married with his son, with the which all whatsoever conveniences that was thought upon with this marriage do cease if your Majesty shall shew your self Newtrall as it may be some will expound —————

The first will cause very great scandall, and with just reason, since in matters of lesse opposition then of Catholiques against Heretiques, the Armes of this Crown hath taken the godly against the contrary part. And at this time the *French* men have taken part with the *Hollanders* against your Majesty, your piety hath been such, that you have sent your Arms against the Rebels of that Crown, leaving all the great considerations of State, only because those men are enemies of the faith and the Church. It will oblige your Majesty, and good occasion to those of the League, to make use of the King of *France*, and other Catholique Princes ill affected to this Crown, for it will be a thing necessary for them to do so, and those even against their own Religion will foment and assist the Heretiques for hatred to us, without doubt they will follow the contrary part onely to leave your Majesty with that blemish that never hath befallen any King of these Dominions.

By the second the King of *England* will remain offended and disobliged, seeing that neither interestes nor hopes do follow the  
Ally-



Allyance with this Crown, as likewise the pretext of particular resentment : for having suffered his daughter and grand-children to be ruined for respect of the said Allyance. The Emperour, though he be well-affected, and obliged to us in making the translation at this time as busi-nesses now stand (the Duke of *Bavaria* being now possessed of all the Dominions) although he would dispose all according to our conveniences, yet it will not be in his power to do it, as you and every body may see : And the memoriall that the Emperours Ambassador gave your Majesty yesterday, makes it certain, since in the List of the Souldiers, that every on of the League is to pay, he shews your Majesty, that *Bavier* for himself alone will pay more then all the rest joyned together ; the which doth shew his power and his intention, which is not to accommodate matters, but to keep to himself the superiority of all in this broken time. The Emperour is now in the Dyet, and the translation is to be made in it. The opposition in this estate is, by conserving the means for conference, which your Majesties Ministers will do with their capacities, zeal and wisdom, and it is certain they wil all have enough to do; for the difficulty consists to find a way to make the present estate of affairs straight again, which with lingring, as it is said, both the power and time will be lost. I suppose that the Emperour, as your Majesty knows by his Ambassador, desires to marry his daughter with the King of *England* son, I doubt not but he will be likewise glad to marry his second daughter with the Palatines son.

Then I propound, that these two marriages be made, and that they be set on foot presently, giving the King of *England* full satisfaction in all his propositions for the more strict union and correspondency that he may agree to it: I hold for certain, that all the conveniences that would have followed the allyance with us, wil be as full in this, it doth accommodate the matter of the Palatinate, and the succession of his grand-children with his honor, & without drawing a sword, or wasting treasure.

After I would reduce the Prince Elector, that was an enemy, to the obedience of the Church, by breeding his sons in the Emperours Court, with Catholique Doctrine.

The business is great, the difficulty greater then perchance have been in any other case, I have found my self obliged to represent to your Majesty, and to shew (if you please to command me) what I think fit for the disposing of the things, and of the great Ministers that your Majesty hath ; I hope with the particular notice of these things, (and all being helped with the good zeal of the *Conde de Gondemer*) it may be that God wil open a way to it, a thing so much for his and your Majesties service.



*King James to the Earl of Bristol, Octob. 8. 1623.*

WE have received yours brought us by *Gresly*, and the Copy of yours to our dear Son; and we cannot forbear to let you know how well we esteem your dutifull, discreet and judicious relation and humble advise to our self and our Son: whereupon having ripely deliberated with our self, and communicated with our dear Son, we have resolved with the great liking of our Son to rest upon that security (in point of doubt of the *Infanta's* taking a Religious house) which you in your judgment shall think meet. We have further thought meet to give you knowledge, that it is our special desire that the betrothing of the *Infanta* with words *de presenti*, should be upon one of the dayes in Christmase new stile, that holy and joyfull time best fitting so notable and blessed an action.

But first we will that you repair presently to that King, and give him knowledge of the safe arrival of our dear Son to our Court, so satisfied and taken with the great entertainments, personal kindness, favour and respect he hath received from that King and Court, as he seems not able to magnifie it sufficiently, which makes us not know how sufficiently to give thanks; but we will that by all means you endeavour to express our thankfulness to that King, and the rest to whom it belongs, in the best and most ample manner you can. And hereupon you may take occasion to let that King know, that according to our constant affection to make a firm and indissoluble amity between our Families, Nations and Crowns, and not seem to abandon our honour, nor at the same time we give joy to our onely Son, to give our onely Daughter her portion in tears: By the advice of that Kings Ambassadors, we have entred a Treaty concerning the restitution of the *Palatinate*, as will more particularly appear to you by the copies herewith sent. Now we must remember you, that we ever understood and expected, that upon the marriage of our son with the *Infanta*, we should have a clear restitution of the *Palatinate* & Electoral dignity to our son-in-law, to be really procured by that King, according to the obligation of our honor, as you have well expressed in your reasons why the person of our Son-in-law should not be left out of the Treaty, but that the Emperor should findout a great title, or by increasing the number of Electorate stiles wherewith to satisfie the Duke of *Bavaria*. We now therefore require you, that presently in your first audience

dience you procure from that King a punctual answer what course that King will take for the restitution of the Palatinate and Electorate to our Son-in-law; and in case that either the Emperor or the Duke of *Bavaria* oppose any part of the expected restitution, what course that King will take to give us assurance for our content in that point, whereof we require your present answer; and that you so press expedition herein, that we may all together receive the full joy of both in Christmas, resting our self upon that faithfull diligence of yours we have approved in all your service. Though almost with the latest we must remember to you as a good ground for you to work on, that our Son did write us out of *Spain*, That that King would give us a Blank in which we might form our own Conditions concerning the *Palatinate*; and the same our Son confirms to us now. What observation and performance that King will make, we require you to express, and give us a speedy account, &c.  
*Given, &c.*

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*Earl of Bristol in answer to King James,  
Octob. 29. 1623.*

**M**AY it please your most excellent Majesty, I have received your Majesties Letters of the 8. of *October* on the 21. of the same moneth, some houres within night; and have thought fit to dispatch back unto your Majesty with all possible speed, referring the answer to what your Majesty hath by these Letters commanded me, to a Post that I shall purposely dispatch when I shall have negotiated the particulars with this King and his Ministers, wherein God willing all possible diligence shall be used.

But forasmuch as I find both by your Majesties Letter, as likewise by Letters which I have received from the Prince his Highness, that you continue your desires of having the Match proceeded in, I held it my duty that your Majesty should be informed that although I am set free in as much as concerneth the doubt of the *Infanta's* entering into Religion, for the delivering of the powers left with me by his Highness, yet by this new direction I now received from your Majesty, that the Deposories should be deferr'd till *Christmas*, the said powers are made altogether useless and invalid, it being a clause in the bodies of the said powers, that they shall onely remain in force till *Christmas* and no longer, as your Majesty may see by the copie I send herewith inclosed.

Your Majesty, I conceive, will be of opinion, that the suspending of the execution of the powers untill the force and validity of them be expired, is a direct and effectually revoking of them; which not to do, how far his Highness is in his Honor engaged, your Majesty will be best able to judge by viewing the powers themselves. Further, if the date of these powers do expire, besides the breach of the Capitulations, although the match it self jealousies and mistrusts be hazarded, yet the Princes coming at the Spring, will be almost impossible: For by that time new Commissions and Powers shall be after *Christmas* granted by the Prince, which must be to the satisfaction of both parties, I conceive so much of the year will be spent, that it will be impossible for the Fleets and other preparations to be in a readiness against the Spring; for it is not to be imagined that they will here proceed effectually with their preparations, untill they shall be sure of the Desposorios, especially when they shall have seen them severall times deferred on the Prince his part, and that upon pretexts that are not new, or grown since the granting of the Powers, but were before in being, and often under debate, and yet were never insisted upon to make stay of the business; so that it will seem that they might better have hindered the granting of them then the execution of them. Now, if there were not staggering in former resolutions, the which although really there is not, yet can it not but be suspected; and the clearing of it between *Spain* and *England*, will cost much time. I most humbly crave your Majesties pardon if I write unto you with the plainness of a true-hearted and faithfull servant, who ever hath cooperated honestly unto your Majesties ends. I knew them, I know your Majesty hath been long time of opinion, that the greatest assurance you could get, that the King of *Spain* would effectually labour the inquire restitution of the Palatinate, was that he really proceeded to the effecting of the match, and my instructions under your Majesties hands, were to insist upon the restoring the Prince Palatine; but not to annex it to the treaty of the match, as that thereby the match should be hazarded; for that your Majesty seemed confident that here it would never grow to a perfect conclusion without a settled resolution to give your Majesty satisfaction in the business of the Palatinate. The same course I observed in the carriage of the business by his Highness and my Lord Duke at their being here, who though they insisted on the business of the Palatinate, yet they held it fit to treat of them distinctly, and that the marriage should proceed as a good pawn for the other.

Since their departure my Lord Ambassador Sir *Walter Aston* and myself have been pressed to have this Kings resolution in writing concerning the Palatinate, and the dispatches which your Majesty will receive here.



herewith concerning that business, were writ before the receipt of your Majesties Letters; and doubtless it is now a great part of their care that that business may be well entred before the *Infanta's* coming into *England*: And his Highness will well often remember, that the *Conde de Olivarez* often protested a necessity of having this business compounded and settled before the marriage, saying, otherwise they might give a Daughter, and a War within three moneths after, if this ground and subject of quarrell should still be left on foot. The same language he hath ever held with Sir *Walter Ashton* and my self, and that it was a firm peace and amity as much as an alliance which they sought with his Majesty. So that it is not to be doubted, but that this King concluding the match, resolveth to imploy his uttermost power for your satisfaction in the restitution of the Prince Palatine.

The question now will be, whether the business of the Prince Palatine having relation to many great Princes that are interested therein, living at distance, and being (indeed) for the condition and nature of the business it self, impossible to be ended but by a formall treaty, which of necessity will require great length, whether the conclusion of the match shall any way depend upon the issue of this business, which I conceive to be far from your Majesties intention; for so the Prince might be long kept unbestowed by any avernses of those which might have particular interest in the Princes remaining unmarried, or dislike with his matching with *Spain*. But that which I understand to be your Majesties aim, is onely to have the conclusion of this match accompanied with a strong engagement as can be procured from this King for the joyning with your Majesty not onely in all good Offices for the entire restitution of the Palatinate, but otherwise if need require of his Majesties assistance herein.

These days past I have laboured with all earnestness, and procured this Kings publique answer which I am told is resolved of, and I shall within these few days have it to send to your Majesty, as also a private Proposition which will be put into your hands; and shall not fail further to pursue your Majesties present directions of procuring this Kings Declaration; in what sort your Majesty may rely upon this Kings assistance, in case the Emperour or the Duke of *Bavaria* hinder the entire restitution of the Prince Palatine. But I conceive (if it be your intention) that I should first here procure this Kings peremptory answer in the whole business, and how he will be assistant unto your Majesty in case of the Emperours or the Duke of *Bavaria's* avernses. And that I should send it to your Majesty, and receive again your answer before I deliver the Powers for the Deposorios, the match would thereby if not



be hazarded, yet I conceive the Infanta's going at Spring would be rendered altogether impossible. For if upon the arrival of the Approbation I cannot refuse them, but upon some grounds; if I alleadge your Majesties desire of having the Deposories deferred untill Christmase, they know as well as my self that his Highness Proxy is then out of date, besides the infringing of the Capitulations; and they will judge it is a great scorn put upon this King, who ever since the Princes granting of the powers hath called himself the Infanta's Desposado, and to that effect the Prince hath writ unto him in some of his Letters. Besides, it will be held here a point of great dishonour unto the Infanta, if the powers called for by her friends should be detained by the Prince his part: and whosoever else may have deserved it, she certainly hath not deserved disrespect nor discomfort. Further, upon my refusal to deliver the powers, all preparations which now go on cheerfully and apace will be stayed, and there will enter in so much distrust, and so many troubles and jealousies, that if the main business run not hazard by them, at least much time will be spent to clear them.

I must therefore in discharge of my duty tell your Majesty, that all your Majesties businesses here are in a fair way; the Match and all that is capitulated therein, they profess punctually to perform.

In the business of the Palatinate, I continue my earnest and faithfull endeavours, and they protest they infinitely desire, and will to the utmost of their powers endeavour to procure your Majesties satisfaction.

The Prince is like to have a most worthy and vertuous Lady, and who much loveth him, and all things else depending upon this match are in good and hopefull way.

This is now the present estate of your Majesties affairs, as it appeareth unto me and to Sir *Walter Ashton*, with whom I have communicated this Dispatch, as I do all things else concerning your Majesties service. And I must clearly let your Majesty understand, that I conceive by the retaining of the powers when this King shall call for them, and offering to defer the Deposories untill Christmase, that your Majesties business will run a hazard, what by the distaste and disgust that will be raised here, and what by the art and industry of those which are enemies to the match, whereof every Court hath plenty in Christendom.

That therefore which I presume with all humility, is, That you would be pleased to give me order with all possible speed, that when the business shall come cleared from *Rome*, and that the powers of the marriage shall be demanded of me in the behalf of this King, that I may deliver them, and no ways seek to interrupt or suspend the Deposories, but assist and help to a perfect conclusion of the match.

And

And for the business of the Palatinate, I continue my earnest and faithful endeavours to engage this King as far as shall be possible, both for the doing of all good offices for the Palatines entire restitution, herein I will not fail (as likewise for this Kings declaration of assistance in case the Emperor or Duke of *Bavaria* shall oppose the said restitution) to use all possible means; and I conceive the dispatch of the Match will be a good pawn in the business, and the help and assistance which the Princes being once betrothed would be able to give in this Court to all your Majesties businesses would be of good consideration.

So fearing I have already presumed too far upon your Majesties patience, I humbly crave your Majesties pardon, and recommend you to the holy protection of God, resting.

*Madrid, Octob. 29.*

1623.

*Your Majesties most humble and  
faithful subject and servant,*

BRISTOL.

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*Earl of Bristol to King James, Novemb. 1. 1623.*

**M**AY it please your most excellent Majesty, I find that upon the news that is now come from the Duke of *Pastravia*, that the Pope hath clearly passed the Dispensation, which is now hourly expected here. There is an intention to call presently upon me for the Princes powers for the marriage left in my hands, the which I know not upon what ground or reason to detain, the Prince having engaged (in the said powers) the faith and word of a Prince no way to revoke and retract from them, but that they should remain in full force till Christmas, and delivered unto me a politique declaration of his pleasure, that upon the coming of the Dispensation I should deliver them unto this King, that they might be put in execution; and hereof likewise was there by Secretary *Serita* as a publique Notary an Instrument drawn, attested by all the witnesses present. If I shall alleadge your Majesties pleasure of having the marriage deferred untill one of the Holidays, although they should condescend thereunto, that is impossible, for the powers will be then expired. If I shall insist upon the restitution of the Palatinate, this King hath therein declared his answer; and it would be much wondred why that should be now added for a condition of the marriage; having ever hitherto been treated of as a business apart; and was in being at the granting

granting of the said powers, and hath been often under debate, but never specified, nor the powers delivered upon any condition of having any such point first cleared; and I must confess unto your Majesty I understand not how with honour, and that exact dealing which hath ever been observed in all your Majesties actions, the powers can be detained, unless there should appear some new and emergent cause since the granting of them, whereof as yet I hear none specified: Therefore being loath to be the instrument by whose hands any thing should pass, that might have the least reflection upon your Majesties or the Princes honour (which I shall ever value more than my life or safety) and judging it likewise to conduce more to your service, and assuring my self that your Majesties late direction to have the marriage upon one of the holidays in Christmas, was for want of due information that the powers will be then expired, I have thought it fit (with the advice of Sir *Walter Ashton*) to raise no scruple in the delivery of the said powers, but do intend when they shall be required to pass on to the nominating of a prefixed day for the Deposorio's: but I shall endeavour to defer the time, untill I may be advertised of your Majesties pleasure, if it may be within the space of 24 dayes, and will labour to find some handsom and fair occasion for the deferring of them, without alleadging any directions in that kind from your Majesty or the Prince.

The reasons why I have thought it fit to take this resolution, are, First I find by your Majesties letters and the Princes, that your intent is to proceed in the marriage, and to that purpose your Majesty and the Prince have set me free to deliver the powers according to the first intentions, by removing that scruple of the Infanta's entring into Religion, whereupon they were only suspended.

Secondly, your Majesties Letter only intimateth a desire, not a direction of having the marriage upon one of the holidays of Christmas: which I conceive is to be understood, if it may well and fittingly be so, not if there shall be impossibility therein by reason of the expiring of the powers before, and that the intention of having it then should be overthrown thereby, when I am confident that what your Majesty writeth is for want of due information of the clause of expiration of the powers.

Thirdly, if your Majesty upon these reasons and such as I have formerly alleadged unto your Majesty, should (as I no way doubt but your Majesty will) give me order for the present proceeding to the marriage, yet by my refusing of the powers, and alleadging your Majesties or the Princes directions, although afterwards all things should be cleared, yet would it cast some kind of aspersion and jealousy upon the sincerity of your



your Majesties and the Princes proceedings. On the contrary side, if your Majesties intention be not to proceed in the match, whereof I see no ground, the intimation of that may be as well a moneth hence as now: And I judge it duty in a servant, especially in a business of so high a consequence, and wherein your Majesty hath spent so much time, to give his master leisure to repair to his second cogitations before he do any act that may disorder or overthrow.

This I offer with all humility unto your Majesties wife and just consideration, and beseech you to make interpretation of my proceedings herein according to my dutifull and zealous care of your honour and service. I have of purpose dispatcht this Post with this Letter, to the end I may receive your Maiesties directions in this particular with all possible speed, which I hope shall be to proceed directly to the marriage according to the Capitulations, and so to order all things for the Princess her journey in the Spring. And for the Palatinate, your Maiefty may be confident there shall be diligence used in procuring a speedy and good resolution. So, &c.

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*King James to the Palgrave.*

*My most dear Son,*

WE have been carefull, and are at this present, to perform the promise which we made unto you, to employ all our power to re-establish you into your estates and dignities; and having by the patience and industry which we have used, reduced matters within a more neerer circle and of a less extent then the generality in which they were heretofore: We have thought good to give you knowledge of such things whereof hope is given to us that we shall in all appearance obtain them, to the end you may have recourse to your wisdom, and after a mature deliberation make choyce agreeable to the providence, honor, and safety of your estates; duly weighing and examining all circumstances: and therefore we present unto you these Propositions, to wit, In the first place a due submission to the Emperour, under convenient limitations, which first shall be granted and agreed in conformity to that which is Noble, with a safe conduct and assurance requisite and sufficient for the free and safe going and return of your Person and Train. This being done, we make you offer of a present and full restitution of all the Palatinate unto the person of your son, and that you shall be his Administrator during your life. And that after the death of

these



the Duke of *Bavaria*, your son shall be re-established in the Electorall dignity; And for the better confirming the sound Amity, and assuring your Possessions, and enjoying of all according to the contract, which is presently to be made, and also to serve for a preparation for the bettering of the said conditions to your person, which will be in all likelihood when the marriage will be resolved and concluded to be made betwixt your eldest son our Grand-child, and one of the Emperours daughters. In contemplation whereof they have approached a degree neerer, to wit, that the Electorall dignity shall come again to your person after the Duke of *Bavaria's* death. In which Treaty of marriage, to clear the principall difficulty which consisted with the education of your son with the Emperour, we have taken from them all hope therein (wherein we assure our selves you will be content) and are purposed that he shal have his education with our son, and with and in the presence of the *Infanta*, when she shall be in our Court. We have exactly shewed you the state of this Negotiation, which chiefly concerns you and yours, to the end you may fix your eyes upon your necessity and bare condition and manner of living, which dependeth on the courtesie and assistance of others, and that you may judge advisedly whether your ready entrance into the possession of your own, and with a kind of present liberty of living (with insuranc in time to recover the possession of it) shall not be more convenient for you then a hazardous long expectation upon othet uncertain means: The former whereof I prefer before the later. We pray you to consider what probable and feasible means we may undertake to reduce your condition to that state as you promise your self; wherein we doubt not, but you will weigh our forces, and those of our Allyes, and such other whereof we may hope to be assured, to the end that if it should happen that we cannot obtain to the entire of that we desire by way of treaty, or that we should take another course, you may be partaker of Councils as well as the issues and uncertain events. And forasmuch as we are desirous to consider with you for your personall estate, and as we are obliged to have regard to the right of our only daughter, and to the inheritance of your children, with the hope of their posterity, by what way it may be most easily established, and by what fit means provision may be made best to that effect. And herein we remain your most affectionate Father,

*From White-Hall, Novemb. 20.*

*Jacobus Rex.*

*The Palsgraves Answer to King James.*

SIR,

I Take as a great honor and favour your Majesties Letter of the 20. of November, delivered unto me by the hands of your Ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton, who hath further explained your Majesties intention touching that which concerneth my restitution unto my honors and patrimonial estate, that you continue firm and constant (in conformity to your promises) to labour and effect by one way or other, so that the said restitution may be intire and totall, as well in that which concerneth the Electorall dignity as the Palatinates; and that the Propositions which your Majesty makes by your Letter (to content my self to be Administrator to my son, and he to be invested with the said dignity, and put into present possession of the Palatinate) is but in all events if so be your Majesty could not attain to the totall restitution (the desired effect of your intentions) leaving me nevertheless to be at liberty to chuse the lesser of the two evils (if I may be permitted to term them so) the one by the totall restitution of my Estates, but with diminution, or rather annihilation (for so in effect it will be) in respect of my person of the Electorall dignity; th'other of the recovery of both by war, the events whereof are uncertain. First, I most humbly thank your Majesty for the paternall care which you continue and shew in this occasion; and which doth more comfort me, and my dear wife in our afflictions, then the fear of humane events can grieve or incline us to be willing to recover the loss of goods with the loss of honors. I will therefore use the liberty which your Majesty is pleased to give me in answering every particular point of your Letter. In the first whereof I observe the proceeding of my enemies, who require a personall submission (intended to precede all other things) under the safe conduct of the Emperour; whereas by natural order used in these occasions, the restitution which is materiall and substantiall, ought by reason to precede the other, being but a point of ceremony, at the least it is necessary that all things be resolved and concluded under such assurances as shall be held convenient; and then if the intentions on the Emperours part be reall and sincere, and without any aim to take advantage upon my person (as the Emperour Charles 5. did upon the Lantgrave of Hessen under the subtilty of a distinction of a syllable in safe conduct *Ewis* for *Einis*) the said submission may as well be made by a Deputy as otherwise, whereby I shall be freed

from the apprehensions which the execution at *Prague*, & other cruelties exercised by the Imperialists, may easily impress in the mind of him who is unwilling to lose himself by a *quiete de Cœur*. Besides, a simple consent to such a submission under the specified condition, to yield the Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, will be sufficient to prejudice my cause for ever. For the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* who have always protested against the translation of the Electorate; and the other Princes of *Germany* who have like feeling, will disavow their protestations in regard of him who shall abandon his own pretensions, and in stead of favouring me upon some breach of the Treaty, or otherwise, may be my opposites. Moreover, the experience of things past teach us what issue we may hereafter expect of the like conditions consented to on our part. The Emperour having manifestly abused us in two already, First in the instrument which I signed for the conditionall resignation of the Crown of *Bohemia* in the year 1621. Then in my ratification of the suspension of Arms this last Summer. The first having served the Emperour to accelerate his Treaty then on foot with *Bethlem Gabor*: The second to intimidate the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, that they might not undertake any thing against the Emperour, both the one and the other being divulged to the same effect, according to the knowledge which the Emperour had of these designs before any thing was therein resolved and concluded: And so will the Emperour in all appearance make his profit of this present proposition, and strike with one stone two blows, by hindering the progress of *Gabor* on the one side, and by continuing on the other the intimidation of the Princes of *Germany*, who may with reason excuse themselves if they move not for him, who hath bound himself hand and foot, and consented to a submission, which being yielded to, it will be always in the Emperours power to break or go on, as he shall hold it expedient for himself. I do also promise my self that your Majesty will have regard that by such submission and intreaty, my undue proseription and banishment (which being done in prejudice of the constitutions of the Empire, are therefore held by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* of no validity) be not approved, and thereby a mark of infamy set upon me and my posterity. Touching the second point, your Majesty may be pleased to remember, that on the part of *Spain* hope hath alwayes been given me from the beginning, of a totall and intire restitution to my own person; yea the Earl of *Bristol* hath assured me by his Letters from *Madrid* in *November* 1622. when the marriage was not so much advanced at this time. That the King of *Spain* (in case of refusall of the totall restitution) would joyn his forces with those



those of your Majesty against the Emperor to constrain him thereunto : And yet in stead of the said restitution, the translation of my Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria* was since at *Ratisbone* agreed, and congratulated unto him from *Bruxels* ; the inferior Palatinate dismembred by the grant of the *Bergstreat* one of the best peeces thereof to the Elector of *Mentz* ; the superior with the Bailywicks granted to the Duke of *Nunburgh*, thereby to engage them further in the quarrel by the particular defence of that which generally the Imperialists have usurped upon me ; they confiscate and seise the goods of my subjects, and those that follow my party, sparing neither widow nor orphans.

It seems therefore necessary above all things to have sufficient assurance for the total restitution of my Electorate and Palatinates, before any new treaty of marriage be proposed : Of the which treaties, as they are ordinarily handled and managed by the house of *Austria*, and drawn to length and delays, with the onely aim to the augmentation of their greatness, without respect to civil honesty, word or promise, I have a dolefull experience in my own house in the person of one of my predecessors *Frederick* the second, who contributed more to the first foundation which was laid for the greatness of the said house of *Austria* then any other German Prince, and for recompence was allured and drawn by the space of many years with treaties and promises of marriage, without any real intention (as was seen by the effect) ever to bring them to execution. Seeing therefore that he who had so well deserved of the house of *Austria*, (which in all external appearance held him in greater estimation then any other German Prince) was nevertheless so unworthily used by them in a treaty of marriage ; I who have been unduly put into the Ban of the Empire, and spoiled of all my honours and goods, by the eagerness, hatred and usurpation of the Emperor himself ( whose daughter is propounded for the marriage in question ) know not what to hope but the same effect of fraud and deceit which my forenamed predecessor found, with a sorrowful repentance of the evil when it was past remedy. And the Emperor wanteth but two or three years of leisure, which he shall easily gain by a treaty of a marriage, to establish in *Germany* the translation of my Electoral dignity and Patrimonial estate, without any hope ever hereafter to recover the like opportunity as at this time, that my pretensions are not prejudiced by a long interposition of time, and that the memory, of undue proceeding in the publication of the Ban against my person, and the said translation of my Electoral dignity, and seisure of my patrimonial inheritance, are yet fresh in the affections and minds of the Princes of *Germany*, who are by the consideration of their own interests moved



with the greater compassion to see the wounds of my miseries yet fresh and bleeding, and with passion and earnest desire to see them remedied. And in this place I will say something in answer to the last point of your Majesties Letter, wherein you commanded me to consider the means probable and feasible whereby my condition may be reduced to the former state, and to weigh your Majesties forces with those of your Allies, and others whereof your Majesty may hope and be assured.

If your Majesty hopeth for my restitution in *Germany* as an effect of the marriage with *Spain*, nothing else is to be done but attend the event with patience: And if you continue to distinguish between the *Spaniards* and the *Imperialists*, there is no more to be said on this subject, but as they have with joint consent conspired my ruine with the same forces, the same counsels, and the same designs, your Majesty will find (if you please to unmask the fair, seeming, and hidden malice of the *Spaniard*, the same effect, as in the end you found the open and declared violence and hostility of the *Imperialists*, who besieged your Majesties garrisons in my Towns taken into your protection. I will use the liberty you have given me to discourse of your Majesties forces and those of your Allies, and what may further with good probability be hoped from other friends and well-willers.

In the last rank I place what may be hoped from the Princes of *Germany*, who, to wit the two Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, and in effect all the rest except those of the Catholique league, have sufficiently declared the disavowing of the Emperors proceeding against me, and their opinions that the peace of *Germany* dependeth upon my restitution; besides the Levies which they made in the beginning of the last summer, though by the unlucky accident of the Duke *Christian* of *Brunswick* they were soon after dismissed. And certainly no want of any other thing to be converted to my aid, but the countenance of a great Prince to support them against the power of the house of *Austria*, the same affections remaining still in them, and the same resolution to imbrace the first good occasion that shall be presented for the liberty of *Germany*. Will there want hands for the accomplishing of such a work, when it shall be undertaken openly and earnestly? seeing that the number of those that have their interest conjoynd with mine, is great and mighty: For the greater part of the people both horse and foot which marched under the Catholique banner, were of a contrary Religion to the Catholique, and of affection (as it is notorious to all the world) more inclined to the ruine of those Leagues than to their preservation. But the conduct of some powerfull Prince is necessary as well to the men of war, as we have seen by experience the last year. The King of *Denmark* is  
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he upon whom all have set their eyes : but he being a Prince full of circumspection, and unwilling to enter into play alone, answereth unto all instances which are made unto him to that end, That as the other Princes have their eyes upon him, so hath he his upon your Majesty.

It is not for me to judge ; but since you have commanded me, I will weigh them by the ballance of common judgment. That the felicity wherewith God hath blessed the person of your Majesty, having conjoyned the three Crowns of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* upon one head ; the power of the one of the three alone having done great matters in the affairs of *Europe* on this side the sea, yea when it was counterballanced by the other, gives demonstration what your Majesty may do with the joynt forces of the three together, when you shall be pleased to take a resolution therein, chiefly the question being for the interest of your own Children ; and by the voluntary contribution which we have already had in our support from your Majesty, we may easily comprehend what may be promised of them when the publike authority of your Majesty shall be conjoyned with their particular affections ; there being no Prince in the world more loved and revered of his subjects, nor more soveraign over their affections and means for the service of your person and Royal house. Touching the *Allies*, it is to my great grief that the unhappines of this time hath separated a great part of them, the united Provinces of *Germany*, who make profession of the same Religion whereof they acknowledge your Majesty for Defendor and Protector. But the same affection remaineth still in them entire and firm, though they have been constrained to yield to the present necessity of their affairs ; and the occasion presenting it self, your Majesty may accompt of them.

The rest, the Estates of the united Provinces to whom we have recourse in our afflictions, who support themselves by the help of God, and the situation of their Country and Forces of their people alone untill this time against the puissance of *Spain*, seconded by the Imperialists. And in stead of fainting under such a burthen, or of giving ear unto the overtures and submissions which from day to day are presented unto them, they now put themselves to the offensive, by a good Fleet prepared and ready to set sail to the *West-Indies*, to the end they may at least interrupt the peaceable and annual return of the gold and silver of those parts, by which the house of *Austria* doth continually advance their greatness. This is commended by all good men and lovers of the publike liberty, as the sole and only means to cast to the ground the fearfull power of *Spain*, even as a great tree of large extent cut up by the root ; but is held too great for such a little extent of Country as this is,

and

and yet practically, and to be done by forces answerable to the importance of such an enterprize : And if your Majesty would be pleased to use the Forces of this estate by sea and land, to the opposition of their enemies, and by consequence of mine, their profession of a loyall and sincere affection with the hazard of their lives and goods for the service of your Majesty, grounded upon the experience of things past, their present interest, and the judgement which may be made of the future, makes me assured that your Majesty may absolutely dispose of them ; and by their means being firmly conjoynd with your Majesty, give the Law to *Europe*.

It is in obedience to your Majesties commandment that I have enlarged my self so far into this discourse, which I will send with my most humble thanks for the continuance of your most gracious and paternall bounty, particularly shewed in the care you have of the education of my eldest son in your Court, who with all the rest are at your Majesties disposing, and we hope to live notwithstanding our hard and dolefull condition, to yeild unto your Majesty the fruits of a devout and filiall gratitude, and I will remain untill the last day of my life,

*From the Hague, Decemb.  
30. 1623. new stile.*

*Your Majesties most, &c.*

FREDERICK.

*Postscript.*

I am advertised from a good part, that the Elector of *Mentz* and the other Princes of the Popish league are very instant with the Elector of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* to perswade them to acknowledge the Duke of *Bavaria* as an Elector of the Empire : which if they obtain, it were easie to judge how much it would prejudice my affairs, and the common cause of the Empire. I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to prevent and hinder such an evil, by the interposition of good offices, and exhortations to the said secular Electors, be it by some Ambassador, by serious Letters, or such other way as you shall hold meet and suitable to the importance of the matter, which above all requireth singular celerity. Your Majesty shall increase more and more my obligations, and that of the publique of *Germany*, &c.

## Abignoto from Madrid.

**T**He Spaniard begins now to be sensible of the great disobligation and gross oversight he committed in suffering the Prince to go away without his *Infanta*: For it hath given occasion of advantage to the *English* (who now seem indifferent whether they match with him or no) to proceed more stoutly, and to add to the former Articles which the Prince had sworn at his being here, certain new Propositions about the Palatinate, which was thought to be unfit to motion at his being here, by reason of the engagement of his person. And there is a Commission sent to the Earl of *Bristol* to treat of these two businesses joynly; and if the King of *Spain* give not a satisfactory answer therein, then he is to return home. *Buckingham* hath little obligation to *Spain*, therefore for his own particular he hath good reason if he cannot prop himself this way, to find other means for his support: unkindnesses passed between him and *Olivarez*, and a hot heart-burning between him and *Bristol*, who told him here before the Prince, that being so far his superior in honor and might, he might haply contemn him, but he could never hate him. Ever since his departure he hath attempted to crush *Bristol* to pieces, who is out of purse two thousand pound of his own since his coming hither, & he is so crossed that he cannot get a penny from *England*. If he cannot get a surrender of the Palatinate to the Kings mind, he is in a poor case; for he must hence presently: he is much favoured of the King here and *Olivarez*, therefore they will do much for him before *Buckingham* work his revenge upon him: he hath received lately more comfortable dispatches from *England*, and in the last the King sent him, he requires his advice in certain things. The Proxie the King of *Spain* had to marry the *Infanta* in the Princes name, is proroged till March. There is great resentment of the delays in the Court here; and the *Infanta* hath given over studying of *English*. The two Ambassadors here ever since the Princes departure, have visited the *Infanta* as vassals; but now they carry themselves like Ambassadors again. We are all here in suspense, and a kind of maze to see the event of things, and how matters will be pieced together again, we know not.



*A Memoriall to the King of Spain, by Sir Walter Ashton,  
Ambassador in Spain. Aug. 29. 1624.*

**S**Ir *Walter Ashton*, Ambassador to the King of *Great Britain*, saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to represent to your Majesty, that having declared to your Majesty the reasons why he could receive no satisfaction by your Majesties answer of the first of *January*, and that thereby according to the unanimous consent of his Parliament he came to dissolve both the Treaties of the Match and Palatinate, he received another answer from your Majesty, wherein he finds less ground to build upon; and having understood that either by the *Padre de Maestro*, or your Majesties Ambassadors which have assisted these dayes past in this Court, there was something to be propounded and declared touching the business of the Palatinate, whereby he might have received satisfaction, the said Ambassadors untill now have not said anything at all to purpose; which comparing with other circumstances of their ill carriage, he gathers and doubts, that according to the ill affection, and depraved intentions wherewith they have proceeded in all things, but especially in particular they have laboured to hinder the good correspondency and so necessary and desired intelligence which should be conserved with your Majesty. Furthermore he saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to give account to your Majesty, that in an Audience which he gave to the *Marques de Injiosa* and *Don Carlo Colonna*, they under Cloak and pretext of zeal & particular care of his person, pretended to discover unto him a very great conjuration against his person and Royall Dignity, and it was,

That at the beginning of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham* had consulted with certain Lords, of the arguments and means which were to be taken touching the breaking and dissolving of the Treaties of the Palatinate and Match; and the consultations passed thus far, That if his Majesty would not accommodate himself to their counsels, they would give him a house of pleasure whither he might retire himself to his sports, in regard that the Prince had now years sufficient to, and parts answerable for the government of the Kingdom.

The Information was of that quality, that it was sufficient to put impression in him of perpetual jealousies, in regard that through the ribs of the Duke he gave wounds to the Prince his son, and the Nobility;  
and

and it is not probable that they could bring to effect such designs without departing totally from the obligation of faith and loyalty which they owed to his Person and Crown, because the Lords made themselves culpable as concealers: And it is not likely that the Duke would hurl himself into such an enterprize, without communicating it first with the Prince, and knowing his pleasure.

And because this information might be made more clear, he did make many instances unto the said Ambassadors, that they would give him the Authors of the said Conjurat[i]on, this being the sole means whereby their own honor might be preserved, &c. whereby their great zeal and care they had pretended to have of his person, might appear. But instead of confirming the great zeal they had pretended to bear him; all the answer they made him, consisted of Arguments against the discovery of the Conspirators: So that for the confirmation of the said report, there remained no other means then the examination of some of his Councill of State, and principall subjects, which he put in execution, and made them take oath every one particularly in his own presence, and commanded that such interrogatories and questions should be propounded unto them that were most pertinent to the accusation; so that neither part, particle, or circumstance remained, which was not exactly examined and winnowed, and he found in the Duke and the rest that were accused, a sincere Innocency touching the accusations and imputation wherewith they were charged.

This being so, he turned to make new instances unto the said Ambassadors, that they should not prefer the discovery of the names of the Conspirators to the security of his Royall person, and truth and honor of themselves, and the hazard of an opinion to be held, and judged the Traytors of a plot of such malice, sedition and danger. But the Ambassadors remaining in a knotty kind of obstinacy, resolved to conceal the Authors. Nevertheless afterterwards he gave them an audience, wherein the Marquess of *Injiosa* took his leave.

Few days after they demanded new audience, pretending that they had something to say that concerned the publique good, and conduced to the entire restitution of the Palatinate, with desire to lose no opportunity that might conduce thereunto, and therewith the confirmation and conservation of the friendship with your Majesty having suspended some few days to give them audience, thinking that being thereby better advised, they would resolve upon a wiser course, and declare the Authors of so pernicious an action, and having since made many instances, and attended the success of so long patience, he sent his Secre-

rary, and Sir *Francis Cottington* Secretary to the Prince, commanding them that they should signifie unto the Ambassadors; that he desired nothing more then the continuance of the friendship 'twixt both the Crowns; and if so they had any thing to say, they would communicate it to the said Secretaries, as persons of so great trust, which he sent to that end: And if they made difficulty of this, that they would chuse amongst his Councell of State, those which they liked best, and he would command that they should presently repair unto them; and if this did not likewise seem best unto them, that they would send what they had to say in a Letter sealed up, by whom should seem best unto them, and he would receive it with his own hands. But the Ambassadors misbehaving themselves in all that was propounded, the said Secretaries according to the order which they brought, told them, that they being the Authors of an information so dangerous and seditious, had made themselves incapable to treat further with the King their Master; and were it not for the respect to the King his dear and beloved brother and their Master, and in contemplation of their condition as Ambassadors of such a Majesty, he would and could by the Law of Nations, and the right of his own Royall Justice, proceed against them with such severity as their offence deserved, but for the reasons aforesaid he would leave the reparation hereof to the justice of their King, of whom he would demand and require it.

In conformity whereof the said Ambassador of the King of *Great Britain*, saith, that the King his Master hath commanded him to demand reparation & satisfaction of your Majesty against the said *Marquis de Injiosa* and *Don Carlos Colomma*, making your Majesty Judge of the great scandall and enormous offence which they have committed against them and the publick right, and expect justice from your Majesty in the demonstrations and chastisements which your Majesty shall inflict upon them, which for his proceeding sake with your Majesty, and out of your Majesties own uprightness and goodness ought to be expected.

Furthermore he saith, that the King his Master hath commanded him to assure your Majesty, that till now he hath not mingled the correspondence and friendship he held with your Majesty, with the faults and offences of your Ministers, but leaves and restrains them to their own persons, and that he remains with your Majesty in the true and ancient friendship and brotherhood, as heretofore; and that he is ready to give hearing to any thing that shall be reason, and to answer thereunto: and when your Majesty is pleased to send your Ambassadors thither, he will make them all good treaty, and receive them with that good love that is due.

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For conclusion, the said Ambassador humbly beseecheth your Majesty will be pleased to observe and weigh the care and tenderness wherewith the King his Master proceeded with your Majesties Ambassadors, not obliging to precipitate resolutions, but giving them much time to prove and give light of that which they had spoken; and besides opening unto them many ways that they might comply with their orders, if they had any such. Which course if they had taken, they might well have given satisfaction to the King his Master, and moderated the so grounded opinion of their ill proceedings against the peace, and so good intelligence and correspondence betwixt both the Crowns.

*Madrid, Aug. 5. 1624.*

*The Petition of Francis Philips to King James for the release of Sir Robert Philips Prisoner in the Tower.*

*Most dread Sovereign,*

**I**F the Thrones of Heaven and Earth were to be solicited one and the same way, I should have learned by my often praying to God for your Majesty, how to pray to your Majesty for others. But the Liturgies of the Church and Court are different, as in many other points, so especially in this, That in the one there is not so poor a friend but may offer his vows immediately to the Almighty; whereas in the other a right loyal subject may pour out his soul in vain, without an *Ora pro nobis*. Now such is the obscure condition of your humble Suppliant, as I know no Saint about your sacred Majesty to whom I can address my orisons, or in whose mediation I dare repose the least assurance. Let it be therefore lawful for me in this extraordinary occasion, to pass the ordinary forms; and raising my spirits above uncertainties, to fix my intire faith upon your Majesties supreme goodness, which is and ever ought to be esteemed both the best Tribunal, and the best Sanctuary for a good cause. But how good soever my cause be, it would be high presumption in me to stand upon it. I have therefore chosen rather to cast my self at your Majesties feet, from whence I would not willingly rise, but remain a monument of sorrow and humility till I have obtained some gracious answer to my Petition: For though your Majesties thoughts cannot discern so low, as to conceive how much it importeth a poor distressed



Suppliant to be reviled, neglected, yet you may be pleased to believe that we are as highly affected, and as much anguished with the extremities that press our little fortunes, as Princes are with theirs. Which I speak not out of any pride I take in comparing small things with great, but only to dispose your Majesty to a favourable construction of my words, if they seem to be overcharged with zeal and affection, or to express more earnestness then perhaps your Majesty may think the business merits as my self values it. The suit I am to make to your Majesty is no sleight one, it may be easily granted without references: For I dare assure your Majesty upon my life, it is neither against the Laws of the Kingdom, nor will diminish any of your treasure, either that of your coffers, or that of your peoples hearts: it being an act of clemencie, or rather a word, for even that will satisfie to create in your poor dejected Suppliant a new heart, and send him away as full of content as he is now of grief and despair. Nor is it for my self I thus implore your Majesties grace, but for one that is far more worthy, and in whom all that I am consists, my dear Brother, who I know not by what misfortune hath fallen, or rather been pushed into your Majesties displeasure; not in dark and crooked ways, as corrupt and ill-affected subjects use to walk, and near to break their necks in, but even in the great road, which both himself & all good *Englishmen* that know not the paths of the Court, would have sworn would have led most safely and most directly to your Majesties service from your Majesties displeasure; there needs no other invention to crucifie a generous and honest-minded suppliant, upon whom hath issued and been derived a whole torrent of exemplary punishment, wherein his reputation, his person, and his estate grievously suffered.

For having (upon the last proceſs of Parliament) retired himself to his poor house in the Countrey, with hope a while to breathe after these troublesome affairs, and still breathing nothing but your Majesties service; he was sent for ere he had finished his Christmas, by a Sergeant at Arms, who arrested him in his own house with as much terror as belongs to the apprehending of treason it self: But (thanks be to God) his conscience never started; and for his obedience herein shewed, it was not in the power of any authority to surprize it: For at the instant without asking one minutes time of resolution, he rendered himself to the officers discretion, who (according to his directions) brought him up captive, and presented him at the Councell Table as a Delinquent, from whence he was as soon committed to the Tower, where he ever since hath been kept close prisoner, and that with so strict a hand, as his own beloved wife and my self having sometime since urgent and unfeigned occasion to speak with him about some private business of his Family; and hereupon making humble petition to the Lords of your Majesties  
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most honorable Privy Councell for the favour of acceſſe, we were to our great diſcomforts denied it, by reaſon as their Lordſhips were pleaſed to declare unto us, that he had not ſatisfied your Maſteſty fully in ſome points, which being ſo far from being his fault, as I dare ſay it is the greateſt part of his affliction, that he ſees himſelf debarred from means of doing it. The Lords Commiſſioners that were appointed by your Maſteſty to examine his offence, ſince the firſt week of his imprisonment, have not done him the honor to be with him; by which means not onely his body, but (the moſt part of his mind) his humble intentions to your Maſteſty are kept in reſtraint. May it pleaſe therefore your moſt excellent Maſteſty now at length after five moneths imprisonment and extreame durance, to ordain ſuch expedition in this cauſe, as may ſtand with your juſtice, and yet not avert your mercy, either of them will ſerve our turns; but that which is moſt agreeable to your Royall and gracious inclination, will beſt accompliſh our deſire. To live ſtill in cloſe priſon is all one to be buried alive; and for a man that hath any hope of ſalvation, it were better to pray for the day of judgment, then to lie languiſhing in ſuch waking miſery; yet not ours but your Maſteſties will be done. For if in your princely wiſdom you ſhall not think it a fit ſeaſon to reſtore him to his former condition, or to accept the fruit of his correction, an humble and penitent ſubmiſſion for his unhappineſs in offending your Maſteſty, which I aſſure my ſelf is long ſince ripe and grown to full perfection in ſo forward affection, and ſo proper for all duties as his hath ever been: If (I ſay) it be not yet time to have mercy, but that he muſt ſtill remain within the walls of bondage to expiate that which he did in theſe priviledged ones, my hope is, that he will die at any time for your Maſteſties ſervice, and will find patience to live any where for your Maſteſties pleaſure; only thus much let me beſeech your Maſteſties grace again and again, not to deny your humble and moſt obedient ſuppliant, that you will at leaſt be pleaſed to mitigate the rigor of his ſufferings ſo far as to grant him the liberty of the Tower, that he may no longer groan under the burthen of thoſe incomodities which daily prejudice his health & fortune, in a higher degree (I believe) then either your Maſteſty knows or intends; I am the more bold to importune your Maſteſty in the point of favour, becauſe it concerns my own good & preſervation: For your Maj. ſhall deign to underſtand that I your ſuppliant have no means to live but what proceeds from his brotherly love and bounty; ſo as if I may not be ſuffered to go to him and receive order for my maintenance, I know none but *Our Father which art in heaven* to beg my daily bread on; he that was my father on earth is long ſince departed (if I have not been miſinformed) who was then beyond ſea, your Maſteſties anger was to him little better then the meſſenger of death, though I perſwade my ſelf it was rather ſent in your Maſteſties Name then in your Warrant.

For what use could your Majesty have of his not being, who neither was, nor could be ever but your faithful and affectionate servant, who in his soul adored your Royal Majesty as much as ever mortal man did any mortal God; lastly, whose heart was so bent to please your Majesty, as the very sound of your displeasure was enough to break it. And more perfect obedience then this can no subject shew, to make his Sovereigns favour equal to life and death.

Pardon me, dread Sovereign, if in this occasion I cannot hinder my Fathers ghost from appearing: For how can it possibly be at rest, as long as your fatal displeasure reigns still in his family, and makes it the house of continual mourning? Remove then (if it be your blessed will) the clouds that have been so long hanging over our heads; and let not the present storm that wants matter to produce, extort a thunderbolt: For what is *Philips*, or the son of *Philips*, that your Majesty should so destroy them? We are unworthy of *Cæsar's* anger, as well in regard of our means as of our innocencie?

To conclude my prayers, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to forgive them; and let not the ignorance of the stile, or ceremonies used in the Court, be imputed to your humble and well-meaning Suppliant, as a willing want of reverence; in whose breast these two legal qualities, Love and Fear, do more vigorously meet, or who could more willingly part with his essence, to add the least acquisition to the greatness and majesty of his Sovereign. True it is, that the subject that employed the faculties of my soul at this present, is of such a nature, as I could not deny it the uttermost of my affection; and he that thinks he can never speak enough, may easily speak too much. That neither my self nor my brother have failed in any thing but words, that your Majesty will pardon, without that all crimes are equal, and as much danger lies in an humble Petition as in a plot of high Treason.

Be pleased then (most gracious Sovereign) to give us back one gracious word, and keep our undoubted hearts, at least shew us so much mercy as to judge us according to your own goodness: For if we had not liberty to appeal thither, we should be in danger of losing the best part of our birthright, and instead of your Majesties subjects become other mens slaves. From your Majesty therefore, and from no other, your faithful suppliant craves and expects the joyfull word of grace: which if I may be so happy as to carry my poor brother before he grows any elder in misery, I shall fill an honest heart with prayers and thanksgiving: And for my particular, your Majesties greatest favour and liberality shall not more oblige or better affect others, then your Royal clemencie shall me. In memory whereof I shall daily pray, that your  
Majesty

Majesty may obtain all your desires of heaven, and so be obeyed in all your commandments on earth, that we may live to see your holy intentions to take effect for the good of Christendom, and so you may honour the age you live in with the miracles of your wisdom. Finally, that your felicity in this world may overtake that in the highest to make you wear a perpetual Crown to Gods glory and your own.

*Your Majesties most humble, loyal, and  
true-hearted English subject,*

FRANCIS PHILIPS.

*Oliver St. Johns to the Major of Marlborough  
against the Benevolence.*

**A**S I think, this kind of Benevolence is against Law, Reason, and Religion.

First, the Law is in the Statute called *Magna Charta*, 9. H. 3. cap. 29. That no Free-man be any way destroyed but by the Lawes of this Land.

Secondly, besides that the said Statute of *Magna Charta* is by all Princes since established and confirmed, it is in the speciall case of voluntary or free grants enacted and decreed 25. E. 1. cap. 5. That no such be drawn into custome, and cap. 6. That henceforth be taken no such Aids, Tasks, free Grants, or Prizes, but by assent of all the Realm, and for the good of the same. And in *primo* R. 3. cap. 2. That the Subjects and Commons in this Realm from henceforth shall in no wise be charged by any charge or imposition called a Benevolence, or any such like charge, and that such exactions called a Benevolence, shall be damned and annulled for ever.

First, it is not onely without, but against reason, that the Commous in their severall and particulars, should be made relievers or suppliers of his Majesties wants, who neither know his wants, nor the sums that may be this way raised to supply the same.

Secondly, it is against reason that the particular and severall Commons distracted, should oppose their judgment and discretion to the judgement and discretion of the wisdom of their Land assembled in Parliament, who have there denied any such aid.



It argueth in us want of love and due respect of our Sovereign Lord and King, which ought to be in every of us towards each other, which is to itay every one which we see falling, and reduce the current. What prosperity can there be expected to befall either our King or Nation, when the King shall haply of ignorance, or ('tis I hope) out of forgetfulnesse or headinesse, commit so great a sin against his God, as is the violating of his great and solemn oath taken at his coronation for the maintaining of his Lawes, Liberties and Customes of this Noble Realm, & his Subjects, some for fear, some in pride, some to please others, shall joyn hands to forward so unhappy an atchievement, can he any way more highly offend the Divine Majesty (whom he then invocated) as also can he then give unto another. *Hen. 4.* If such an one should rise up (which God forbid) a greater advantage, let these Articles put up against *R. 2.* be looked on, it will appear that the breach of the Laws, infringing the Liberties, & failing in this his oath, were the main blemishes wherewith he could distain and spot the honor of that good and gentle Prince, who indeed was rather by others abused, then of himselfe mischievously any way disposed.

Secondly, as very irreligiously and uncharitably we help forward the Kings Majesty in that grievous sin of perjury; so into what an hellish danger we plunge our selves even so many of us as contribute, is to be learned out of the severall curses and sentences of excommunication given out against all such givers, and namely the two following. *viz.* the great curle given out the 36. *H. 3.* against all breakers of the Liberties and customes of the Realm of *England*, with their Abettors, Councellors, and Executioners, wherein by the sentence of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the chief part of all the Bishops of this Land, are *ipso facto* excommunicated. And that of 24. *Ed. 1.* denounced immediately upon the Aets made against such Benevolence, free Grants and Impositions had and taken without common assent; which because it is not so large as that former, I will set down as our Books deliver the same.

**I**N the Name of the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, *Amen.* Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, to the honour of God, and of the Holy Church, and for the common-profit of the Realm, hath granted for him and his heirs for ever these Articles above written: *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, admonished all his Province once, twice, and thrice, because that shortness will not suffer so much delay, as to give knowledge to all the people of *England* of these presents in writing. We therefore enjoin all persons of what estate soever they be, that they and every of them as much as in them is, shal uphold and maintain those Articles granted by our Sovereign Lord the King in all points; and all those that in any point do resist or break those Ordinances, or in any manner hereafter procure, counsel, or in any ways assent to, resist or break those Ordinances, or go about it by word or deed openly or privatly by any maner of pretence or colour: We therefore the said Archbishop by our authority in this Writing expressed, do excommunicate and accurse, and from the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from all the company of Heaven, and from all the Sacraments of the holy Church do sequester and exclude.

Sir, hearing that to morrow the Justices will be here about this busie work of Benevolence, wherein you have both sent unto, and talked with me, and thinking that it may be you would deliver up the names of the not-givers. Forasmuch as I think I shal scarcely be at home to make my further answer, if I should be called for, I pray you both hereby to understand my mind your self, and if cause so require to let the Justices perceive as much. So leaving others to their own consciences, whereby in that last and dreadfull day they shal stand or fall before him who will reward every man according to his deeds, I commend you to the grace of the Almighty, and rest,

*Your loving Neighbour and Friend,*

OLIVER St. JOHN.

*The Justices of Peace in the County of Devon to the  
Lords of the Councell.*

**T**He Letters from his sacred Majesty unto the Justices of Peace in this County, together with your Lordships, have been opened and read according to the directions in your Lordships Letter to our high Sheriff expressed, and the weighty business therein contained, hath been maturely and speedily debated, according to our most bounden duties to his excellent Majesty, and the many concurring necessities which press the expedition of such a service : and in those respects we can do no less, then give your Lordships a timely knowledge of the vote and opinion of us all, which was this day almost in the same words delivered by every of us.

That the sum enjoyned to be levied by the first of March, is not to be so suddenly raised out of this County by any means, much less by way of perswasion ; and hereof we had lately a certain experience in the business of the loans, which notwithstanding the fear apprehended by the presence of the Pursivant, hath come at least 6000. l. short of the expected sum, and without him we suppose would have been much less, and we are confident that nothing but extremities, which had need also be back't by Law, will raise his Majesty a sufficient quantity of treasure for his occasions. For our selves, at the time of the proposition of the forementioned Loans, we did according to his Majesties proclamation and instruction then sent us, engage our faithfull promise to our Countrey-men, that if they willingly yielded to his Majesties necessities at this time, we would never more be Instruments in the levy of aids of that kind, his Majesties intentions so clearly manifested not to make that a president, was the cause of that engagement, and we conceive it cannot be for his honor or service for us to be the means of such a breach. That his Majesties affairs and of his Allies, do all want an instant supply of Royall provisions ; his provident and Princely Letter hath fully taught us ; but we have much more cause to wish then hope that these parts so lately and so many ways impoverished, can yield it.

Your Lordships may vouchsafe to remember how much this County hath been charged since the beginning of the war, though sometimes refreshed with payment, which we acknowledge with humble thanks. By our own late loan of 35000. l. and 1000. l. more sent by Sir Thomas

Wise

*wife* and Mr. *Strood*, and yet there remains due to it for the Coat and Conduct of their own imprest Soldiers, for divers voyages for the Recruits intended for the Isle of *Ree* for the conduct of the whole Army hence, besides three Companies stand yet here for *Silly*, and no small number of scattered sick, whose mortall infection hath more discouraged the people then the charge.

That many and almost unaccountable are our ways of expence, few or none have we of in-come for the want of Trade, how then can there be any quantity of money to disburse; their bodies and goods are left which (we are assured) will be ever ready for his Majesties defence, and to be employed in his Majesties service as far forth as ever our forefathers have yeilded them to his Majesties Royall Progenitors.

Particular proofs we would have made of the peoples disability to have satisfied his Majesties demands, but we had rather adventure our selves, and this humble advertisement upon your Lordships private and favourable instructions, then to expose his Majesties honor to publique deniall, and mispend his pretious time, which applied to more certain courses may attain his Princely and religious ends, wherein to be his Majesties Intruments will be our earthly happiness, and singular comfort to be your Lordships obedient servants.

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*The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishops concerning  
King James his Directions for Preachers, with the  
Directions, Aug. 14. 1622.*

**R**ight Reverend Father in God, and my very good Lord and Brother, I have received from the Kings most excellent Majesty, a Letter, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

Most reverend Father in God, right trusty and right entirely beloved Councillor, we greet you well. Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been in all times repressed in this Realm by some Act of Councill or State, with the advice or resolution of grave and learned Prelates, insomuch as the very licencing of Preachers had beginning by an Order of Star-Chamber the 8. day of July in the 19. year of King *Henry 8.* our Noble Predecessor: and whereas at this present divers young Students by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious and dangerous Doctrine, to the scandall of the Church, and disquieting



ing of the State and present Government; We upon humble representation to us of these inconveniences by your self and sundry other grave and reverend Prelats of this Church, as also of our Princely care and zeal for the extirpation of schisme and dissention growing from these seeds, and for the settling of a religious and peaceable government both of the Church and State, do by these our speciall Letters straitly charge and command you to use all possible care and diligence that these limitations and cautions herewith sent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly and straitly henceforth observed and put in practice by the severall Bishops in their severall Diocesses within your jurisdictions. And to this end our pleasure is, that you send them forthwith severall Copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent and communicated to every Parson, Vicar and Curate, Lecturer and Minister in every Cathedrall and Parish Church within their severall Diocesses; and that you earnestly require them to imploy their uttermost indeavour in the performance of this so important a business, letting them know that we have a special eye to their proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof both of you and them, and every of them. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. Given under our Signet at our Castle of *Windsor* the fourteenth day of August, in the twentieth year of our reign of *England, France, and Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fifty sixt.

*Directions concerning Preachers.*

**T**Hat no Preacher under the degree of a Bishop, or a Dean of a Cathedrall or Collegiat Church, and that upon the Kings days, and set Festivals, do take occasion by the expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall to any set Discourse or Common-place, otherwise then by opening the coherence and division of his Text, which be not comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or naturall inference within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth by authority in the Church of *England*, and the two Books of Homilies set forth by the same authority in the year 1562. or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority of the Church of *England*, not onely for the help of non-preaching, but withall for a Patern or a Boundary as it were for the preaching Ministers; and for their further instruction for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.

2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon.

mon or Collation hereafter upon Sundays or Holidays in the afternoon in any Cathedral or Parish-Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, the ten Commandments, or the Lords prayer, ( Funeral-sermons only excepted ) And that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend their afternoons exercises in the examination of Children in their Catechism, which is the most antient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of *England*.

3. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever under the degree of a Bishop, or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or the universality, efficacie, resistibility or irresistibility of Gods grace; but leave these Theams to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly by way of use and application, rather then by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Universities then for simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever shal presume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out by way of positive doctrine in any Sermon or Lecture the power, prerogative, jurisdiction, authority, right or duty of sovereign Princes; or otherwise meddle with these matters of State, and the differences betwixt Princes and people, then as they are instructed and presided in the Homilies of Obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion set forth as before is mentioned by publique Authority, but rather confine themselves wholly to these two heads, Faith and good life, which are all the subject of ancient Homilies and Sermons.

5. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever shall causelessly or without invitation of the Text fall into bitter invectives, or undecent railing speeches against the persons of either Papists or Puritans; but modestly and gravely when they are occasioned thereunto by the text of Scripture, cleer both the doctrine and discipline of the Church of *England* from the aspersions of either adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected with the one or the other infection.

6. Lastly, That the Archbishop and Bishops of this Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choise in the licensing of Preachers, and revoke all grants  
made

made to any Chancellor, Official or Commissary, to pass Licences in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom, a new body, and severed from the antient Clergie of *England*, as being neither Parsons, Vicars, nor Curates, be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties only upon recommendations of the party from the Bishop of the Diocese under his hand and seal, with a *Fiat* from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and a confirmation under the great seal of *England*; and that such as transgress any of these Directions, be suspended by the Lord Bishop of that Diocese, or in his default by the Lord Archbishop of that Province (*ab officio & beneficio*) for a year and a day, untill his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation shall prescribe some further punishment.

By this you see his Majesties Princely care that men should preach Christ crucified, obedience to the higher powers, and honest and Christian conversation of life, but in a regular form, and not that every young man should take unto himself an exorbitant liberty to teach what he listeth to the offence of his Majesty, and to the disturbance and disquiet of the Church and Commonwealth. I can give unto your Lordship no better directions for the performance hereof then are prescribed to you in his Majesties Letter, and the Schedule hereunto annexed. Wherefore I pray you be very carefull, since it is the Princely pleasure of his Majesty to require an exact account both of you and of me for the same. Thus not doubting but by your Register or otherwise you will cause these Instructions to be communicated to your Clergy, I leave you to the Almighty, and remain your Lordships loving brother,

*Croydon, Aug. 15.*

1622.

*George Cant.*

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*King James Instructions to the Archbishop of Canterbury  
concerning Orders to be observed by Bishops in  
their Diocesses. 1622.*

1. **T**hat the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their severall Sees, excepting those that are in necessary attendance at Court.

2. That none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath purchased, nor on his Commendam if he hold any; but in one of his Episcopall Houses if he have any, and that he waste not the woods where any are left.

3. That they give their charge in their Trienniall Visitations, and at other convenient times both by themselves and the Archdeacons, and that the Declaration for settling all questions in difference, be strictly observed by all parties.

4. That there be a speciall care taken by them all, that the Ordinations be solemn, and not of unworthy persons.

5. That they take great care concerning the Lecturers in their severall Diocess, for whom we give these special Directions following.

First, That in all Parishes the after-noon Sermons may be turned into Catechising by Question and Answer, when and wheresoever there is no great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable order.

Secondly, that every Bishop ordain in his Diocess, that every Lecturer do read Divine Service according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his Surplice and Hood, before the Lecture.

Thirdly, That where a Lecture is set up in a Market Town, it may be read by a company of grave and Orthodox Divines neer adjoining, and in the same Diocess, and that they preach in Gowns, not in Cloaks, as too many use to do.

Fourthly, That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to preach till he professe his willingnesse to take upon him a living with cure of souls within that Incorporation, and that he actually take such Benefice or Cure, so soon as it shall be fairly procured for him.

Fifthly, That the Bishops do countenance and encourage the grave & Orthodox Divines of their Clergy, and that they use means by some of the Clergy, or others, that they may have knowledge how both Lecturers



cturers and Preachers within their Diocess, do behave themselves in their Sermons, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.

Sixthly, That the Bishops suffer none under Noblemen, or men qualified by Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.

Seventhly, That they take speciall care that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for Prayers and Catechismes as for Sermons, and take particular note of all such as absent themselves as Recusants, or others.

Eighthly, That every Bishop that by our grace and favour, and good opinion of his service, shall be nominated by us to another Bishoprick, shall from that day of nomination not presume to make any Lease for three lives or one and twenty years, or concurrent Lease, or any way renew any estate, or cut any Wood or Timber, but meerly receive his Rents due and to quit the place. For we think it an hatefull thing that any man leaving the Bishoprick should almost undo his Successor. And if any man shall presume to break this Order, We will refuse him Our Royall assent, and keep him at the place he hath so abused.

Ninthly and lastly, We command you to give us an account every year the second of *January* of the performance of these our commands. Subscribed at *Dorchester*.

I. R.

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*Bishop*

*Bishop of Winchester to his Archdeacon to the  
same effect.*

**S***alutem in Christo.* I have received Letters from the most Reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the tenor whereof foloweth.

Right reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and brother, I have received from the Kings most excellent Majesty a Letter, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

Most reverend Father in God, right trusty and right entirely beloved Councillor, we greet you well. For as much as the abuses and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been, &c.

According to the tenor of these Letters you are to see that these limitations and cautions herewith sent unto you be duly and strictly from henceforth observed, and put in practice, and that several Copies of those Directions be speedily communicated to every one of those whom they shall concern, and that you may imploy your uttermost endeavors in the performance of so important a business, considering that his Majesty will have a special eye over you and me, and expect a strict accompt at both our hands, whereof praying you to have all possible care, I commend your endeavours therein to the blessing of God.

Your very loving friend,

From *Farnham*, Aug. 15.

1622.

*Lan. Winton.*

*The Bishop of Lincoln L. Keeper, to the Bishop of London,  
concerning Preaching and Catechising.**My very good Lord,*

I Doubt not before this time you have received from me the directions of his most excellent Majesty concerning Preaching and Preachers, which are so graciously set down, that no godly or discreet man can otherwise then acknowledge that they do much tend to edification, if he take them not up upon report, but do punctually consider the tenor of the words as they lie, and doth not give an ill construction to that which may receive a fair interpretation. Notwithstanding because some few Church-men and many of the people have sinisterly conceived, as we here find, that those Instructions do tend to the restraint of the exercise of Preaching, and do in some sort abate the number of Sermons, and so consequently by degrees do make a breach to ignorance and superstition, his Majesty in his Princely wisdom hath thought fit that I should advertise your Lordship of the grave and weighty reasons which induced his Highness to prescribe that which was done.

You are therefore to know, that his Majesty being much troubled and grieved at the heart to hear every day of so many defections from our Religion both to Popery and Anabaptism, or other points of Separation in some parts of this Kingdom; and considering with much admiration what might be the cause thereof, especially in the reign of such a King who doth so constantly profess himself an open adversary to the superstition of the one, and madness of the other, his Princely wisdom could fall upon no one greater probability then the lightness, affectedness, and unprofitableness of that kind of Preaching which hath been of late years too much taken up in Court, University, City and Country.

The usuall scope of very many Preachers is noted to be soaring up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacity of the people, or mustering up of so much reading, or a displaying of their own wit, or an ignorant meddling with Civill matters, as well in the private severall Parishes and Corporations, as in the publique of the Kingdom, or a venting of their own distastes, or a smoothing up those idle fancies (which when the Text shall occasion the same, is not onely approved but much commended

mended by his Royall Majesty ) both against the persons of Papists and Puritans.

Now the people bred up with this kind of teaching, and never instructed in the Catechism, and fundamentall grounds of Religion, are for all this airy nourishment, no better then a brasse Tabret, new Table-books to be filled up either with Manuals and Catechismes of the Popish Priests, or the papers and pamphlets of Anabaptists, Brownists and Puritans.

His Majesty therefore calling to mind the saying of *Tertullian*, *Id verum quod primum*; and remembering with what doctrine the Church of *England* in her first and most happy Reformation did drive out the one, and keep out the other from poysoning and infecting the people of this Kingdom, doth find that the whole scope of this doctrine is contained in the Articles of Religion, the two books of Homilies, the lesser and the greater Catechism, which his Majesty doth therefore recommend again in these Directions as the theams and proper subjects of all sound and edifying preaching.

And so far are these Directions from abridging, that his Majesty doth expect at our hands that it should increase the number of Sermons, by renewing every Sunday in the afternoon in all Parish-Churches throughout the Kingdom that primitive and most profitable exposition of the Catechism, wherewith the people, yea very children may be timely seasoned and instructed in all the heads of Christian Religion. The which kind of exposition (to our amendment be it spoken) is more diligently observed in all the Reformed Churches of *Europe*, then of late it hath been here in *England*. I find his Majesty much moved with this neglect, and resolved (if we that are Bishops do not see a reformation thereof, which I trust we shall) to recommend to the care of the Civil Magistrate: so far is his Highness from giving the least discouragement to solid preaching, or discreet and religious Preachers.

To all these I am to add, That it is his Majesties Princely pleasure that both the former Directions and those reasons of the same be fairly written in every Registers Office, to the end that every Preacher of what denomination soever may, if he be so pleased, take out Copies of either of them with his own hand *gratis*, passing nothing in the name of fee or expedition: But if he do use the pains of the Register or the Clerk, then to pay some moderate Fee to be pronounced in open Court by the Chancellor and Commissaries of the place, taking the direction and approbation of my Lords the Bishops.



Lastly, That from henceforward a course may be taken that every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer do make and exhibit an account for the performance of these his Majesties directions, and the reasons for the same, at the ensuing Visitation of the Bishops and Archdeacons, paying to the Register 6d. for the exhibiting. And so wishing, but withall in his Majesties name requiring your Lordship to have a special and extraordinary care of the premisses, I leave you to the Almighty.

Your very loving friend,

Septemb. 3. 1622.

J. Lincoln, C.S.

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*Instructions*

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*Instructions for the Ministers, and Church-Wardens  
of London. Jan. 28. 1622.*

1. **T**hat his Majesties declaration, published *Anno Dom.* 1628. before the Articles of Religion, for settling all questions in difference, be strictly observed.

2. That special care be had concerning Lectures in every Parish.

3. That the Minister and Churchwardens in every parish, or one of them, do by writing under his or their owne hands, certifie unto the *Arch-Deacon of London*, or his official, at, or before the 28 of this present *January*; and afterwards at, or before every visitation, the Christian and Surnames of every Lecturer in their parishes, and the place where he preacheth, whether exempt, or not exempt; together with his quality or degree.

4. That they doe in like manner certifie the names of such men, as being not qualified by Law, do keep Chaplains in their houses.

5. That they do further certifie the names of all such as absent themselves *from*, or are negligent in coming to divine service, as well Prayers, as Catechising and Sermons.

6. That the Minister and Church-Wardens of every Parish, successively, doe keep a severall Copy of those Instructions by them, whereby they may be the better informed of their duty; and that the said Copies be shewed at every visitation, when they shall present all such persons as have disobeyed these instructions; that according to his Majesties pleasure, such as do conforme, may be encouraged, and such as are refractory, may be punished. Subscribed *Ths. Paske, Arch-Deacon of London.*

*Monfieur Bevayr, Chancellour of France, discharged to the French King.*

**L**O Sir, I willingly resign into your hands, the charge with which you were pleased to honour me, and with the same Countenance that I received it, without seeking for it, I leave it without grieving for it; the Law had sufficiently taught me to obey your Majesty, so that I needed not to have been sent for by a Captain of the Guard, and twenty Archers; violence should only be used against those that resist, and not against me that know how to obey: and that have ever esteemed this honour a heavy burden, rather than a dignity,  
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which yet I had accepted for the good of your service, because every able man owes his cares and his years to the publick good; and because it had been a shame for me to refuse to die with the stern in my hand, being able to hinder, or at the least delay the shipwrack that threatens us. God grant Sir, that I be the greatest loser in this disfavour, and that you and your state be the least touched in it. This accident hath not taken me on the suddaine, having ever well foreseen, that as I followed as much as I could, the integrity and vertues of *Monsieur de Villeroy*, and the President *Janin*; so I ought to expect the like fortune to theirs: your commandment in this, agrees with the choice my self had made. if I had been at full liberty; for I love a great deal better to be companion in their disgraces, (if I ought so to stile the being disburthened of affaires) then to be employed in the managing the State with them that there remaine; since I might in time have taken an ill day by the Company of such people, to whom I no whit envy the increase of authority, which is given them at my cost; for I have not used to give accompt of my actions every morning by stealth, neither will I be prescribed what I ought to doe, if the States good, and reason doe not counsell me unto it. This is much more honourable for me, then to have betrayed your Majesty, in sealing a discharge to an accomptant of 80000 pound, in the great poverty of the Treasury, and that to further the good of a man that bushes not (besides this) to demand the Dutchy of *Alanson* by way of mortgage, which is the portion of the Kings Sons, and to pretend to the office of Constable, which the late Kings will expressly was, should be suppressed after the death of the late Lord *Monmorency*. Think not Sir, that in not giving my consent to this, I desired to oppose my self against your Authority; I know well that that hath no bounds, but those of your wil; but yet are you bound to rule your self according to reason, and to follow the Counfel of those which have entred into the managing of the State by the choice which the late King had made of them, as being more able to give it you, then certain new comers drawn out of the dregs of businesse and of the people. This exchange which is made of us for them, is the trick of the Wolves to the Sheepe, when they tooke their dogs from them; doth not your Majesty perceive it, or dare you not redresse it for fear of disobedience? Sir, you owe obedience by nature to those that preach it to you, but they themselves owe it you both by divine and humane right; and though you should yeild them lesse, they have given you but too many examples so to doe. Remember if it please you, that you are past fifteen years old, and Kings  
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are of age at fourteen. *Isaac* followed *Abraham* his Father to be sacrificed, because he was not old enough to fear any thing: I believe if he had been a man grown, and had foreseene the danger, he would not himself have carried the sticks upon his shoulders; he was but the appearance of a sacrifice, I pray God in these occasions keep you from the effect: for when I see that men move the Authority of the Court when they will, that men set to sale and dispose of the offices of the Crown, without being once hindred by any; the Princes of the blood having been some imprisoned, and other Princes having retired themselves for the security of their persons; when I see that among the great ones, they that are made see some shadow of better fortunes, are faine to lend their hands to bring themselves into bondage; that they which have attained some settlednesse in this alteration, maintain it only for fear of returning to the former miserie of their former condition —. Besides, it seems also that the people, and the Provinces partake of this change after the example of the great ones, seeing the help of the law is unprofitable; every thing being out of order by canvassing, by violences, and by corruptions; the Louvre it self hath put on a new face, as well as the affaires of the Kingdome; there remains nothing of the old Court but the walls, and even of them the use hath been changed; for they were wont to serve for the safeguard of Princes, and now they serve for their prison, and for yours it may be, (if it be lawfull to say so:) for it is not without some end, that when you go abroad, you have a company of light horse to attend you, chosen by a suspected hand; this is your Guard after the fashion of the Bastile, this distrust counsels you enough, what you ought to doe, and you need no other advice. I am hift at, I am seoft at, and my discourse; so was *Cassandra* used, when she foretold the destruction of *Troy*. Sir, I have nothing left but my tongue to serve you with; If I were so happy to draw you out of the errour in which you are sed, I would bless a thousand times my disgrace; for having emboldned me to speake freely in a time, wherein even words are punished. The fallenesse of the *Alcharan*, is only authorised, by that it is forbidden under paine of death to speak of it. The incroachment which is made upon your Authority, takes footing only by the danger that is in telling it you freely; consider, (if it please you) that those which usurpe power over you, are of a Country where every body would raigne; thence it is that there is not a City on the other side the Alpes, that hath not her republick or her petty King; and if your Majesty had but a litle tasted the History of your owne Kingdome, you would



have found that the most learned Tragedies that were ever seen in *France*, have come from that side : the last — upon occasion of a little book which I published, touching *Constancy and Comfort in publick calamities*, I fear much that (contrary to my designe) this is a Work for your Reigne, if the goodness of God take not pity on us. Think not Sir, that the grief to see my self removed from the State Affairs, breeds so bold a discourse ; if I had felt any grief for that, 'tis but as new married Wives weep to leave the subjection of their Fathers, to enter into the equality of Marriage : Yet it is true, that owing you my service, I should with more contentment have employed it in your Counsels of State, then in your Parlements, where the matters are of lesse importance. For I suppose, that if the Carpenter which made the frame of the Admirall wherein *Don John de Austria* commanded at the Battell of *Lepanto*, had known that she should have served in so important an occasion, wherein depended the safety of the rest of Europe, hee would have taken more pleasure in the making her, then if he had made a vessell destined onely for Traffick. Notwithstanding, since your Majesty commands mee to retire my self, in a good hour be it ; the lesser stars bear a part in the perfection of the Universe, though they contribute lesse to it then the Sun or Moon. In what condition soever I live, I will ever bring all I shall be able to the good of your service : and if there be any of those which are neer you, that lament mine absence, for my own sake, I would willingly say to them, Weep for your selves, children of *Jerusalem*, that for want of courage suffer your Majesty to be betrayed ; and not for me, that have no other fault, then that I am an honest man. I take leave therefore of you, Sir, praying God to take pity of your Estate, and care of your Breeding.

*Mon<sup>r</sup> Richer forced, recants his opinions against the Papal Supremacy over Kings.*

**E**GO Librum quem composui Ecclesiastica potestatis, & me ipsum measque omnes Propositiones subjicio Eccles. Cathol. Apost. & Roman. & sanctæ sedi Apostolica, quam matrem omnium Ecclesiarum esse agnosco ; & in qua semper viguit infallibile iudicium veritatis in rebus fidei decernendis. Vehementerque doleo in prædicto meo Libro quædam esse Propositiones quæ scandalum genuerint, & quæ sint veritati Catholicae non sonant contraria.

Cardinal Richlieu to the Roman Catholicks of great Brittain,  
Aug. 25. 1624.

**V**iri praelari, longius differo ad vos scribere, quia res vestre facta non verba desiderant, vota vestra nostra sunt studia, & utraque propitio Deo, aliqua ex parte saltem optatos speramus exitus inventura; sponset hoc nobis Rex Christianissimus, qui aut nullas, aut certe honorificas Religioni, pro Regia sua indole conditiones fœderis unquam admissurus est, Ita à nobis formatus, ita animo preparatus est, ut se rei divine augenda non minus quam finibus propagandis natum vocatumque esse meminerit: serenissima Regina ejus Mater, sedulâ operâ, intentâ curâ cavebit, non modo ne quid detrementi Religio capiat; sed etiam ut quâ possit promoveri, promoveatur, & adjuvetur. Equidem ita me rerum vestrarum miseret, ut si non dico consilio, non fide, non autoritate (qua sentio quam sint exigua:) sed si vitâ ipsâ & sanguine vos eripere vel levare etiam malis possem, libentissimè facerem. Ex animo dico, testis est conscientia, qua me vestrum omnium, libertatisque vestrae semper et omni loco fore studiosissimum polliceor. Vobis ex animo addictissimus, Amandus, Cardinalis Richlieu.

*Apud Sanctum German.*

25 August. 1624.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Balsac to the Cardinall dela Valette.

**M**Y LORD, I am retired here into Ciceroes house, where I take the fresh aire, and the shade of every houre of the day, and laugh at those that broile themselves at Rome. But although I be come hither as we to untire my Spirit, as to recreate my body, notwithstanding it is impossible that the first can rest, but must doe businesse where it finde none; It crosses the Sea, and passes over the Alpes without my consent and because there is nothing to doe at France, it goes to seeke some at Constantinople, at Madrid, at London, and at Montauxoan. Now, to the end you may not thinke me a lyer and that under an honest pretext, I would palliate a reproveable idleness; I am going to write you the adventures of my yesterdaies walk, and speak to you in the same stile, and the same sort as I rave. While the King is busied to make warre, the King  
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of *Spaine* passeth his time with Ladies, and into places that may not honestly be named; I will give no judgment upon the different inclination of these two Princes, but I very well know, that so long as they live in that fashion, the King of *Spaine* shal take no Townes, nor the King of *France* the Pox. You have surely heard it reported, that the *Polanders* have defeated the *Turks* Army, which was composed of two hundred thousand Combatants, the halfe whereof, lay dead upon the place. It must necessarily be granted, that but he only after such a losse, could make such a second, and that he hath a source of men that cannot be drawn dry, either by warres, by plagues, or by any other ill disposition of the aire, seeing that in the abundance of all things, that his Empire produces, there is nothing at so low a price, as the lives of souldiers. When I dream that the Duke of *Bonillon* is shut up in *Sedan*, from whence he cannot come forth to goe and make his partie, I imagine to my selfe, a poore mother standing upon the brink of a River, seeing her sonne slaine on the other side, neither being able to help him or bid him farewell: never was man so assaulted with such diversity of thoughts, nor oppressed with unprofitable cares; one while it vexes him that sufficient resistance was not made at *St. Jehan de Angeli*; and again I find that they made not use of the advantage which they might have taken At one and the same time I would have been at *Montauban* to defend, and in *England* to get succour for it. But why dwels so great a spirit in a body that hath no more heate in it then a feaver gives it, and which is never removed but by *Amber-Greece* and Phisick? Its known that the better part of it dwels in the history of troubles, and that in this world it holds but the place of another. In the mean time, the affaires of the Rebels grow to ruine; and if they make any small attempts, it is not that their hopes increase, nor their courage strengthens, but it is Gods will that they shall not have either victory or peace.

The Duke of *Bonillon* sees all this, not being able to remedy, and if sometimes to divert his spirit from so vexing an object, he thinks to seek some comfort out of the kingdome, and amongst strangers affaires, of one side he discovers a puissant Army under the conduct of *Spinola*, which threatens all *Germany*; and of the other side he sees his Nephew, whom from having been Count *Palatine*, and King of *Bohemia*, is become pensioner to the *Hollanders*, and a Gentleman of the Prince of *Orange* his traine; as the beasts in time past, were wont to be crowned, which ought to be sacrificed; so for une presented a Kingdome to this poor man, to the end he should lose his life; but  
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not to lie, he hath shewed himselfe craftier then she, and fled so we he could never be overtaken. Notwithstanding to speak home, the gaine which he got by not dying at the battaile of *Prague*, is not so great as the reproach which shall be cast upon him for living by his owne fault, and for having witnessed to all the people of the world, that the end of his desires, was only to attaine to be old; and without doubt, as it is a great advantage to be the Grand-child of an usurper, so there is not a more miserable condition, then to have been a King, and now to be no more but the subject, or tragedy to playes. Let men then as much as they please, praise the designs of this man, and his good intention. I for my part, find nothing so easie as to fly and lose; and posterity shall put him rather in the number of thieves that have been punished, then of conquerours which have triumphed upon the earth. Since it is true, that the persecution ceases in *England*, and that the King wearieth himself with giving us Martyrs, it may be, that within a short time, he will altogether set soules at liberty, that stil makes one step to his mother Church. As for my part, I despaire not of this great conversion, that all honest men will with salt tears, desire this from heaven, knowing to the contrary, that he hath a reasonable spirit, and may be perswaded upon a thing that he determined on. I assure my selfe that he studies every day the truth of the instructions the great Cardinall *Peron* left him, and that that will be the strongest in his Kingdomes as soon as his Conscience ——— authority better reestablished then his. His predecessors knew not how to reigne in regard of him, no not she that plaid with so many heads, and who was more happy then needful for the Christian Common-wealth. It is certain, that heretofore *England* believed in God, but this day it only believes in its Prince, and Religion makes but a part of the obedience yielded unto him; in so much, that if he would but set in the place of all the points of Faith, all the fables of Poesie, he should find in his subjects complying enough to bring them to his will, and perswade himself, that he may make all things just that he does, and all things culpable that he condemns; his Authority came not so far at the first stroake; and there must be time to make men lose \*reason, but at this time when all spirits are vanquished, and that the great beliefe that he hath given of his judgment, takes away the liberty of theirs; they can imagine nothing above the wisdom of the King, and without meddling with any thing that passes between God and him, they believe that if he

See King James his  
Remonstrance  
against Card<sup>e</sup> Peron.

\* The way for  
Romish Con-  
version.

come



command them to tread under foot all the Holy things, and to violate all the Lawes, all that was but for the safety of their Consciences. But it is to be believed, that this Divine providence, which conducts things to their ends, by means which in apparence are contrary, will use the bloodinesse of this people to procure their salvation, and cause them to come again into the Church, by the same doore they went out of it. And since the hearts of Kings are in the hands of God, there wants nothing but a good motion sent unto him, to build againe the Altars which he hath beaten downe, and at one clap to turne to the true Religion the soules of three Kingdomes. A while agoe he sent a Gentleman expressly to this Court, that it might not be contrary with the Marriage which he treated with *Spain*, and to endeavour to make the *Romans* think well of it; and that one of these daies, it may be, he will call his Holinesse, and the sacred Colledge of Cardinals; but hitherto these are terms of a tongue unknowne to him. Furthermore, in this Country we imagine, that there will be no lack of warrs till *Rochel* be reduced to extremity: It is very true, that the forces which the King hath left before it, are not great; but for how many men think you, they count the Captaine into whose hands he hath put them! It is not permitted to judg of that which he will doe by the ordinary course of the things of this world, his actions cannot be drawn into example; and though he be infinitely wise, notwithstanding it is certaine, that in what he undertakes, it alwaies appears somewhat greater then mans wisdom; Yet truly my Lord, after having considered the motion of the Stars which are so just; the order of the seasons, which are so governed; the beauties of nature, which are so divers; I find in the end, that there is nothing in the world, where God sheweth himself so admirable, as in the guiding of the life of my Lord your Father. But to the purpose, behold this that I added yest rday to the great discourse (which I made by your Commandment and which you much praised the first time.)

Mons<sup>r</sup>. Balsac to the King Louis.

S I R. The late King your father hath not done more, and nevertheless not to speak of the Actions of his life; your Majesty knowes that his last thoughts made all the Kings of the earth to tremble, and his memorie untill this day is revered to the uttermost ends of the world. Notwithstanding, Sir, be it that you are come  
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in a better time then he, be it that God hath destinated your Majesty for higher things, the glory which you have gotten at the going out of your infancy is not lesse then that which that great Prince deserved when he was growne old in Armes: and in affaires as he, so you make your selfe redoubted without tyranny; as he, so you governe your people. But I am constrained to avow that your Majesty must needs yeild to him in one thing, which is, that you have not yet begot a Sonne that resembles you. But certainly Sir, wee cannot any longer time have this advantage over you. All Europe requires Princes and princesses of you, and it is certaine, that the world ought not to end, but when your race shall faile: if you will then that the beauty of the things we see, passe to another age; If you wil that the publick tranquillity have an assured foundation, and that your victories may be eternal, you must take no more of working powerfully, nor of doing greate Acts of State, but with the Queen.

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Mons<sup>r</sup> Toyrax to the Duke of Buckingham.

**M**Y Lord, your curtesies are sufficiently known to all the world; and you place them with so much judgment, that those only may hope after them that make themselves worthy by their actions. Now I know no action so worthy of that merit, as for a man to imploy himself, — if in the defence of this place he vanquish not all difficulties — so that no despair of succor nor fear of rigor, in case of extreamity, can ever make me quit a design so generous; as also I shall esteeme my self unworthy of any your favours, if in this action I omit the least point of my duty; the issue whereof cannot be but honourable: and by how much you adde to this glory by your valour and carriage, by so much I am more bound to remaine during my life, your Lordships humble and most obedient servant,  
Toyra<sup>x</sup>.

Ab ignoto, concerning the estate of Rochel after  
the surrender.

S I R, I presume you have long since heard the particulars of *Rochel*; and that by farre better relations then mine; notwithstanding you may be pleased to know what I observed and learned there my selfe eight daies after the Kings entrance; whither curiosity and some other causes drew me. For the siege and Dike, they *pro cateris excellens*, were in all parts most royall and farre more perfect and uniforme, then relation could make me conceive: The misery of the siege almost incredible, but to such only as have seene it, or some part thereof: Corn was worth after the rate of 800 Franks the bushel; an Oxe or Cow, sold after the rate of 2000 Franks. The host where I lay, sold a Jade horse, worth it may be four or five pounds, for 800 Franks, and for five and twenty weeks, tasted no bread: oft twelve persons in his family, only he and his wife are living; who also within two daies had dyed, if the Town had not been rendred. He and his wife made a Collation the day before the Town was rendred, which cost him about six or seven pound sterling; their chear was a pound of bread, made of Straw, Sugar, and other Spices; halfe a pound of horse flesh, three or foure ounces of Comfits, and a pint of Wine, which they imagin'd, was the last good chear they should make together; and in like case, were all the rest of the Towne, only two or three families of the better sort excepted; by which you may conjecture what rates such kind of provision were at. There were eaten between 3000 or 4000 Cow-hides, all the dogs, cats, mice and rats they could get, not a horse left alive, which was food for the better sort, only Madam Rohan, after having eaten her Coach horse, and her servants the Leather of her Coach; removed, though full sore against her will, her lodging from *Rochel* to the Castle of *Mooke* or *Nioenl*, where she is under guard, and since (it is said) to the Bastile in *Paris*: God send her and hers to heaven. There died for want of food in *Rochel* 15000 and rested living when the King entred betwene three and four thousand, of which there are since very many dead; they dayly discover new miseries, which when I was there, were not spoken of; the mother and the child at the breast both dead, the child having eaten  
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most part of the mothers brest; a souldier was found dead with a piece of his fellows flesh in his mouth; a Burger having a servant killed, powdered her, which fed him and his wife a long time, and dainty meat too: many languishing and finding themselves draw neer their ends, caused their coffins to be carried into the Churches, laid them down in them and so dyed; these were of the better sort. The common sort laid themselves down in Coffins in the Church yards and there dyed; others in the streets, others not able to go out of their houses dyed and remained there, their friends being not able to remove them thence. So that when the first Forces of the King entered, there were in the Town, of Corps unburied, some in the Church-yards, others in the streets, some in their houses, some on the floore, others in their beds, besides them that died without the Gates under hedges, and in ditches round about the Towne, which I saw my selfe when I was there; halfe devoured with Ravens and other beasts, and fowls of the aire; In fine, the like misery hath not been seene nor heard of.

The King on All-Saints day, which was the day of his entry, with a wax Candle in his hand, together with the Cardinall and all the Nobility, in like manner, went all over the Town in procession with the B. Sacrament. The chiefe Temple of the *Hugonots* shall be converted into a Church Cathedral, and *Rochel* to be a Bishoprick. All the fortifications and walls to Landwards to be razed, and the Fosses filled so that a plough may passe, as in arable Land. The Maior, with some of the chiefeest, are banish'd for ever, others for a certaine time limited, though quietly to possesse their goods, moveable and immoveable, and a general remission of all crimes past: and all others that were in the Towne before the descent of the English into *Rhee*, and when the Town was rendred, shall likewise enjoy the same priviledge, though no child or heir absent, is, or shall be capable to inherit the goods or lands of his parents or friends deceased, but all is at the Kings disposing. The King hath granted them free liberty of their Religion in the Town of *Rochel*, which in short time will all be rooted out; for no Forrainger (though naturalized) shall be admitted to repair and inhabit in *Rochel*, nor French but Roman Catholicks. The King hath added to the revenues of his Crown 20000 Franks *per annum*, which was a rent belonging to the Town-house, for the maintenance of the fortifications and State of *Rochel*. The Town-house is to be razed, and a pillar or pyramids with an ample inscription of the particulars of the siege and rebellion, there to be erected. The forts of the Isle of *Rhee* and *Oleron*, to be razed, & (as it is said)



most of all the chief forts of *France*, except on the frontiers. Four Regiments are yet in *Rochel*, the rest of the Army (at least the most part) are gon to winter in those parts of *France*, towards the coasts of *Italy*, to be ready on all occasions to succor the Duke of *Mantua*, as it is thought.

The Fathers of the society have very faire buildings given them for their establishing there, and 1000 Franks to begin to build; to which is added a revenue which I know not, the place is said to be where the Hereticks kept their schools of Divinity, and Council of waire, or rebellion. And where the *English* had their Church, the *Oratorians* are likewise established with large augmentations; The *Capuchins* are where was the chiefest Fort, called *Le Bastion de Leuagile*; The *Minors* are where the Dike was, and divers other elsewhere.

There are at least 8000 houses in *Rochel*, which are faine to fall to the King to dispose of for want of heirs. The *Parisians* are preparing a most sumptuous and magnificent receipt for the King, which is the cause he hath not been at *Paris* since his return from *Rochel*, but is at *St. Germins* and thereabouts, till all things are ready for his entry, which is thought will exceede in bravery and magnificence all the presidents of many years. The *Jesuits* are by the body of *Paris* employed to make the speeches and inscriptions for that purpose, which the body of the *Sorbon* take ill; The Prince of *Conde* doth daily get ground of *Rohan*, and hath lately taken prisoners (as it is said) thirty Captaines and eight hundred souldiers. Those of *Montauban* boast (as it is said) that they have provision for three or four years, and will stand out til the last: though some of the best esteeme, think it is only to draw the King to the best composition they can.

*The Protestants of France, to Charles King of  
Great Britain.*

SIR, the knowledg and resentment which it hath pleased your Majesty to take of the misery of the afflicted Churches of *France*, hath given us the boldnesse to awaken your Compassion in such measure, as our calamities are aggravated by the unmercifull rigour of our persecutors, and as the present storme doth threaten neer at hand the total ruine, and lamentable destruction of that which the mercy of God had yet kept intire unto us since the desolation of *Rochel*: and as we have adored with humility the judgment of God

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in this bad successe (which we impute only to his wrath justly kindled against us for our sins) so our silence could be thought no lesse then ingratitude, if we had not at the beginning of our Assembly resolved the most humble and most affectionate acknowledgment which wee now render to your Majesty, for the great succour which you have sent us, interestings your self so far in the grief of our oppression, and in the means of our deliverance. The most humble supplication which we do offer to your Majesty next after this our thansgiving, is, that your Majesty (according to the sweet inclination of your goodnesse) would permit us still to present our complaints, and discover our wounds before the eyes of your royall charity, protesting unto your Majesty, that we see none other hand under heaven by which we may be healed, but your Majesties, in case your Majesty will still vouchsafe to lift it up on the behalfe of oppressed innocents, and of the Church of our Lord outrageously persecuted by the most invenom'd passion that our age, or any age preceedent hath seen; we most humbly beseech your Majesty to read this letter which is written with our tears and with our blood; and (according to your exquisite judgement, your incomparable wisdom, and the devotion of your zeale, to the glory of God) to consider our estate, which is such, that our persecutors upon the losse of *Rachel*, supposing we had been put to utter discomfiture, and into a weaknesse without recovery or resistance, and boasting themselves, that now there remained no more any eyes unto us, but to bewaile our selves, nor any sense, but to feel the smart thereof, without further imploying our hands or our arms for our defence have made use of this advantage, with so much fiercenesse, insultation and cruelty, that they have not only sacked the houses, and with an unheard of rudenesse and barbarisme, rifled the goods of our pious brethren of this Province of *Longedock*, relying themselves upon publick faith, and the benefits of the edicts of pacification (especially of the last which your Majesty had favourably procured and confirmed unto us) dissipating whole families, and exiling them with perfidious inhumanity, but also they have laid waste and destroyed almost all the Churches of the same, which are at their command and discretion under the liberty of edicts; imploying Monks (the *Papes Emisseries*) assisted with force flouidiers, and of the tyrannicall Authority of Governours, to ravish mens souls, and to draw the most constant with violence to *Massé*, and to the feete of the Idol interdicting assemblies, and all exercise of the Religion in the same places beating, imprisoning, ransoming, afflicting the faithful and their pastors with an enraged fury, which hath exceeded

ed all the inhumanities of the Inquisition, profaning and demolishing of Temples; their violence having proceeded so farre, as publickly to burn in pomp and triumph, the sacred books of Gods Covenant in presence of the Governor of the Province, with damnable sacriledge, which cryeth vengeance before God, and doth elevate its voice to the eares, (Sir) of a most puissant Monarch, professing the purity of the Gospel, zealous of his glory, and capable to revenge so outrageous an injury. But your Majesty shal understand, that all this hath produced an effect much contrary to the intention of our persecutors; for so farre it is from us, that their objects of pity and griefe, whereof the very thought doth make us repine, should render us faint-hearted, and cause us to yeild our selves in prey to their rage, that on the contrary, seeing the Mask taken off, and the pretext which they had alledged of the Army of rebellion whereof they accused us, quite removed; and that without any more dissimulation, their design goes on to the ruinating of our Religion, and the extirpation of our Church, and that there remained no more hope of safety and liberty, but generall resolution to die in the Arms of our just and vigorous defence, and that our persecutors possessing the spirit of our King, and hindring the effects of his bounty, have obtained a declaration of the fifteenth of *December* last, which alluring us to implore his grace and mercy, yet leaveth us not any hope of enjoying the benefits of any edict, nor by consequence of any tolerable peace, and soliciting us to disarm our selves, and to put our selves into the condition of sacrifices destined by one and by one to the slaughter, to be all at one stroak offered up to the fury of Antichrist, by one general Massacre throughout the whole Kingdome, whereof we doe not only heare the vaunts, but doe almost see great armies upon our backs for execution. This makes us (Sir) have recourse to your Royal and redoubtable puissance, as to a place of refuge, which God hath yet left open to us, in your Ardent charity, to finde within your assistance assured and effectual means to avoid ruine, which is ready inevitably to fall upon our heads. And to attaine thereunto, (Sir) we have religiously renewed in this assembly, the oath of union, which binds us with a sacred bond unto the Armes of your Majesty; of the violating whereof your Majesty may be assured, that we will never make our selves guilty, being encouraged to this resolution by the reiterate confirmations, which my Lord the Duke of *Rohan* hath lately given us, that your Majesty continues to take to heart the assistance and deliverance of our Churches according to your Royal promises, being debtors to his sage and valorous conduct, and to his pious magnanimity,

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for all that strength and liberty which we yet enjoy : and we will leave unto posterity memorable examples of our Constancie which prefers death before reproachfull cowardize and shameful servitude, hoping that out of our ashes, God will draw matter for his glory, and the propagation of his Church; being perswaded (Sir) that you are the instrument of his election to give us comfort and deliverance from our evils in time convenient. Be you assured also, that he will uphold us in that extraordinary valour wherewith he hath inspired us to endure all extremities with a patience invincible, expecting the succour of his hands through yours. Of all (Sir) which a great Monarch could ever doe in the world, nothing can be more just then this interprize, nor more glorious then this deliverance: the Lord having exalted you to the most eminent degree of dignity and power to be the nursing father of his Church, she hath right, being thus mangled and bloody, to stretch forth her arms unto you, even shee that Spouse of Jesus Christ, the common mother of Christians, and and your mother also, by the respect of her bruised members, and of the searing of her innocent brest, covered with wounds, she will move your pity; She assures her selfe (Sir) that the glorious title which you beare of the Defender of the faith, shall intercede for your accepting of her humble request: if you doe extend unto us your cares, your affections, and your formidable Armes, you shall nourish in our hearts affections of honour and obedience which shall never die; you shall daunt all powers that would raise themselves against your Crown; you shall raise your glory to such a height, that all the earth shall admire it. all Christendome shall celebrate it, and your name shall be of sweet odour unto Angels and men; and in perpetual benediction unto all posterity of Saints, and your reward shall be great and eternal in heaven. May it please your Majesty to pardon us, if our necessities pressing us, we all do presse your Majesty by our instant supplications accompanied with a most humble respect to strengthen our selves so soon as may be with the honour of your commandments, and the declaration of your favour, the wholesome effects of your assistance, according to the sweetness of your compassion, and Charity, and we will redouble our prayers to the divine clemency for the length and safety of your life, and the prosperity of your estate, being ready with a most holy and ardent affection to expose our goods and lives to render us worthy of the quality which we dare take of your most humble, most obedient, and most faithful servants, the Deputies of the reformed Churches of France, in their general Assembly held at *Nismes*, and for all *Jaques de Marescy adjunct la Reque.*



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*The Duke of Rohan to his Majesty of great Britain, the  
12 of March 1628.*

SIR, the deplorable accident of the losse of *Rochel*, which God hath suffered to humble us under his hand, hath redoubled in the hearts of our enemies their passionate fiercenesse to our utter ruine with an assured hope to attain thereunto. But it hath not taken away from the Churches of those Provinces, either the heart or the affection to oppose their unjust plots by a just and lively defence. This is it hath made them take resolution to assemble themselves to cojoyne in the midst of these commotions to assist me with their good counsels, and with me to provide the means of their deliverance. And for as much as the greatest support which God hath raised unto them upon earth is the succour our Churches have, and do look to receive from your Majesty, the general Assembly hath desired that my Letters, which alone hitherto have represented unto your Majesty the interest of the publick cause, might be joyned to their most humble supplications put up to your Majesty. I do it Sir, with so much the more affection, because I am a witnesse that these poor people, who with sighes and groanes implore your assistance, having once laid down their weapons which the oppression of their enemies made so necessary, because they knew such was your desire to take them up again, so soon as they heard that your Majesty did oblige them thereunto by your Counsel and Promises; they have upon this only assurance, continued all dangers, surmounted all oppositions, accounted their estates as nothing, and are still ready to spend their blood till the very last drop; they esteem your love and favour more precious then their own lives, and whatsoever promises or threatnings have been used to shake their constant resolution, they could never be brought to make any breach in that they had tyed themselves to, never to hear of any Treaty without your consent. This great zeal for the preservation of all the Churches of this Kingdome, which is naturally knit to the preservation of these few we have left, and that fidelity with our example, are worthy and glorious subjects to exercise your Charity and Power. You are (Sir) Defende: of that Faith whereof they make profession, suffer it not to be so unjustly oppressed; you have stirred up their affection in this defence by your royal promises, and those Sacred words

words, that your Majesty would employ all the power in your Dominions to warrant and protect all our Churches from the ruine that threatned them, have been (after Gods favour) the onely foundation of all their hope: so the Churches should thinke no greater a Crime could be committed by them, then doubt of your Royal performance thereof, if their miseries and Calamities have at the beginning moved your Compassion. This wofull subject hath increased with such violence, that nothing but your succor can prevent their utter undoing: for at this day the greatest offence our Enemies lay to our Charge, (and proclaim nothing can expiate but our blood) is, to have implored your aid, and hope for it: for this cause, our Lands and Possessions are taken away and destroyed; our houses made desolate, and reduced to ashes; our heads exposed to sale to murderers; our families banished; and wheresoever the cruelty of them that hate us can extend, men and women are dragged and beaten to Mass with Bastinadoes. To be short, the horror of the persecution we suffer is so great, that our words are too weak to express it. Moreover, we see great and mighty Armies at our Gates, that waite their onely fit time to fall with impetuosity upon the places of retreat that remain; and after that, to expel and banish the exercise of Religion, and massacre all the faithfull ones throughout the whole kingdoms. These things considered (Sir) I do beseech your Majesty not to forsake us. I should feare by such words to offend so great, so potent, and so faithfull a king; But because of urgent necessity that presseth us, I have presumed importunately to intreat the hastening of your assistance, to keep us from falling under the heavy burthen of our Enemies endeavors. Your Majesty need not to draw, but out of the source of your own profound wisdom, for the fit meanes how to make your succor dreadfull and powerfull to those that contemne it, and salutarious to so many people that wait and long for it. Your Majesty shall by this meanes acquire the greatest glory that can be desired, pluck out from the fire and sword three hundred thousand families that continually pray to God for your prosperity; preserve a people whom God hath purchased with his most precious blood, and which hath (even in the midst of most eminent dangers, and cruellest torments) kept intire a sound and an upright faith, both towards God and man; you shall settle the fidelity of your word, the reputation of your kingdoms and Armes, to a pitch worthy of your grandeur; and in repressing of the audaciousness of those that go about every day to blemish the same, through their vile and unworthy reproches, you shall add to your titles that of the Restorer of a people,

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210 *Pope Gregory 15. to the Inquisitor-General of Spain.*

the most innocent and most barbarously persecuted that ever was. In that which concerns me, Sir, I will not make mention to your Majesty of my owne Interest, though I might doe it, having, as it seems, the honor to be unto you what I am: but I have so long since consecrated all things with my selfe to the publicke good, that I shall esteeme my self happie enough, so that the Church were not miserably distressed; and that I may have this advantage, that through my actions (which your Majestie will not disavow) I may make it known, that I am

Your Majesties most humble and most obedient servant,  
*Henry de Rohan.*

*Pope Gregory the 15. to the Inquisitor-General of Spain.*  
April 19. 1623.

*Venerable Brother,*

**T**He protection of the Orthodox Religion in the most spacious Kingdoms of *Spain*, we think to be happily committed to your Fraternity: for we know with what watchful vigilancie, in this renowned station, you are careful that Monsters of wicked doctrine steal not into the bounds of the Church and Vine. But at this time occasion from heaven is offered you, by which you may extend the benefits of your piety beyond the bounds of those Kingdoms, and extend them also to forraign Countries. We understand that the Prince of *Wales*, the King of *Great Britains* son, is lately arrived there, carried with a hope of Catholike Marriage: Our desire is, that he should not stay in vain in the Courts of those Kings, to whom the defence of the Popes authority, and care of advancing Religion, hath procured the renowned name of *Catholique*. Wherefore by Apostolike Lettets we exhort his Catholike Majestie, that he would gently endeavour sweetly to reduce that Prince to the obedience of the *Romane Church*, to which the ancient Kings of *Great Britain* have (with heavens approbation) submitted their Crowns and Scepters. Now to the attaining of this victory, which to the conquered promiseth triumphs, and principalities of heavenly felicity, we need not exhaust the Kings treasure, nor levie Armies of furious souldiers; but we must fetch from heaven the armour of Light, whose divine splendor may allure that Princes eye, and gently expel all errors from his minde. Now in the managing of these busineses,

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what power and art you have, we have well known long ago: wherefore we wish you to go like a religious Counsellor to the Catholike King, and to try all ways which by this present occasion may benefit the Kingdoms of *Britain* and the Church of *Rome*. The matter is of great weight and moment, and therefore not to be amplified with words. Whosoever shall enflame the minde of this Royal youth with the love of the Catholike Religion, and breed a hate in him of Heretical impiety, shall begin to open the Kingdom of heaven to the Prince of *Britain*, and to gain the Kingdoms of *Britain* to the Apostolike See; into the possession of so great glory, I make no doubt but that your Fraternity, armed with the sword of Verity, will be desirous to come. About which matter, our venerable brother *Innocent* Bishop of the Apostolike Nuncio, shall discourse with you more at large; whom you may trust. And we with most accurate prayers will endeavour to procure the assistance of God for you, upon whom most lovingly we bestow our Apostolical benediction.

*Given at Rome in St. Peters, under the Fishers Seal, April 19. 1623.  
of our Popedom 30.*

*Pope Urban to Lewis the 13. Aug. 4. 1629.*

*To our dearest Son in Christ Jesus, Lewis the most Christian King of France; Pope Urban sendeth greeting.*

**M**ost dear Son in Christ, Health, and Apostolical benediction. The high exploits of your Royal valour, which have drawn upon them all the eyes of Christendom, bring a great deal of comfort to our fatherly care, as well in regard of the glory of your Arms, as the hope of your triumphs. For considering, as we do, with much grief, the impiety of Hereticks, living in some places without fear or danger, we now thank the Lord of hosts, that hath in so fit an opportunity made your Majestie to maintain with Arms the dignity of the Catholike Religion. Oh fair Apprentiship of Royal Warfare, and worthy of a most Christian King! What an admirable thing it is, that the age which other Princes, out of a kinde of softness and idleness, use to pass away in sports and delights, your Majesty should employ so generously, so fortunately, in appealing differences, conducting Armies, and besieging the strongest places of Hereticks, and all not without the special counsell of God, by which Kings raig!



Is it almost credible, that the very first steps of your thoughts should carry you in so high and troublesome an enterprise ; and that the dangers and difficulties which have stopt others in their course, should onely serve for a spur to the greatness of your courage ? Enjoy (dear Son) the Renown your name hath got , and follow the God that fights for you ; to the end that as you are now held the Thunderbolt and Buckler of War , so you may hereafter be esteemed the praise of Israel, and the glory of the world. From the height of our Apostolick Dignity , whereto it hath pleased God of his goodness to raise us, unworthy of so great grace, we assist your Arms with heart and affection , and by our frequent prayers prepare the divine remedies. And though we doubt not but your own vertue will make you constant in the work you have begun , nevertheless we have thought good to adde Exhortations, that the world may see the care we have of the advancement of true Religion, and how willing we are to give way to your glory. You have been hitherto infinitely bound to God for his bounty towards you ; and, as we hope and wish, you shall hereafter a great deal more. For you having your minde endued with celestial doctrine , and not with the bare precepts of humane wisdom, do well know, that Kingdoms have their foundation upon the truth of Orthodox faith : and unless God keep the City, what principality can subsist with any assurance ? It may easily be judged with what fidelity they are likely to defend your Royal Throne, that have cast the very Saints themselves out of their Temples, and done as much as in them lay to put them out of the number of the blessed, yea out of Paradise it self, that with impious temerity condemn the Institutions of our Fathers , the Custom of Kings , the Decrees of Popes, and the Ceremonies of the Church. These are the disturbers of the Christian Commonwealth , and the reproaches of *France*, whom the great God hath reserved, to be exterminated, as it were, in the beginning of your Raign. Know then , that all *Europe* (which the event of your Arms holds all this time in suspence) hopes shortly it will hoysse sail upon the Ocean under the conduct of your Greatness and Power, and go to the place which serves now for Sanctuary and protection to the Hereticks and Rebels, and it will shortly serve for a Trophie of your Victories. We are confidently perswaded, that neither fear nor inconstancie shall ever be able to divert you from the pursuit of your so glorious enterprise , nor hinder you to subvert that unsanctified people : Onely, by the way, we would have you remember , that the Saints in heaven assist that Prince who takes upon him the defence of Religion , and fight on his side like  
fellow-

ellow-souldiers. The same God that hardened the waters like dry land, and turned the waters of the Sea into walls, to give safe passage to his childrens Army, will certainly in this most pious action be as favourable to you : and then we shall have good cause to hope, that having establishd your own Kingdom, and crushd the impiety that was and yet is there, you may one day, by the progress of your victorious Arms, joyn the Orient to the Occident ; imitating the glories of your Ancestors, who have ever born as much respect to the Exhortations of Popes, as to the commandment of God. *St. Lewis*, whose name you bear, and whose steps you follow, invires you to it : so did the first of your Race, who in defending the Apostolike authority, and propagating Christian Religion, laid the best and surest foundation to your Royal House. Follow (dear Son) which are the ornaments of the world, the commandments of heaven : pour out your wrath and indignation upon those people that have not, nor will not know God, and our Apostolike benignity; to the end the divine treasure of heaven may belong unto you by a just acquisition. In the meantime, we send you most affectionately our Apostolike benediction.

*Given at Rome at great St. Maries, under the Seal of the Fisher, the 4 day of August 1629. being the seventh year of our Pontificate.*

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*The Duke of Buckingham, Chancellor elect, to the University of Cambridge, June 5. 1626.*

**M**R. Vice-Chancellor, and Gentlemen of the University of Cambridge, there is no one thing that concerneth me more near, then the good opinion of good and learned honest men ; amongst which number as you have ever held the first rank in the estimation of the Commonwealth, and fame of the Christian world ; so in conferring of this Honour of Chancellorship upon me, I must confess you have satisfied a great ambition of mine own, which I hope will never forsake me, and that is, To be thought well of, by men that deserve well, and men of your profession. Yet I cannot attribute this Honour to any desert in me, but to the respect you bear to the sacred memory of my Master deceased, the King of Scholars, who loved you, and honoured you often with his presence; and to my gracious Master now living, who inherits with his blessed Fathers vertues, the affection he bore your University. I beseech you, as you have now made  
your

your choice with so many kinde and noble circumstances, as the manner is to me acceptable and grateful as the matter; so to assure yourselves, that you have cast your votes upon your servant, who is as apprehensive of the time you have shewed your affection in, as of the Honour you have given him. And I earnestly request you all, that you would be pleased not to judge me comparatively by the success and happiness you have had in your former choice of Chancellors, who as they knew better, perhaps by advantage of education in your University, how to value the deserts of men of your qualities and degrees; so could they not be more willing to cherish you then my self, who will make amends for want of Scholarship, in my love to the professors of it, and unto the Source from whence it cometh: having now most just cause more chiefly to employ my uttermost endeavours, with what favour I enjoy from a Royal Master, to the maintaining of the Charters, Priviledges, and Immunities of your University in general, and to the advancing of the particular merits of the Students therein. And since I am so far engaged unto you, I will presume upon a further courtesie, which is, That you will be pleased to supply me with your advice, and suggest a way unto me (as my self likewise shall not fail to think on some means) how we may make Posterity remember you have a thankful Chancellor, and one that both really loved you and your University. Which is a resolution writ in an honest heart, by him that wanteth much to express his affection to you; who will ever be

*Tork-house, 5 Junii,*  
1626.

Your faithful friend, and humble servant,  
*Geor. Buckingham.*

*King Charles to the University of Cambridge, in approbation of the Election. June 6. 1626.*

**T**RUSTY and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas upon Our Pleasure intimated unto you by the Bishop of *Durham* for the choice of your Chancellor, you have with such duty as We expected highly satisfied Us in your election, We cannot in Our Princely nature (who are much possessed with this testimony of your ready and loyal affections) but for ever to let you know, how much you are therein made partakers of Our Royal approbation: and as We shall ever conceive, that an Honour done to a person We favour, is out of a loyal respect had unto Our Self: and as we shall ever justifie *Buckingham*



Kingham worthy of this your Election, so shall you finde the fruits of it : for We have found him a faithful servant to our dear Father of blessed memory ; and Our Self cannot but undertake that he will prove such a one unto you ; and will assist him with a gracious willingness, in any thing that may concern the good of the University in general, or the particular merits of any Students there.

*Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of Westminster, the sixth of June, in the second year of Our Reign.*

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*The University of Cambridge Answer to the Duke,*  
June 6. 1626.

Illustrissime Princeps, atq; auspiciatissime Cancellarie,

**N**Eptunum perhibent gratum cum Minerva iniisse certamen, utere re magis mortalium conferret donum: ille potens maris Deus illico effudit equum, Illi pacis & musarum numen, suppeditavit oleam ; utrumq; certe Deo dignum munus. Adeo nostrum non est tantam litem dirimere, quin facebat potius litis importuna vox, ubi non alia quam Amoris propinantur pignora. Perinde tecum se res habet, excellentissime Dux, quem jam olim potentissimus Oceani Britannici Neptunus, non solum suprema Maris Praefectura coonestavit, sed & Prætorio donavit Equo : adeo ut illius munere & propria virtute, unus audias, Terra Mariq; summus Dictator, ut sic dicamus Clasis, & Magister Equitum. Post tanta honorum vestigia, ecce, nostra Minerva tua jam Cantabrigia supplex suas obtendit oleas, tanquam inter victorios lauros lambentes hederas ; oleas quidem quibus & tuis rebus, & rebus tum publicis tum Literariis precatur simul & auspiciatur pacem. Nec ad usque sumus gens togata impotenter superbi, ut hoc Cancellariatu arbutemur, Nos tantillos tibi in id Meritorum & Gratia culmen evecto, quicquam vel testimonii ad estimationem, vel tituli ad gloriam contulisse. Quod autem ipse aliter opinaris vestra illa pietas est, haud ambitio, major tua tum virtus tum decus est, quam ut eis aut nostra quidpiam suffragia addere, aut aliorum possit Invidia detrachere : stetit in primo orbe, quas fixas vocant, altiores sunt, quam ut ad eas valeas terrarum umbra pertingere, quæquam sælicissima memoria Jacobo pienssimoque Carolo non est, quod hoc quicquid est nominis te debere dicas, citra est, missellum munus Academicum, citra est quam ut tantos auctores mereatur, quin vestram potius celsitudinem, vestrum tutelare numen. Nos illis Principibus imputabimus, qui inde ex illius potissimum voto te elegimus, unde non nisi immortalia accipere beneficia solebamus. Quod si nostrum hoc



*in vestram Excellentiam studium tibi ipsa uti scribis commendat tempestivitas, nos illud saltem debituri sumus temporibus ceterum non nimis facilibus, quod tibi vel inde gratiores sumus; quanquam suspicauer, ut hoc totum quod de oportunitate insinuas merum sit, nec magnis ingenii insolens bene de suis cultoribus merendi artificium, quæ eo consilio singula suorum officia maxime tempestive autumant, quo uberius sibi remunerandi argumentum aucupentur: nam faciles credimus honorificis quibus nos dignaris promissis. Jamdiu est, ex quo te animo atque opera Cancellarium sensimus, nihilq; tibi hoc tempore nostra potuere suffragia quam nomen adicere. Nolis tamen ut cum illustrissimis heroibus præcessoribus tuis, te committamus, in quo sane tua prædicanda modestia illorum honori & memoria consuluit, ne tanti fulgoris claritudine offuscentur, ut enim nulla re magis se jactat Cantabrigia quam præteritorum gloria ac splendore Patronorum; hodie tamen, nescio quid solito augustius spirat, & tuis superba auspiciis quasi Buckinghamiensis aucta tutelis, magnaq; spe gravida intumescit. Ad extremum nos ad concilium vocas, quæ potissimum ratione quo digno monumento tuo, in nos amoris memoriam posteritati consecres, verum enim vero (Illustrissime Dux, indulgentissimeq; Cancellarie) major est ea provincia, quam ut nos eam subeundo simus, quod tuo amoris par sit monumentum, tuum potest solummodo excogitare ingenium. Nos interea alia manebit cura quibus nimirum apud Deum precibus quibus studiorum vigiliis officiorum obsequiis tanta Clientela felicitatem nobis propriam & perpetuam despondeamus,*

*Datæ frequentissimo Senatu  
nostro, sexto Idus Junii,  
1636.*

*Vestra Excellentia humillimi  
devotissimiq; Clientes Servi q;*

*Procancellarius, & reliquis  
Senatus Cantabrigiensis.*

*The University of Cambridge Answer to the King.*

*Serenissimo invictissimoq; Principi ac Domino nostro, CAROLO Dei gratiæ, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defens. &c.*

*S**Erenissime Domine noster invictissime Carole, multum nos fortuna nostra, sed tuæ clementiæ infinitum quantum debemus, satis nempe erat judicio nostro satisfecisse cum illum nobis præficeremus, quem unum certissime præfici posse constabat. At tuæ admirabilis bonitas non patitur*

*nos*

*nos gratis nobismetipſis benefacere, ſed tibi imputari viſ quod nobis fecimus beneficium. Enimvero arduam aliquam ſibi materiam obſequium noſtrum poſcebat, & cujus tenuitas ſublimitatem veſtram aſſequi non poſſet, difficultatem — ſe, & moleſtia commendaret. Tu autem à te gratiam — quod tanti Patroni beneficio uſi ſumus, qui ita nos amat, ut plurimum velit, ita à te amatur, ut plurimum noſtra cauſa poſſet per quem veſtra in nos tranſeat benignitas, & difficultates noſtras diſcutiat: ſi qua tamen in hac divina bonitate tua exiſtere poſſit difficultas ſuperaviſti, nempe majorum tuorum Clementiam, qui & eaſdem nobis immunitates indulget, & id etiam proſpicias, ut iis rectiſſime utamur. Et quod unum tanta ſœlicitati reliquum erat ut eſſet perpetua, id ipſum precibus noſtris ſuperreſſe non ſinis; præcurris enim vota noſtra, & ſpem ipſam, qua nihil eſt importunius, exuperas: nam & ipſa fines ſuos habet, quos tua bonitati nullos eſſe experti ſumus. Exhausti votorum noſtrorum materiam, Sereniſſime Regum, nec quicquam nobis deinceps optandū eſt quam ut tu regnes ut vincas, ut nos in perpetuum ſimus quod ſumus,*

*Datæ frequentiſſimo Senatu  
noſtro, ſexto Idus Junii,  
1626.*

*Excellentiſſime Majeſtatis veſtra  
humilliſſimi ſervi & ſubditi,  
Procancellarius, & reliquus Senatus  
Academiæ Cantabrigienſis.*

*A Privie Seal for transporting of Horſe. June 3. 1624.*

**C**HARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the Treafurer and under-Treafurer of our Exchequer for the time being, greeting. We do hereby will and command you, that out of our Treafure remaining in the receipt of our ſaid Treafury forthwith to pay, or cauſe to be paid unto *Philip Burlamack* of Lond' Merchant, the ſum of 30000 *l.* to be by him paid over to the *Low-Countries* by Bill of Exchange, and *Germany*, unto Our Truſty & Welbeloved Sir *William Belfour* Knight, and *John Dabler* Eſq; or either of them, for levying and providing a certain number of Horſe, with Arms for Foot and Horſe to be brought over into this Kingdom for our Service; viz. for the levying and transporting of 1000 Horſe, 15000 *l.* for 5000 Muſkets, 5000 Corſlets, 5000 Pikes, 10500 *l.* for 1000 Curaiſiers compleat, 200 Corſlets and 200 Carbines, 4500 *l.* amounting in the whole to the ſaid ſum of 30000 *l.* And this Our Letter ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in this behalf. *Given under Our Privie Seal at Our Palace of Weſtm' the 30 of Januar' in the third year of Our Reign, Anno Dom. 1627.*

## The University of Cambridge to the Duke.

Illustrissime Princeps,

**Q**uam paterno cum affectu, quam divina cum charitate vestra hujus Academia salutem utilitatemq; vestra Celsitudo semper procuraverit, nec nos effari possumus, nec atas ulla conticere.

Ingentia beneficia seculum presens admiratione obrunt; nec alio queunt quam perennis fama & immortalitatis premio compensari. Vestra Celsitudinis singulari patrocinio, de Typographis Londinensibus triumphavimus. Hostium undequaque ferociam persensimus imminutam, auctamq; Academia dignitatem: Nihil nos votis expetiscere, nihil vestra Celsitudo conferre potuit, quod a vestra benignitate non acceperimus. Et quid nos præter hanc sterilem cultus nostri messem rependimus? At beneficia vestra, quam sancte posteritas alet, quibus præconiis, quam æternis laudibus vestra Celsitudinis memoriam nepotes nostri celebrabunt, facile conjiciet is qui norit quantum Academia tranquille administrata, vindicata privilegia, immunitates conservata, otium, libertas, ipsa vita Musis donata, promereantur! Quot hostes Reipublica Literaria insensos vestra Celsitudo prosligavit, quot in nos munera contulerit, nec illi sine gemitu agnoscere, nec nos sine stupore recitare valeamus. Dum te licet conspiciari, dum tua genua prehendere, flocci faciamus mortalium iras, & in recessibus nostris abditum tuto literis indulgeamus.

Jam vestra Celsitudo novam parat Militiam (quam vestro nomini gloriosam, Religioni Christiana faustam, nobis omnibus sælicem, omnipotens Deus faxit) quibus nos periculis exponimur? Alii flumen nostrum siccare, eumq; ablatum a quo forsitan ipsi aquas olim ingrati hauserunt: alii nobis Imprimendi facultatem rursus adimere conabuntur. Illustrissime Princeps, pauca sunt nostra bona, suppellex curta, angusta Athenarum pomeria: nulle tamen opes Cræsi vel Midæ perditorum hominum insidiis petuntur atrocius, quam inermis & nuda paupertas nostra. Videt vestra Celsitudo quam in ipsa fiduciam collocamus, qui tempestas priusquam ingruit, ad vestras aras confugimus. Et quamvis haud ignari sumus quanta moles vestra Celsitudinis humeros jam premat, audacter tamen tot curarum montibus nostrum Parnassum succrædimus. Perficiat vestra Celsitudo hanc suam Academiam, ut incipit: florentem ornet, trepidantem excitet, depressam sustentet, periclitantem expediat; qua Deum perpetuo implorat, ut omnia tua gloriosa molimina vestra Celsitudo consequatur, & illa vestra Celsitudinis patrocinio fruatur in æternum.

¶ Dat' e frequenti Senatu nostro, Nonas Julii, 1628.

Celsitudinis vestra devinctissimi,  
Procancellarius, reliquisque  
Senatus Academiae vestrae  
Cantabrigiensis. The

*The Dukes Answer.**Gentlemen,*

**S**uch and so cordial have your respects been unto me, that no other Pen then your own can express them, nor no other heart then mine can apprehend them: and therefore I labour not any verbal satisfaction, but shall desire you to believe, that what service soever you please to think I have hitherto done for you, I cannot so much as call an expression of that I would willingly do for you. And whereas in your Letters you seem to fear that my absence may be an advantage of time to make your adversaries active and stirring against you, and your affairs consequently meet with partiality and opposition; I have therefore most humbly recommended them to the Justice of my Royal Master, and to the bosomes of some friends, where they shall likewise meet with mediation and protection, to what part of the world soever my Master or the States service shall call me. I can carry but one Chancellor of your University along with me, but I hope I shall leave you many behinde me. And I shall preiudge likely of the success of our actions, since they are all so followed by your wishes and devotions; which I shall endeavour you may always continue unto

*Chelsey, 30 July,*  
1628.

Your most affectionate friend,  
and humble servant,  
*BUCKINGHAM.*

Directed,

*To my very worthy and much-respected friends, The Vicechancellor  
and Senate of the University of Cambridge.*

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*The Vicechancellor of Cambridge to the King, upon  
the Dukes death.*

*Dread Sovereign,*

**T**He fatal blowe given your most loyal servant, whom your Majesty made our Patron and Chancellor, hath so stounded our University, as (like a Body without a Soul) she stirs not, till your Majesties directions breathe life again, in the choice of another. And al-



though I am but one of many, and therefore (having to do with a multitude) cannot absolutely assure the effecting of your pleasure; yet I dare undertake for my self, with the rest of the Heads, and many others, truly and faithfully to labour in your Majesties desires, and now presume to send fair and strong hopes to give them full satisfaction: Humbly intreating the continuance of your Majesties love and care of your University; the onely stay and comfort of this her sad and mournful estate, occasioned by such an unexpressible disaster; cherishing her self with that blessed word your Majestie used upon her last Election, That howsoever your Majesties appointment shadowed out another, yet your Self in substance would be her Chancellor. This, as an indelible Character in her memory, shall ever return, as all thankful observance, so to God prayers full of cordial zeal, for your Majesties long and happy Reign.

*King Charles to the University of Cambridge, for  
a new Election.*

**R**ight Trusty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. As We took in gracious part your due respect in electing heretofore for your Chancellor a man who for his parts and faithful service was most dear unto Us: so now We are well pleased to understand, that you are sensible of your own and the common loss, by the bloody assassinat of so eminent a person, and that you desire and expect for your comfort an intimation from Us of a capable subject to succeed in his room. This expression on your part, hath begotten in Us a Royal affection towards you, and more care for your good; out of which, We commend unto free election of you the Vicechancellor and Heads, and of the Masters Regents and Non-Regents (according to Our ancient Custom) Our Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin and Counsellor, *Henry Earl of Holland*, lately a member of your own Body, and well known unto you all: whose hearty affection to advance Religion and Learning generally in Our own Kingdoms, and especially in the Fountains, cannot be doubted of. Not that We shall cease to be your Chancellor in effect, according to Our promise; but the rather for your advantage, We advise you to the choice, that you may have a person acceptable unto Us, and daily attending on Our person, to be Our Remembrancer and Solicitor for you upon all occasions. And your general concurring herein, shall be to Us a pledge

pledge of Our affections, which We are willing to cherish.

*Given at Our Court the 28 of August, in the fourth year of Our Reign.*

CAROLUS Rex.

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*The Earl of Holland to the University.*

*Mr. Vicechancellor and Gentlemen, the Senate of the University of Cambridge,*

THE condition of man is so frail, and his time so short here, that in the sum of his account there are few accidents can deliver him worthy to posterity: yet to prevent my destiny in this defect, you have made my name to live, by your general and free election of me to be your Chancellor; the which will give me so to the world, not my merit. I take but my beginning by this Creation, and will endeavour to proceed with such strength, in my serious affection to serve you all, as you shall see this Honour is not conferred upon an unthankful person. It is my hap to succeed the most excellent example of the best Chancellor, who had both will and power to oblige you: for the first, none can exceed me, that am tyed by my education to serve you: for my power, although it be but short in all other things, yet in what concerns you, my Master, whose word you have, and whose thanks you will receive in my behalf, will for his own sake, if not for mine, accept of all humble requests for you, which may conduce to the support of every particular good, that can any way advantage your whole Body, or advance the several members of our University. For whose increase of fame and honour I do wish, from an affectionate heart, as I profess my self obliged, being

Your most thankful friend,  
and humble servant;

*Henry Holland.*

*The University of Cambridge to the King.*

Serenissimo, & Magnificentissimo Principi, *CAROLO* Dei gratia,  
 Britanniae Regi, &c.

Serenissime & Potentissime Monarcha,  
*Carole*, Defensor Fidei, Pater Patriæ :

**D**ilm ad Majestatis tua pedes discumbimus, veniam humillime deprecamur temeritatis nostra, Quod Majestati tua in illud gloria fastigium evecta, ad quod nulli Principes a multis retro seculis provenere, Chartas has ineptas ausi sumus, & querimonias obirudere, sed nullum jam in terris effulget Majestate tuâ aut illustrius, aut magis beneficum sidus, cujus cœlesti aspectu mortales afflicti ab adversis, ad salutis portum perducipossint. Sensimus nos persape, lesi sensimus vivificam charitatis tue auram, divinam clementiam amplectimur, & benignitatem incredibilem sempiterna veneratione adoramus. Quae enim per te nobis pax data sit, quae privilegia indulta & confirmata, quae gratia, candor, misericordia, beneficentia nobis impertita, nec nos effari possumus, nec ulla secula conticere. O nos felicissimos sub tuo Sceptro, Carole! qui certe miserrimi essemus, si Regio Majestatis tue Patrocinio ac favore destitueremur: irruunt in nos omne genus illiteratorum hominum longum haerent in nostris malis, & sine magno numine non amoveantur. Centum olim annos cum oppidanis nostris de summis privilegiorum decertavimus, quinquaginta cum Typographis Londinensibus, adeo crudelis est, ac pertinax malitia, quae lueris bellum indicit; Typographis per tuam in nos pietatem nuper compositis oppidani, veterem odii Camarinam incipiunt commovere. Ita ab Oppidanis ad Typographos, a Typographis ad Oppidanos, nostra in gyrum calamitas circumacta volvitur, & infinitis controversiarum nodis astringimur, & jugulamur. Deflexis genibus Excellentissimam Majestatem tuam imploramus, ut qua serenitate suam Academiam semper aspexerit, eadem dignetur huic causæ ad dictum a se diem interesse. Et Deum Optim. Max. precabimur, ut te nobis quam diutissime conservet clementissimum Principem, & Patrem indulgentissimum: In cujus salute, totius Regni incolumitas, tranquillitas Litterarum, publica seculi felicitas, & bonorum omnium vota abunde continentur.

Servi Majestati tuae devoti & fideles Subditi,  
 Procan' & Senat'.

*An*

*An Order made at Whitehall betwixt the University and Town  
of Cambridge, Decemb. 4. 1629.*

<i>Lord Keeper.</i>	<i>Lord Chamberlain.</i>	<i>Earl of Kelly.</i>
<i>Lo. Archb. of York.</i>	<i>Earl of Suffolk.</i>	<i>Lord Visc. Dorchester.</i>
<i>Lord Treasurer.</i>	<i>Earl of Dorset.</i>	<i>Lord Visc. Grandison.</i>
<i>Lord President.</i>	<i>Earl of Salisbury.</i>	<i>Lord Bish. of Winton.</i>
<i>Lord Privie Seal.</i>	<i>Earl of Bridgewater.</i>	<i>Master of the Wards.</i>
<i>Lord high Chamberlain.</i>	<i>Earl of Holland.</i>	<i>Master Chamberlain.</i>
<i>Earl Marshal.</i>	<i>Earl of Danby.</i>	<i>Mr. Secretary Cook.</i>
<i>Lord Steward.</i>		

**T**HIS day his Majestie sitting in Councel, did hear at large the controversie between the University of *Cambridge* and certain Burgers of the Town, concerning the rating and setting the price of *Vi-tualia*, and particularly of Candles and other necessaries comprised under the terms of *Focalia*; and of the consequences lately fallen out upon the controversie: which having been long debated by Counsel learned on both sides, his Majestie finally ordered, by advice of the Boord, That as well the late Maior and Bayliff, and *William Bridges*, as *Edward Almond*, *John Ball*, *Jonas Scott*, and *Thomas Oliver*, shall acknowledge and submit themselves (by setting their hands to this Order in the Councel-book) to the Jurisdiction and Priviledges of the University, as well for the rating and setting the price of all manner of *Vi-tualia*, and of Candles, and all other necessaries under the term of *Focalia*, as for the correcting and punishing of all such inhabitants of the Town as shall break and exceed the said rates and prices so set by the Vicechancellor, or such Officers of the University as are in that behalf authorized. And it is further ordered, That all the parties fined by the Vicechancellor, shall pay the Fines, and such charges of the Court as were set upon them by the Vicechancellor; and shall make publike confession, in the Vicechancellors Court, of their fault, in breaking the said rates and prices so set, and refusing to pay the fines so assessed upon them, and questioning the priviledges of the University. And as touching the discommuning of any of the said persons in this Order mentioned, It is ordered, That peace and agreement shall be settled between the parties, according to the performance of that respect and submission which is due from



224 *The University of Cambridge to the Archb. of York.*  
from the inhabitants of the said Town of Cambridge to the said University.

Ex. Will. Becher.

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*The University of Cambridge to the Archbishop of York.*

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, & summo Archi-præsuli, *Samueli*,  
Dei gratia, Archiepiscopo *Eboracensi*, Patrono nostro æternum  
colendo.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Archi-præsul amplissime,

**N**isi perfecta esset Paternitatis tuæ in *Academiâ* gratia & favor  
supra quam mereamur immensus, vereremur sine multis ambagibus,  
ad tam illustre in Ecclesia caput accedere; verum ea semper fuit indulgentia  
tuâ, & stabile nobis patrocinium, ut in difficultatibus nostris ultro fueris  
magis ad accurrendum alacer, quam nos esse potuimus ad implorandum; te-  
merarii incidimus in veterem controversiæ lacunam cum nostris Oppidanis.  
Novit sat Paternitas tuâ ab experientia multiplici, quas illi erga nos mentes  
gerant, quam atra lolligine & invidia succo a teneris unguiculis pasti fuerint,  
neque jam incipiunt ferocire, nec unquam credimus, desinent homines in-  
sulsi, tam dignitatis nostræ immemores, quam rationis suæ, nonnullis eorum  
commercium cum nostris interdiximus, dum procacius, quam parerat fasces  
nostros videbantur contemnere, sed grave est, & permolestum quicquid ca-  
dit in præcipites animos, & ira impotentes. Illi tanquam fulmine perculsi  
ad publica iudicium subsellia, Lymphaticæ festinant, cum possent consultius  
forsan in domibus suis — Nos autem veriti ne Majestas Reipub. Li-  
teraria minueretur, si in foro publico prostituta Academia de privilegiis,  
& summa rerum trepidaret, Senatus Regis tribunali appellavimus. In quo  
cum jam auspiciatissime consedissem tuam Paternitatem, intelligeres Alma  
Mater, & de honore tuâ, & suâ felicitate eximie triumphabat, nunquam  
oblita virtutis tuæ, & magnanimitatis invictæ, qua solebas hic toties Vice-  
cancellarius ad immortalem nominis tui laudem istiusmodi perduelles con-  
tundere humillime rogamus Paternitatem tuam, pro suo summo in nos affectu  
& pietate, ut quemadmodum semper Academiam ornare studuit, ita nunc  
dignetur eidem periclitanti succurrere.

Pat' tuæ devotiss.

Procanc' & Senat.

*The*

*The University of Cambridge to the Earl of Manchester.*

Illustrissimo, nobilissimo, nostroque amantissimo Domino, Comit  
*Manchestriae* Privati Sigilli Custodi, Regiæ Majestati à Sanctiori-  
bus Consiliis, Patrono nostro plurimum colendo.

**H**onoratissime nostrumque amantissime Domine Montacute, Nescimus  
an ipsi nobis vanâ credulitate blandiamur, sed cum singula tua pro-  
nobis gesta perpendimus, fruimur hac opinione, vix quenquam vivere,  
qui nostram salutem, literarum incrementum, tranquillitatem Academiæ  
magis ex animo velit quam nobilissimus Montacutus; tot indies appa-  
rent indubitata testimonia amoris tui erga nos integerrimi et profusissi-  
mæ benevolentie. Quid dicemus de Typographis, quos tandem ali-  
quando post varios casus et tot discrimina subegimus, quamvis nodum  
controversie Gordianum consuerant non nisi Alexandri gladio explicabi-  
lem, et tanquam sepia piscis longa perplexæ litis caligine capita involve-  
rant ne caperentur. Ac hac ultima sententia vestra momento beneficii  
favoris magnitudine, celeritate conficiendi trajecit, quicquid ulla spes  
nobis dictare potuit, aut suggerere, sententia celebris, sancta memorabi-  
lis ad opprimendam in perpetuam morosam oppidanorum insolentiam; sen-  
tentia quam quo penitus contemplamur, eo magis sub stupore bonitatis  
vestræ, et admirationis onere laboramus.

Noli (nec enim fas est) metiri observantia nostræ rationem, ex no-  
stro scribendi modulo. Majora de te sentimus quam verba nostra ex-  
pedire valent, multo minus rependere. Illud nostrum erga te tantum est  
et tam firmum, ut nulla nova opportunitatis accessione augere queat, aut  
temporum injuria diminui.

Honori tuo æternum obligati Procanc'  
& Senatus reliquis Academiæ.

## The University of Cambridg to Sir Humphrey May.

Clarissimo & Spectatissimo Domino *Humphredo May* Equiti Aurato, & Regiæ Majestatis Procamerario, amico & fautori nostro æternum observando.

**Æ** Ternas agimus tibi gratias, Clarissime Domine Procamerarie, quod favore tam subito, tam propensâ & inclinâtâ benevolentia ad nostram causam ultro accesseris: subiit forsan & pupugit (clarissime Domine) conditionis nostra pia commiseratio cum videret Musas litibus implicatas circa Tribunalia tremere, quas æquius erat inter lauros & virgulta pacifica in veritatis disquisitione occupari. Verum est, & in hac atate improba sic vivimus, ut frequenter depositâ togâ & calamo, pallia & Clientum soccos induere cogamur: Maxime vero nos ad incommoda pellunt opidani nostri, qui hoc a natura principium mordicus tenent, & nullo dimittunt fato, turbare semper pacem literarum, et bonis Academiæ quovis modo insidiari. O quam magna merces est prudentia, et sobria mens, aqua in utriusque sortis importunitate! sunt quos ipsum fœlicitatis tadium fatigat ad mortem, & dira contentionis ambitio fanatico quodam astro impellit ad suam perniciem. Post triginta annos simulata pacis, & induciarum oppidulani nostri quietis impatientia, & invidia aculeis acti, nuper tentare voluerunt quantum possent calcibus contra spinas, aut contra Solem jaculis; at præter pœnitentiam ac suspiria nihil domum reportarunt; Ita Musas in æternum sibi devinxit Senatus ille tremendus & gloriosus, in quo majores dii gentis nostra sedent. Tu in illa scena splendida Regiæ Majestati adstare maluisti, quam tuam inter divos reliquos classem retinere, ut nostro momento inservires, & illud pectus sacrum proprius attingeres, in quo omnes gratia nidificant, & nostra beatitudo reconditur. Magna sunt hæc amoris tui testimonia, nolis vero messem sementi parem a nobis expectare; Musa non sunt solvendo. Et tamen, si preces, vota, laudes, encomia pro nobis sufficere possint, Nihil nos tuis meritis debituros confidenter promittimus.

Dignitati tuæ devinctiss. Procane<sup>o</sup> & Senat<sup>o</sup>  
vel Academ. Cantabrigiens.

Instructions by King Charles, to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Cambridge for Government, &c. March 4. 1629.

CHARLES REX.

First, that all those directions and orders of our Father of blessed memory, which at any time were sent to our said University, be duly observed and put in execution.

2. Whereas we have been informed that of late years many Students of that our University, not regarding their own birth, degree, and quality, have made divers contracts of marriage with women of meane estate, and of no good fame in that Town, to their great disparagement, the discontent of their parents and friends, and the dishonour of the Government of that our University; we wil, and command you, that at all times hereafter, if any Taverner, Inholder, or Victualer, or any other inhabitant of the Towne, or within the Jurisdiction of the University, shall keep any daughter or other woman in his house to whom there shall resort any Scholars of that University, of what condition so ever, to mispend their time, or otherwise to misbehave themselves in marriage without the consent of those that have the Gardiance and tuition of them, that upon notice thereof, you doe presently convent the said Scholars or Scholar, and the said woman or women thus suspected, before you, and upon due examination, if you find cause therefore, that you command the said woman or women, according to the forme of your Charter against women, *de malo suspectas*, to remove out of the University, and foure miles of the same: And if any refuse presently to obey your commands, and to be ordered by you herein, that you then bind them over with sureties to appeare before the Lords of our Privy Counsel, to answer their contempt, and such matters as shall be objected against them. And if any refuse presently to obey, to imprison them til they either remove or put in such bonds with sureties.

3. That you be careful that all the statutes of our University be duly executed, especially those *de vestitu Scholarium, et de modestia et morum urbanitate*. And whereas we are informed, that Batchelors of Law, Physick, and Masters of Arts, and others of higher degree, pretend they are not subject to your censure, if they resort to such houses



and places as are mentioned in the said statutes, to eat, drink, play, or take Tobacco, to the mispending of their time, and corrupting of others by their ill example, and to the scandalizing of the government of our said University: Our will and pleasure is by these presents, that you doe also command them and every of them, to forbear coming to any such houses, otherwise, or at other times, then by the said statute others of inferiour order and degree. are allowed to doe, any statute or concession whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And if any refuse to obey you herein, that you proceed against them as contumacious; and if there be cause, that you also signifie their names to us, or the Lords of our privy Counsel.

4. That you doe severely punish all such of your body, of what degree or condition soever, as shall contemne their superiors, or misbehave themselves either in word or deed towards the Vice-Chancellor or Proctors, or any other officers of our University, especially in the executing of their office.

5. Lastly we will and command that a Copy of these our directions be delivered to the Master of every Colledge, and that he cause the same to be published to those of his Colledge, and then to be Registered in the Registers of their Colledges, and duly observed and kept by all persons whom they concern.

*Examinatur, et concordat cum Originali. Ita attestor Jacobus  
Fabor Registrarius.*

*The University of Cambridg to the Lord  
Chief Justice Richardson.*

Honoratissimo Domino *Thoma Richardson* Communium Placitorum Proto Justiciario, & Proedro amico Academiae, & Patrono singulari.

**A**mplissime et honoratissime Domine, superiori et Termino et Ante nostris literis & negotiis graviter defatigavimus, & nunc novas asferre molestias nequaquam dubitamus; sed tu pro candore quo polles maximo hanc nostram morositatem benigne interpretare, & da veniam impatienti nostra occasione ad Sacerdotium Hallingburii, quod de cujusdam papicola lapsu in manus nostras ex diplomate serenissimi Regis Jacobi nobis indulto, et per Senatam Regni solennem confirmato venit. Hunc Magistrum

*strum Love Collegii divi Petri promovimus, virum fide, doctrinâ, integritate, sanctimonîâ praeclarum, qui Procuratoris Officium, magistratum apud nos amplissimum, insigniter administravit, et non sine magna laude fasces ante biennium deposuit, unde liquido constet dominationi tuae, quibus opulentiis abundat Alma mater, cum virum consularem, et de republica nostra tam bene meritum, tali sacerdotiolo auctum & remuneratum dimittimus. Utinam tamen vel tantillum hoc quod est beneficii homini nostro placidè concederent mortales Dii, et se precibus ad equanimitatem flucti paterentur. Enim vero nescimus quo malo fato nostro id comparatum sit, et inter sacrum & sacrum semper haereamus, quemadmodum in proverbio est, Inter sacrum quod ambimus, et hominum praecordia saxo duriora, nihil nos sine controversia impetrare possumus; sed cogimur virtute nostrâ nos involvere, & probam pauperiem sine dote querere, cum Poeta Horatio; nam in tanta dominorum et captatorum turba, difficile est ad omnes articulos sic excubare, ut qui modeste prensat in lutum non detrudatur; et certe usque adeo praclusus est industria nostra ad eadem honoris et emolumentum aditus, ut multi repudia literis in aeternum renunciare mallent, quam post tot laboribus, consumptam juventutem et senectam studiis immature acceleratam, vana spei cassa nuce ludificari; cum non solum sua nobis negare beneficia, sed et nostra abripere terrarum Domini flagitiosè contendant. Quid ad te haec verba spectant, facile conjicias: Nos te Patronum appellamus, quem adversarii nostri Judicem; et per omnia patrocina tua nobis ante hac gnaviter concessa, per omnia sacra clementiae tuae et amoris in Academiam te obtestamur, ut huic Alumino nostro jus suum et Academiae dignitatem, sanctam testam, auctoritate tuâ conservare velis: et cum tua merita non aliâ re consequi valeamus, quam debiti agnitione cui sumus imparer, memorisq; animi gratâ testificatione, utramque tibi sempiternam religiose pollicemur.*

*Dat' è frequenti Senatu nostro,  
pridie Calend. Maii, 1630.*

*Honoris tui Clientes assidui Pro-  
cancel' et Senatus integer A-  
cadem' Cantabrig.*

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*Bishop of Excester to the lower House of Parliament.*

*Gentlemen,*

**F**OR Gods sake be wise in your well meant zeale: why doe we argue away precions time, that can never be revoked, or repaired? Wo is me, whilst we dispute, our friends perish, and we must follow them.

them. Where are we if we break? (and I tremble to thinke it) we cannot but break if we hold too stiffe. Our Liberties and properties are sufficiently declared to be sure and legal; our remedies are cleare and irrefragable; what do we fear? Every subject now sees the way chalked out before him for future Justice, and who dares henceforth tread besides it? certainly whilst Parliaments live we need not misdoubt the like violation of our freedoms and rights; may we bee but where the loanes found us, we shall sufficiently enjoy our selves, and ours; It is now no season to reach for more. O let us not whilst we over rigidly plead for a higher straine of safety, put our selves into a necessity of ruine, and utter despair of redresse; let us not in a suspicion of evil that may be, cast our selves into a present confusion: if you love your selves, and your Country, remit something of your owne Terms; and since the substance is yeilded by your noble compatriots, stand not too curiously upon points of circumstance: fear not to trust a good King, who after the strictest Law made must be trusted with the execution; think that your Country, yea Christendom lyeth in the mercy of your present resolution, relent or farewell. Farewell from him whose faithful heart bleeds in a vowed sacrifice for his King and Country.

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*King Charles to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.*

WE being desirous of nothing more then the advancing of the good peace and prosperity of our people, have given leave to free debates of higest point of our prerogative Royal, which in the times of our Predecessors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, were ever restrained as matter they would not have disputed; and in other things we have been willing so farre to descend to the desires of our good subjects, as might fully satisfie all moderate minds, and free them from all just feares and jealousies, which those messages we have sent unto the Commons House wil well demonstrate to the world; and yet we find it stil insisted on, That in no case whatsoever, should it never so neerly concerne matters of State and Government, we or our privy Counsel have power to commit any man without the cause be shewed. The service it selfe would be thereby destroyed and defeated; and the cause it selfe must be such as may be determined by our Judges of our causes at *Westminster*, in a legal and ordinary way of Justice; whereas the cause may be such, as these Judges have not capacity



capacity of Judicature, nor rules of Law, to direct and guide their Judgments in cases of transcendent nature, which happening so often, the very intermitting of the constant rules of Government for so many ages within this Kingdome practised, would soone dissolve the very frame and foundation of our Monarchy; wherefore as to our Commons we made faire propositions, which might equally preserve the just liberties of the subject: So my Lords, we have thought good to let you know, that without the overthrow of our sovereignty, we cannot suffer this power to be impeached; yet notwithstanding, to clear our conscience and intentions, this we publish, that it is not in our heart or will, ever to extend our Royal power (lent unto us from God) beyond the just rule of moderation in any thing which shall be contrary to our Lawes and Customes, wherein the safety of our people shall be our only aime. And we do hereby declare our Royal pleasure and resolution to be, which (God willing) we wil ever constantly continue and maintaine, that neither we nor our Privy Counsel shall, or will at any time hereafter commit or command to prison, or otherwise restrain the person of any for not lending mony unto us, or for any other cause which in our conscience, doth concern the publick good, and safety of us and our people; we wil not be drawn to pretend any cause which in our conscience is not, or is not expressed, which base thought we hope no man can imagine, can fall into our Royal brest: and that in all causes of this nature which shall hereafter happen, we shall upon the humble Petition of the party, or addresse of our Judges unto us, readily and really expresse the true cause of their Commitment or restraint, so soone as with conveniency or safety the same is fit to be disclosed and expressed; and that in all causes Criminal of ordinary Jurisdiction, our Judges shall proceede to the deliverance and bailment of the Prisoner, according to the known and ordinary rules of the Lawes of this Land; and according to the Statute of *Magna charta*, and those other six statutes insisted on, which we do take knowledge stand in full force, and which we intend not to weaken, or abrogate against the true intent thereof.

This we have thought fit to signifie unto you, the rather for the shortning of any long debate upon this question, the season of the year being so far advanced; and our great occasions of State, not lending us many daies of long continuance of this Session of Parliament.

Given under our signet, at our Pallace at *Westminster*, the twelfth day of *May* in the Fourth Year of our Reigne.

CAROLUS REX.

A Comm-



*A Counſel Table Order againſt hearing Maſs at Embaſſadors houſes.*  
 March 10. 1629

*At White-hall the tenth of March. 1629.*

PRESENT.

<i>Lord Keeper.</i>	<i>Lord Wimbleton.</i>
<i>Lord Treafurer.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Dorcheſter.</i>
<i>Lord Preſident.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Wentworth.</i>
<i>Lord Privy Seale.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Grandiſon.</i>
<i>Lord Steward.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Faulkland.</i>
<i>Lord Chamberlaine.</i>	<i>Lord Savile.</i>
<i>Earl of Suffolk.</i>	<i>Lord Newbergh.</i>
<i>Earl of Dorſet.</i>	<i>Mr. Vice Chamberlaine.</i>
<i>Earl of Salisbury.</i>	<i>Mr. Secretary Cooke.</i>

**A**T this Sitting the Lord Viſcount *Dorcheſter* declared, that his Ma-  
 jeſty being informed of the bold and open repaire made to ſe-  
 veral places, and ſpecially to the houſes of forraine Ambaſſadors, for  
 the hearing of Maſſe, which the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome  
 do expreſſly forbid his Subjects to frequent: and conſidering in his  
 Princely wiſdome, both the publick Scandals, and dangerous conſe-  
 quence thereof, is reſolved to take preſent order for the ſtopping of  
 this evil before it ſpread it ſelfe any further, and for this purpoſe had  
 commanded him to acquaint the Board with his pleaſure in that be-  
 halfe, and what courſe he thinketh fit to be held therein; and withal  
 to demand the opinion and advice of their Lordſhips concerning the  
 ſame, his Maſteſty being deſirous to uſe the beſt and moſt effectually  
 expedient that can be found. Hereupon his Lordſhip proceeding, did  
 further declare, that his Maſteſty (to ſhew the cleareneſſe and earneſt-  
 neſſe of his intention herein) hath begun at his owne houſe, viz.  
 Whereſoever the Queens Maſteſty hath any Chappel being intended  
 for the only ſervice of her, and for thoſe French who attend her;  
 for which the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlaine to her Maſteſty,  
 hath been commanded to take ſpecial care; according to ſuch directi-  
 ons as he hath received from his Maſteſty. That for ſo much as con-  
 cerneth

cerneth the repaire to the houses of Forraine Embassadors at the time of Masse, his Majesty thinks fit that some messengers of the Chamber, or other officers or persons fit for that service, shall be appointed to watch all the severall passages to their houses, and without entring into the said houses, or infringing the freedoms and priviledges belonging unto them, observe such persons as go thither, but at their coming from thence, they are to apprehend them and bring them to the Board; and such as they cannot apprehend, to bring their names. But to the end that the said Forraine Embassadors may have no cause to complaine of this proceeding; as if there were any intention to wrong or disrespect them, his Majesty doth likewise think fit, that for the preventing of any such mistaking and sinister Interpretation, the said Embassadors shall be acquainted with the truth of this businesse; and likewise assured in his Majesties name, that he is, and will be as careful to conserve all priviledges and rights belonging to the quality of their places, as any of his Progenitors have been, and in the same manner as himselfe expecteth that their Princes shall use towards his Embassadors.

Lastly, That it is his Majesties expresse pleasure that the like diligence be used for the apprehending of all such as repaire to Masse in prisons or other places.

The Board having heard this declaration, did unanimously conclude, that there could not be taken a more effectuall course for the preventing of these evils, then this which his Majesty in his wisdom hath set downe, and therefore did order that the same be immediately put in strict and careful execution. And it was likewise thought fit, that the Lord Viscount *Dorchester*, and Mr. *Secretary Cooke*, should be sent to the forraine Embassadors severally, to acquaint them with his Majesties intention, as is before mentioned; and that the messengers of the Chamber to be employed in the service before specified shall be appointed and receive their charge from the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and the Secretaries, who are to take a speciall care to see this put in execution.

King of Spaine to Pope Urban. Sept. 21. 1629.

**M**OST Holy Father, I condescended that my forces should be employed in the execution of *Mountferrat*, to divert the introduction of strangers into *Italie*, with so evident danger of Religion: I suffered the siege of *Cassal* to run on so slowly, to give time that by way of negotiation those differences might be composed with the reciprocal satisfaction of the parties interested; and to shew in effect, what little reason all *Italy* had to be jealous of the Arms of my Crown, for having possessed many places of importance; some I have freely given away, and others after I had defended them in a time the owners had need, I presently restored with much liberality. Upon this moderation the Duke of *Nivers*, being hardened against the Emperor my Uncle, and he perhaps and other Princes calling thither the most Christian King, who not contenting himselfe to have attained that which he publicly professed to desire, and having left Garrison in *Mountferrat*, and in *Susa*, and as (I am told) having fortified some places, hath thereby given occasion to the Emperour my Uncle, to give order his Army should passe into *Italy*, to maintaine the Authority, Jurisdiction and preheminiency of the Empire, with whom I can doe no lesse then concurre, and give him assistance, in respect of the great and strict obligation of Blood, of Honour, and of Conveniency which I hold with his imperial Majesty, and for the ----- which I doe acknowledge from the sacred Empire; declaring now, as I have done heretofore, and as my Embassadors have told your Holinesse; that in this businesse, I do neither directly nor indirectly aim at any other end of mine own particular interest. But beholding the numerous Armies of the Emperour in *Italy*, and with extreme grieve foreseeing the harmes, inconveniences and dangers that *Italy* must thereby suffer in matter of Religion, being that which most importeth; I doe not only resent it, in respect of that portion which God hath given me in Christendome, but especially as a King and Prince of *Italy*, the peace of those Provinces being disturbed, which my Progenitors with so much Judgment and providence, and with so much Authority and benefit of the Natives had so many years preserved. Wherefore I thought it my duty to present unto your beatitude that experience hath demonstrated that to oppose and straighten the Jurisdiction of the Emperour, and to resist his commandments, hath brought matters

to these difficult terms, and this way being still persisted in, there must needs follow those mischiefs which we desire to shun. Now the most convenient manner how to compose these businesses, is that your Holinesse doe effectually perswade the Duke of Nivers to accomodate himself to the Justice and obedience of the Emperour, and the King of *France* to recall his Armies out of *Italy*, and the Princes that doe aid Nivers, no more to interest themselves in the businessse, even as from the beginning my Ministers have propounded to your Beatitude; because this difference being ended juridically, all the persons interestted shall come off with honour and reputation, and so all of them shall have a ground to beseech the Emperour, that out of his wonted clemency, he wil take off that impression, which he justly might have conceived against the Duke of *Nivers*; whereupon things inclining to this issue, I shal with a very good will imploy my best offices to the end that speedy and exact justice may be administred, and also that his *Cæsarian* Majesty may give experimental effects of his magnanimity and stability, desiring with a most sincere affection, that so much Christian blood may be spared, as would be spilt in this war, and that those forces might be imployed to the service, and not to the prejudice of Christendome. Thus have I cleerly and sincerely delivered my meaning unto your Holinesse, to the end that knowing my intention, you may do those offices which your manifold wisdom shall find proper for the place whereto God hath advanced you; and if God for our sins have decreed to chastise Christendome, by continuing the war; let this dispatch be a testimony of my good wil, and real intention towards peace; for the prosecuting whereof, I on my part, will alwaies imbrace any reasonable and proportionable meanes. Oar Lord God preserve your Beatitude a thousand yeares.

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*The Councel of Ireland to King Charles in defence of the Lord  
Deputie Faulkland. April 28. 1629*

**M**ay it please your most excellent Majesty, we stand so bounden to your royall Self, and your most blessed Father our late deceased Sovereigne Lord and Master, as we are urged in duty to prostrate this act of our faith at your Majesties feet, as an assay to cleer some things wherein misinformation may seem to have approached your high Wisdome. We understand that it is collected out of some



late Dispatches from hence, that there are such disorders in the Government here, as by the present Governors are remediable; all which is ascribed to the differences between persons of chief place; We do in all humility testify and declare that we have not seen or known any inconvenience to the publick service by the difference between your Majesties Deputy and Chancellor, neither have of late seen or heard any act or speech of contention between them. Other difference between persons of any eminent Action we understand none, neither are any disorders here yet so overgrown, as to surpass the redresse of the present Governour, especially so long as he hath such a standing English Army, as your Majesty now alloweth; if only we may receive some supply of Armes and munition, which we have often written for, do daily expect, and which shall be no losse to your Majesty. It is true, most gracious Sovereign, that in some late dispatches we mentioned three grievances in this government, which in extent may threaten much, if we be not timely directed from thence concerning them, *viz.* the insolence and excrescence of the Popish pretended Clergie, the disorder and offence of the *Irish* Regiment, and the late outrageous presumption of the unsettled Irish, in some parts; towards all which (being parties perhaps otherwise conceived of there, then understood here) your Deputy and Council have of late used particular abstinence, holding themselves somewhat limited concerning them, by late Instructions, Letters and directions from thence. And therefore lest countenance of that course, might turn to greater damage, we make choice seasonably to crave expression of the good pleasure of your Highnesse, and the most Honourable Lords of your Council, lest our actions and zeal therein might vary from the purposes on that side, and so want of unanimity in both States, breake the progresse of the Reformation; not that we any way make doubt to give your Majesty a good accompt of our selves therein, and of the full eviction of those evils in due time, so we might be assured of your Majestys and their Lordships good allowance of our endeavours, being confident in all humility, to declare and affirme to your Sacred Majesty, that the rest of this great body, (as to the civil part thereof) is in far better order at this time, then ever it was in the memory of man; as well in the current and general execution of Justice according to the Lawes, in the freedom of mens persons and estates, (the present charge of the Army excepted) and in the Universal outward subjection of all sorts of settled inhabitants to the Crowne and Lawes of *England*, and also in the advancement of the Crowne Revenues; and lastly, in the competent number of Bishops, and o-  
ther

ther able and Learned Ministers of the Church of *England* of all sorts, which we especially attribute to the blessednesse of your time, and to the Industries, Zeale, Judgment and moderation of your Deputy, as well in your Majesty service, as towards this people, having now well learned this great office; and to the good beginnings of the two last precedent Deputies under direction of your most Renowned Father.

Secondly, we understand that your Deputy and Councel are blamed for the present surcharge of your Revenues here, far beyond the support thereof.

Herein your Royal Majesty may be pleased to cause a review of our dispatch from hence, in *August* 1627. wherein it wil appear, that their part in that offence hath been only obedience to extraordinary wariants from thence, and that if those warrants had not beene fully performed out of your Revenues, you had had about 40000 pound Irish to pay pensioners, in your Coffers, and answer other necessities which have since increased.

So as we humbly crave pardon freely to affirme, that the fault hath not been here; and further also to say for your Majesties honour and our comfort, that during 200 years last past, *England* hath never been so free of the charge of Ireland, as now it is.

Thirdly, we understand that your Deputy is accused for miscarriage in the legal prosecution of *Phelim Mach Fragh*, and others adhering to him in certain treasonable Acts and Practises. Herein we most humbly beseech your Majesty, that a review may be of a declaration sent from hence about the beginning of your Deputies government, signed by him and all the Councel then here, whereby wil appear how the parts of *Lemster*, at least, have been from age to age infested by him and his predecessors, and the inhabitants of the territory of *Ranelagh*, wherein he tooke upon him a Chiefery; and therein will also appeare, that it was the special affection and endeavour of several worthy Deputies here to have cleared that offensive plot, which no wise State could suffer so neer the seat thereof, and that they also severally attempted it by force, the said *Phelims* Father being slain by actuall Rebellion by Sir *William Russels* prosecution; but the generall Rebellion of the Kingdome alwaies interrupted the settlement thereof. This being at that time the declaration of the State, moved your Deputy, being a stranger, to have a wary aspect upon the people, for the Common peace, which he hath carefully performed. Afterwards at the time when the general voice was amongst the *Irish*, that the *Spaniards* would be here, your Deputie had cause  
to,

to examine several persons and causes concerning that Rumour whereby fell out to be discovered to him among others, that this *Phelim* had confederated for raising a Commotion in *Lemster*, and murdering a *Scottish* Minister, and Justice of peace (a ready instrument in Crown Causes) inhabiting about the border of the said territory. Before which time, we never heard of any displeasure or hard measure born by your said Deputy to him, or offence taken by him, at any particular done to him, unless he were offended that your Deputy refused his money offered to blanch your Majesties title to the Lands in *Ranlagh*, now granted to undertakers, discovered and prosecuted at first by his brother *Redmond* and his Council *Peter de la Hoyd*, We do also herein in all humility testifie, and declare that he acquainted several Privy Councillors here, and others of Judgment with the same. And also in every Act and passage thereof used the labour and presence, either of your Majesties Privy Councillours, Judges, or learned Council, alwaies professing publicly and privately (which we also in our consciences do believe) that he had no particular envy or displeasure to *Phelims's* person, or any of his, neither had any end in what might fall out upon that discovery or pains, or any act done concerning that Country, other then the reducement thereof, to the conformity of other civil parts; the common peace of your Majesties good Subjects adjacent, and the legal and plenary effecting of that which by so many good governours in times of disturbance could not be done, there being no power in him to make any particular benefit of the Escheate, either in lands or goods; and before any thing was to be done for the tryal of him and the rest for their lives, he made a speedy and immediate address to your Majesty, dated 27. *August* 1628 upon the indictment found, to inform you of the then present estate of that businesse, which we have seen, not doing it before (as he affirms) for that he had formerly received gracious approbations of his proceedings in the like discoveries.

We also in all humbleness and duty do declare and protest, that if upon their evil demerits, and the due proceedings of Law, those now questioned may be taken away, and the Territory settled in legal Government and English order, (towards which a strong Fort is already almost built in the midst of it by your Majesties Undertakers lately planted there: It will be a service of the greatest importment to bridle the Irish, assure the inhabitants of other Parts, and strengthen the generall peace of the Kingdom (next to the great Plantation of *Ulster*) that hath been done in this age. If otherwise they shall by fair tryall acquit the course of your Majesties free and indifferent justice,



it will make them wary in point of duty and loyalty hereafter. And we do further in all submission declare, That in these discoveries, (the persons and Causes considered) it was of necessity that the personal pains of your Highness Deputy should be bestowed; the rather, for that the Evidences being to be given for the most part by persons involved in the same confederacies, and who were to become actors, they would not be drawn to confess truths to any inferior Ministers being of stubborn and malign spirits; besides the dissuasions of Priests, and of the Dependants and manifold Allies of the said *Phelim*, if they had not been warily look'd after.

Lastly, We in all humbleness of heart and freedom of faithful servants, do beseech your most sacred Majesty to consider how much the sufferings of your zealous servants may prove to your disservice, especially in this place, where discouragement of your most dextrous service is most aimed at by multitudes of several qualities, and cannot but soon perplex the present happy state of your affairs. We beseech the eternall God to guide and prosper your Majesties advices and designs.

28. April 1629.

Your most humble and obedient  
Subjects and Servants.

Signed by

L. Primate

V. *Valentia*

V. *Kilmallock*

V. *Ranelagh*.

L. *Dillon*.

L. *Causseild*,

L. *Aungier*

L. Pr of *Munster*

L. *Chief Justice*

S<sup>r</sup> *Adam Loftus*

M<sup>r</sup> of the *Wards*

L. *Chief Baron*.

S<sup>r</sup> *Charles Coote*.

Ab Ignoto, *Of the Affairs of Spain, France and Italy*, 5 Jan. 1629.

SIR,

THOUGH it be now full three months since I received any line from you, yet I dare not, nor will I for that respect discontinue my writing to you; and because no private businesse occurreth, I will be bold to advise a line or two concerning the publick affairs of *Italy*: *Cassal* is still made good against the *Spaniard*, not by the Duke of *Mantua*, for he poor Prince was long since bankrupt, but by the succours of *France* and this Seignory, the former contributing monthly 40000 Dollers, the latter 20000, not only to maintaine the *Cassaleschi*, but also to enable the Duke to stand fast against all other the



the *Spaniards* attempts; mean while we hear say boldly, that a league offensive and defensive against the *Spaniards* in *Italy* is concluded betweene the *French* and the *Venetians*; and that the *French King* hath already sent out two Armies, one under the Duke of *Guise* by sea, who they say is landed at *Nizza*; the other under the Marquess *de Cœure*, who is marching hitherward through the *Valtoline*; and though I doubt something these proceedings of the *French*, yet I am sure the Seignior doth daily give out new Commissions for the levying of Souldiers in that number, that now every one demands what strange enterprize this State hath in hand, and all jump in this, that it is against the *Spaniard*. The Pope is still adverse to the *Spaniard*, and inclines strongly to the good of *Italy*, animating this State to meete the *French* with a declaration, and the *French* to conclude a peace on any honorable terms with us, that they may the more safely follow their present designs, which is to suppress the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. his Catholick Majesty hath lost a great deal of credit in these parts, by the losse of his Silver Fleete; and that he is in extreme want of mony, is collected here from the present state of some of his publick Ministers. *Ognat* his ordinary Embassadour at *Rome*, being lately recalled, in stead of going home into *Spaine*, hath retyred himselfe privately to *Monte Pincio*, being in such premunire that he is not able to accommodate himselfe with necessaries for his journey. And *Monte-rei* who is to succeed him is arrived as far *Sienna*, but being foundred in his purse, is able to get no farther, meane while, living there in an *Inne*. Moreover the Merchants in *Rome*, are advised by their correspondents in *Spaine*, to be wary in letting either of them have monies; this is from a good hand in *Rome*. Sir *Kenelm Digby* hath lately been at *Delos*, where he hath laden great store of Marble, he is said to be in very good plight and Condition. I trouble you no more.

Venice 5. January  
1629. *Stilo novo*.

Your faithful servant, C. H.

*The Lords of the Council of England, to the Lords of the  
Council in Ireland, 31 Jan. 1629.*

**B**Y your Letter dated the ninth of *January* we understand how the seditious riot moved by the Friars and their adherents at *Dublin*, hath by your good order and resolution been happily suppressed, and we doubt

doubt not but by this occasion, you will consider how much it concerneth the good Government of that Kingdome, to present in time the first growing of such evils; for where such people be permitted to swarm, they will soon grow licentious, and endure no government but their own, which cannot otherwise be restored then by a due and seasonable execution of the Law, and of such directions as from time to time have been sent from his Majesty and this Board. Now it redoundeth much to the honour of his Majesty, that the world shall take notice of the ability and good service of his Ministers there, which in person he hath been pleased openly in Councel, and in most gracious manner to approve and commend; whereby you may be sufficiently encouraged to go on with like resolution and moderation, til the work be solely done, as well in City as in other places of your Kingdome, the carriage whereof we must leave to your good discretions, whose particular knowledge of the present state of things can guide you better, when and where to carry a soft or harder hand; only this we hold necessary to put you in mind, that you continue in that good agreement amongst your selves, for this and other services which your Lettrers do expresse; and for which we commend you much, that the good servants of the King and state may find encouragement equally from you all; and the ill affected may find no support or countenance from any; nor any other connivances used but by general advice, for avoiding of further evils, shall be allowed; and such Magistrates and Officers, if any shal be discovered that openly or underhand favour such disorders, or do not their duties in suppressing them, and committing the offenders, you shall doe well to take all fit and safe advantages, by the punishment or displacing of a few, to make the rest more cautious. This we write, not as misliking the faire course you have taken; but to expresse the concurrency of our Judgments with yours, and to assure you of our assistance in all such occasions wherein for your further proceedings, we have advised. And his Majesty requireth you accordingly to take order, first that the house wherein Seminary Friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the Reverend Arch-Bishop, and the Maior of *Dublin* received the first affront, be speedily demolished, and be the mark of terror to the resisters of Authority, and that the rest of the houses erected or imployed there, or elsewhere to the use of suspicious societies, be converted to houses of correction, and to set the people on work, or to other publick uses, for the advancement of Justice, good Arts or Trades; and further, that you use all fit meanes to discover the Founders, Benefactors and Maintainers of such Societies and Colledges, and certifie their

names, and that you find out the Lands, Leases, or Revenues applied to their uses, and dispose thereof according to the Law, and that you certifie also the places and institutions of all such *Monasteries, Priories, Nunneries*, and other Religious houses, and the names of all such persons as have put themselves to be brothers and sisters therein, especially such as are of note, to the end such evil plants be not permitted to take root any where in that Kingdome, which we require you take care of. For the supply of Munition which you have reason to desire, we have taken effectuall order that you shall receive it with all convenient speed. And so &c.

*Lord Keeper.*

*Lord Treasurer.*

*Lord President.*

*Lord Privy Seale.*

*L. high Chamberlain.*

*Earl of Suffolk.*

*Earl of Dorset.*

*Earl of Salisbury.*

*Earl of Kelly.*

*Lord Viscount Dorchester.*

*Lord Newbergh.*

*Mr. Vice Chamberlaine.*

*Mr. Secretary Cooke.*

*Sir William Alexander.*

*The Lord Faulkland's Petition to the King.*

**M**ost humbly shewing, that I had a Sonne, until I lost him in your Highnesse displeasure, where I cannot seeke him because I have not will to find him there. Men say, there is a wilde young man now prisoner in the Fleete, for measuring his actions by his own private sense. But now that for the same your Majesties hand hath appeared in his punishment, he bowes and humbles himselfe before and to it: whether he be mine or not, I can discern by no light, but that of your Royal Clemency; for only in your forgivenessse can I owne him for mine. Forgivenessse is the glory of the supreme powers, and this the operation, that when it is extended in the greatest measure, it converts the greatest offenders into the greatest lovers, and so makes purchase of the heart, an especial priviledg petular and due to Sovereigne Princes.

If now your Majesty will vouchsafe out of your owne benignity, to become a second nature, and restore that unto me which the first gave me, and vanity deprived me of, I shall keep my reckoning of the full number of my sons with comfort, and render the tribute of my



my most humble thankfulness, else my weake old memory must forget one.

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*The Duke of Modena to the Duke of Savoy. July 30. 1629.*

**W**Hen I was deprived of my Mistris the *Infanta Izabella*, so intimately beloved of me, I was suddenly possessed with a most ardent desire of finding the meanes how to follow her into Paradise; and distrusting in regard of my weaknesse and life past, that I was not able to stand in those dangers wherein that holy soule knew how to finde security and tranquillity, I resolved to retire my selfe out of the tempestuous sea of Government, and to shelter my selfe in the harbour of Religion, rejoycing to sacrifice that unto God, which useth to be so highly esteemed in the world; and knowing that cruelly to raigne, is to serve his Divine Majesty, hitherto I deferred the execution of my purpose, because being bound in this, to depend upon the Counsel of him that governed my soule, it seemed not expedient to him, that I should retire my selfe while there was need of my assistance, both in respect of the age of the Duke my father (which was *Cesar d'Este*, who dyed 1628) and of the nonage of the Prince my son (which is *Don Francisco*, who now governeth.) Now that these impediments are removed, I goe most contentedly whither the Lord doth call me, namely, to take upon me the Capuchin Religion out of *Italy*; and I doe promise to find for my self in one little Cel, that repose which all the greatnesse of the world cannot give me. True it is, if I should look back upon my life past, I should find motives rather of terrour, then of comfort: But the mercy of God doth make me confident, and my having (for his love, and to performe his wil) renounced all that I could or had, I departed also most comforted, because I leave the Prince my son so well qualified, that I may confidently expect an excellent issue of his Government, especially if your Highness shall vouchsafe to direct him with your most prudent Counsels, and to shrowd him under your benigne protection, whereunto with reverent affection I doe recommend him together with the rest of my sonnes, especially *Carlo Alexandro* (who is now living in your Highnesse his Court) since that (as a man may say) they have no other Father then your Highnesse, and are branches of your Princely house.

Unto your Highnesse was in all respects due from me the accompt



244 *Sir Kenhelm Digby to Sir Edward Stradling.*

which I have given you of my vacation; I beseech you to accept it, and to believe that I will alwaies be answerable to my dutie, and will pray for the spirituall and temporal increase of your Highness, whose hands I reverently kisse.

Your Highness most humble and most obliged servant,

From *Saluolo* the  
30<sup>th</sup> of July, 1629.

*Alfonf. d'Este.*

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*Sir Kenhelm Digby to Sir Edward Stradling.*

*To my Honourable Friend Sir Edward Elteeling, alias  
Stradling, aboard his ship.*

**M**Y much honoured freind, I am too well acquainted with the weaknesse of my abilities (that are farre unfit to undergoe such a task as I have in hand) to flatter my selfe with the hope that I may either informe your understanding, or do my selfe honour by what I am to write. But I am so desirous that you should be possessed with the true knowledge of what a bent will I have upon all occasions to doe you service, that obedience to your Command weigheth much more with me then the lawfulnessse of my excuse can, to preserve me from giving you in writing such a testimony of my ignorance and erring fantasie, as I fear this will prove. Therefore without any more circumstances, I wil as near as I can, deliver to you in this paper, what the other day I discoursed to you upon the 22<sup>d</sup> Staffe of the ninth Canto in the second book of that matchlesse Poem, *The Fairy Queen*, written by our *English Virgil*, whose words are these.

*The Frame thereof seem'd partly Circular,  
And part Trianguler: O work Divine!  
These two the first and last proportions are,  
Th'one imperfett, mortal, feminine;  
Th'other immortal, perfect, masculine:  
And twixt them both a quadrat was the base,  
Proportion'd equally, by seven, and nine;  
Nine was the Circle set in heavens place,  
All which compacted, made a goodly Diapase.*

In this Staff the Author seemeth to me to proceed in a differing manner from what he doth elsewhere generally through his whole book,

booke, for in other places, although the beginning of this Allegorie or mistical sense may be obscure, yet in the processe of it he doth himselfe declare his owne conceptions in such sort, that they are obvious to any ordinary capacity: But in this, he seemeth only to glance at the profoundest notions that any science can deliver to us; and then of a suddaine, as it were recalling himself out of an Enthusiastme, he returneth to the gentle relation of the Allegorical history that he had begun, leaving his readers to wander up and down in much obscurity, and to rove with much danger of erring at his intention in these lines; which I conceive to be dictated by such a learned spirit, and so generally a knowing soule, that were there nothing else extant of *Spencers* writings, yet these few words would make me esteeme him no whit inferiour to the most famous men that ever have been in any age, as giving an evident testimony herein, that he was thoroughly versed in the Mathematicall sciences, in Philosophy and Divinity, unto all which this might serve for an ample Theame to make large Commentaries upon; In my praises upon this subject I am confident, that the worth of the Author will preserve me from this censure, that my ignorance only begetteth this admiration, since he hath written nothing that is not admirable. But that it may appeare, I am guided somewhat by my owne Judgement, (although it be a very meane one) and not by implicit faith, and that I may in the best manner I can comply with what you may expect from me, I will not longer hold you in suspence, but begin immediately (though abruptly) with the declaration of what I conceive to be the true sense of this place; which I shall not goe about to adorne with any plausible discourses, or with authorities and examples drawne from others writings; (since my want both of conveniency and learning would make me fall very short herein) but it shall bee enough for me to intimate my conceptions, and to offer them up unto you in their own simple and naked forme, leaving to your better Judgment, the examination of the waight of them; and after perusal of them, beseeching you to reduce me, if you perceive me to erre. It is evident, that the Authors intention in this Canto, is to describe the body of man informed with a rational soule; and in prosecution of that designe, he setteth down particularly the severall parts of the one, and the faculties of the other. But in this *Stanza* he comprehendeth the general description of them both, as (being joyned together to frame a compleat man) they make one perfect compound, which will appear better by taking a survey of every severall Clause thereof by it selfe.

*The frame thereof seem'd partly circular,  
And part triangular.* —————

By these figures, I conceive that he meaneth the Mind and the Body of man, the first being by him compared to a Circle, and the latter to a Triangle; for as the Circle of all figures is the most perfect; and includeth the greatest space, and is every way full, and without angles, made by the continuation of one onely line; so mans soul is the noblest and most beautiful creature that God hath created, and by it we are capable of the greatest gifts which God can bestow, which are Grace, Glory, and Hypostatical union of the humane Nature to the divine: and she enjoyeth perfect freedom and liberty in all other actions, and is made without composition, (which no figures are that have angles; for they are caused by the coincidence of several lines) but of one pure substance, which was by God breathed into a body made of such compounded earth, as in the preceding Stanza the Author describeth; and this is the exact image of him that breathed it, representing him as fully as it is possible for any creature, which is infinitely distant from the Creator. For as God hath neither beginning nor ending, so neither of these can be found in a Circle; although that being made of the successive motion of a line, it must be supposed to have a beginning somewhere. God is compared to a circle whose center is every where, but whose Circumference no where; but mans soul is a circle whose circumference is limited by the true center of it, which is only God. For as a circumference doth in all parts alike respect that indivisible point, and as all lines drawn from the inner side of it, do make right angles with it when they meet therein; so all the interior actions of mans soul ought to have no other respective point to direct themselves unto but God: and as long as they make right angles, which is, that they keep the exact middle of vertue, and decline not to either of the sides where the contrary vices dwell, they cannot fail but meet in their Center.

By the Triangular figure he very aptly designeth the Body: For as the Circle is of all other figures the most perfect, and most capacious; so the Triangle is the most imperfect, and includeth the least space: It is the first and lowest of all figures; for fewer then three right lines cannot comprehend and inclose a superficies; having but three angles, they are all acutes (if it be equilateral) and but equall to two right ones; in which respect all other regular figures consisting of more then three lines, do exceed it: May not these be resembled to the three great and compounded Elements in mans body, to wit, Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury? which mingled together, do make the natural heat,  
and



and radicall moisture, the two qualities whereby man liveth: for the more lines that do go to comprehend a figure, the more and greater the angles are, and the neerer it cometh to the perfection of a Circle.

A Triangle is composed of several lines, and they of points which yet do not make a quantity by being contiguous one to another, but rather the motion of them doth describe the lines. In like manner the Body of man is compounded of the four Elements, which are made by the four primary qualities, not compounded of them (for they are but accidents;) but by their operation upon the first matter.

And as a Triangle hath three lines, so a solid body hath three dimensions, to wit, Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity: but of all bodies mans is of the lowest rank (as the Triangle is among figures) being composed of the Elements, which make it liable to alteration and corruption. In which consideration of the dignity of bodies, I divide them by a general division, into sublunary, which are the elementated ones; and into the ethereal (which are supposed to be of their own nature incorruptible :) and peradventure there are some other species of corporeal substances, which is not in this place to dispute.

————— *O work Divine!*

Certainly of all Gods works the noblest and the perfectest is man; and for whom indeed all others were done; for if we consider his soul, it is the very Image of God; if his body, it is adorned with the greatest beauty and excellent symmetry of parts of any created thing, whereby it witnesseth the perfection of the Architect, that of so drossie mould is able to make so excellent a Fabrick: if his operations, they are free; if his end, it is eternal glory; and if you take him altogether, man is a little world, an exact type of the great world, and of God himselfe.

But in all this me thinketh that the admirable worke is the joyning together of the two different, and indeed opposite substances in man to make one perfect compound; the soul and the body, which are of so contrary a nature, that their uniting seemeth to be a miracle: for how can one informe and work in the other, since there is no meane of operation (that we know) betweene a spiritual substance and a Corporal? yet we see that it doth. As hard it is to find the true proportion between a Circle and a Triangle, yet that there is a just proportion; and that they may be equal, *Archimides* hath left us an ingenious demonstration: but in reducing it to a Probleme, it faileth in this, That because the proportion betweene a crooked line and a straight one is not known, one must make use of a mechanical way of measuring the Peripherie of the one, to convert it into the side of the other.

Those



*These two the first and last proportions are.*

What I have already said concerning a Circle and a Triangle, doth sufficiently unfold what is meant in this verse ; yet it will not be amisse to speak one word more herrof in this place, All things that have existence may be divided into three Classes ; which are, either what is pure and simple in it self, or what hath a nature compounded of what is simple, or what hath a nature compounded of what is compounded. In continued quantity this may be exemplified by a point, a line, and a superficies, or body ; and in numbers by an Unity, a Denary, and a Centenary. The first, which is onely pure and single, like an indivisible point, or an Unity, hath relation onely to the Divine Nature ; that point then moving in a sphericall manner (which serveth to expresse the perfections of Gods actions) describeth the circle of our souls, and of Angels, and of intellectual substances, which are of a pure and simple nature ; but receiveth that from what is so in a perfecter manner, and that hath his from none else : like lines that are made from the flowing of points, or denaries that are composed of unities, beyond both which there is nothing.

In the last place bodies are to be ranked, which are composed of the Elements, and they likewise suffer composition, and may very well be compared to the lowest of figures which are composed of lines, that owe their being to points (and such are Triangles) ; or to Centenaries, that are composed of Denaries, and they of Unites : but if wee will compare these together by proportion, God must be left out, since there is an infinite distance between the simplicity and perfection of his nature, and the composition and imperfection of all created substances, as there is between an indivisible point and a continue quantity ; or between a simple unity, and compounded number : so that onely the other two kindes of substances do enter into this consideration, and of them I have already proved, that mans soule is of the one the noblest, being dignified by Hypostaticall union above all other intellectual substances, and his elementated body of the other, the most low and corruptible ; whereby it is evident, that these two are the first and last proportions both in respect of their owne figure, and of what they expresse.

*The one imperfect, mortal, feminine,*

*The other immortal, perfect, masculine.*

Mans body hath all the properties of imperfect matter, it is but the patient, of it self alone it can doe nothing, it is lyable to corruption and dissolution if it once be deprived of the forme, which actuateth it selfe, and is incorruptible and immortal.

And

And as the feminine sex is imperfect, and receiveth perfection from the masculine, so doth the body from the soul, which to it is in lieu of a Male; and as in corporall generations the Female doth afford but grosse and passive matter, unto which the Male giveth active heat and prolificall vertue; so in spirituall generations, (which are the operations of the Mind) the body administred only the Organs, which if they were not imployed by the Soul, would of themselves serve to nothing. And as there is a mutuall appetence between the male and the female, between matter and form, so there is between the body and soul of a man; but what ligament they have, that our Author defineth not; (and peradventure Reason is not able to attaine unto it) yet he telleth us what is the Foundation that this Machine resteth upon, and what keepeth the Parts together, in these words:

*And 'twixt them both a Quadrat was the base.*

By which Quadrat, I conceive, that he meaneth the four principall humours in mans body, to wit, Choler, Blood, Flegme and Melancholly; which if they be distempered and unfirly mingled, the dissolution of the whole doth ensue; like to a building, which falleth to ruine if the Foundation or Base of it be unsound or disordered: and in some of these the vitall spirits are contained and preserved, which the other do keep in a convenient temper; and as long as they do so, the soul and the body dwell together like good friends: So that these four are the Base of the conjunction of the other two; both which hee saith, are

*Proportion'd equally by Seven and Nine.*

In which words, I understand, that hee meaneth the influences of the superior substances, which govern the inferiour into these two differing parts of man, to wit, of the Stars (the most powerfull of which are the seven Planets) into his body; and of the Angels (which are divided into nine Hierarchies or Orders) into the soul, which in his Astrophel he saith, is

*By Sovereign choice from the Heavenly Quires select,  
And lineally deriv'd from Angels race.*

And as much as the one do govern the body, so much the other do the minde: wherein it is to be considered, that some are of opinion, how at the instant of the conception of a child, or rather, more effectually at the instant of his birth, the conceived Sperme, or the tender body doth receive such influence of the heavens as then reigneth over that place where the conception or birth is made; and all the Starrs and virtuall places of the Celestiall Orbs

participating of the qualities of the seven planets ; according to the which they are distributed into so many Classes, or the compounds of them, it cometh to passe that according to the variety of the severall aspects of the one and of the other, there are various inclinations and qualities in mens bodies , but all reduced to seven general heads, and the Compounds of them ; which being to be varied innumerable waies, causeth as many different effects, yet the influence of some one planet continually predominating: but when the matter in the womans womb is capable of a soule to informe it, then God sendeth one from heaven into it.

————— *Eternal God.*

*In Paradise whilome did plant this flower,  
Whence he it fetcht out of her native place,  
And did in stock of earthly flesh enrace.*

And this opinion the Author expresseth himself more plainly to be of, in another work, where he saith,

*There Shee beholds with high aspiring thought,  
The Cradle of her owne Creation,  
Amongst the seats of Angels, heavenly wrought.*

Which whether it hath been created ever since the beginning of the world, and reserved in some fit place until due time, or be created upon the Emergent, occasion no man can tell; but certaine it is, that it is immortal, according to that I said when I spake of the Circle, which hath no ending, and an uncertaine beginning.

The messengers to convey which soule into the body, are the Intelligences that move the Orbs of heaven, who according to their severall natures do communicate unto it severall proprieties, and they who are governors of those Stars that have at that instant, the superiority in the Planetary aspects; whereby it cometh to passe that in all inclinations, there is much affinity betweene the soule and the body, being that the like is between the Intelligences and the Stars, both which communicate their vertues to each of them. And these Angels being, as I said before, of nine severall Hierarchies, there are so many principal differences in humane souls, which doe participate most of their proprieties with whom in their descent they make longest stay, and that had most active power to work upon them, and accompanied them with a peculiar *Genius*; which is according to their severall governments like the same kind of water that running through various conduits, wherein severall aromatical and odoriferous things are laid, doth acquire severall kinds of taste and smells; for it is supposed,



fed, that in their first Creation all soules are alike, and that their differing proprieties arrive unto them afterwards, when they passe through the spheres of the governing Intelligences; so that by such their influence it may truly be said,

*Nine was the Circle set in heavens place.*

Which verie by assigning his office to the nine, and the proper place of the Circle doth give much light to what is said before.

And for further confirmation that this is the Authors opinion, read attentively the sixth Canto of the third booke, where most learnedly and at large, he delivereth the Tenets of this Philosophy; and of that, I recommend to you to take particular notice of the second, and thirty second Stanzaes, and also of the last staffe of his *Epithalamium*; and surveying his workes, you shall find him a constant disciple of *Plato's* School.

*All which compacted, made a goodly Diapase.*

In nature there is not to be found a more complete and more excellent concordance of all parts, then that which is betweene the compaction and uniting together of the body and soul of man, both which althoug they consist of many and most differing faculties and parts, yet when they keepe due time with one another, do altogether make the most perfect harmony that can be imagined; and as the nature of sounds, (that consist of friendly consonants and accords) is to mingle with one another, and to slide into the eare with much sweetnesse, where by thir unity they last a long time, and delight it; whereas on the contrary side, discords do continually jar, and fight together, and wil not mingle with one another, but all of them striving to have the victorie, their reluctance and disorder giveth a soone end to their sounds, which strike the eare in a harsh and offensive manner, and they die in the very beginning of their conflict. In like sort, when a mans actions are regular, and that being directed towards God, they become like the lines of a Circle which all meet in the Center, then his musick is excellent and compleat, and all together are the Authors of that blessed harmony which maketh him happy in the glorious vision of Gods perfections, wherein the mind is filled with high knowledges and most pleasing contemplations, and the senses are as it were drowned with eternal delight; and nothing can interrupt this joy this happinesse which is an everlasting Diapase: whereas on the contrary part, if a mans actions be disorderly and consisting; of discord, which is when the sensitive part rebelleth and wraistleth with the rational and striveth to oppresse it, then this Musick is spoiled and instead of eternal life, pleasure, and joy, it causeth perpetuall



death, horreur, paine, and misery, which unfortunate estate the Poet describeth elsewhere, as in the conclusion of this staffe he intimateth. The other happy one, which is the never failing reward of such an obedient body, and etherial and vertuous mind, as he maketh to be the seat of the bright Virgin *Alma*, mans worthiest inhabitant, Reason; her I feele to speak within me, and to chide me for my bold attempt, warning me to stray no further: for what I have said, (considering how weakly it is said) your Commandment is all that I can pretend in excuse; but since my desire to obey may as wel be seene in a few lines, as in a large discourse, it were indiscretion in me to trouble you with more words, and to discover unto you more of my ignorance. I wil only beg pardon of you for this blotted and interlyned paper, whose contents are so meane, that it cann ot deserve the pains of a transcription, which if you make difficultie to grant unto it for my sake, let it obtaine it for having beene yours, and now returning againe to you, as also doth the booke that containeth my text which yesterday you sent me, to fit this part of it with a Comment: which peradventure I might have performed better, if either I had afforded my selfe more time, or had had the convenience of some other books apt to quicken my invention, to whom I might have been beholding, for enlarging my understanding in some things that are treated here, although the application should stil have been my own; with these two helps, peradventure I might have dived farther into the Authors intention, the depth of which cannot be founded by any that is lesse learned then he was. But I perswade my selfe very strongly, that in what I have said, there is nothing contradictorie to it; and that an intelligent and well read man, proceeding upon my grounds, might compose a worthy and true Commentary upon this Theame; upon which I wonder how I stumbled, considering how many learned men have failed in the interpreting of it, and have all approved my opinion at the first hearing it: but it was fortune that made me to light upon it, when first this Stanza was read unto me for an undissoluble riddle: and the same discourse that I made upon it, the first halfe quarter of an houre that I saw it, I send it you here, without having reduced it to any better forme, or added any thing at all unto it; which I beseech you receive benignely, as coming from

Your Most affectionate Friend and humble Servant,  
*Kenhelm Digby.*

*Master Gargrave to the Lord Davers.*

**M**Y very good Lord, I have heretofore many times both sent and written to you touching the insupportable burden of wrong which hath many years laine upon my shoulders, but you were not pleased to returne me any answer for my satisfaction therein : my opinion at the first, was, that it was meerly the respect of some, whom you would not, or might not offend, that you suffered your name to be used by others to wound and afflict me in my estate: to which so fair an opinion, I was induced partly by ancient Judgment of your honourable disposition, partly and much rather by the privity of my heart, which ever constantly affected a good correspondency with you every way. But since now this oppression which I suffer, hath had its continuance so many years without relaxation, in which I smart beyond all example, and the admiration of the world hath concurred with my sense of so great a bitternesse from so neere Allies; I cannot but to my griefe and wonder observe your too much either consent or connivency to these my harms, which before I have not easily suffered my thoughts to admit; wherein if I have not mistaken your Lordships interest, I have yet conceived hope, that although you had in the beginning a just ground to make me feeble the weight of your displeasure and alienation from me, yet that the sufferance of so many years, and such a sufferance under pretence of Justice, as can hardly be paralleld, might yet at the last, have satiated a very deeply intended revenge, much more satisfied a moderate mind possessed with Honour or Religion, as I conceive your Lordships to be. Herein, after a various agitation in my selfe, I am enforced to honour the wonderful providence of God, who hath pleased to convert the affinity which I affected with your Noble house, for my comfort and assistance, to my ruine; and that in the bosome of our neere and dearest friendship, should breed so intestine a hatred, as should tend to the overthrow of my credit, wealth, lands, liberty, house, wife, and children, and all those comforts which should either support or sweeten the life of man.

Wherefore I have adventured after so long silence, to minde your Lordship of this my unfortunate estate, wherein I rather die then live, whereunto I have been so long since precipitated by your Lordships countenance, as I hope, pretended only by the instruments of my mischief to proceede from you; that if now your Lordship shall think it enough that I have so many years, so many waies endured

the

the crosses of so high a nature, and can be induced to affect a reparation, or at least a determination of those injuries which undeservedly have been heaped upon me, I may yet at length conclude this Tragedy of my life past with some comfortable fruit of that love and kindnesse which at the first I aimed at in seeking your Lordships Aillance, and which I endeavoured to deserve for the continuance, and which after so long intermission, I shall think my self happy to enjoy, if so be your Lordship shall out of your charitable consideration think my motion to concur with my desire, that I may not be inforced to advance my complaint further, which I wish may be prevented by this my Exposition, springing from the sense of so great and intolerable a misery wherein I languish every day.

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*A Declaration of Ferdinand Infanta of Spain. 5 July, 1636.*

*Unto all those to whom this present Writing shall come, greeting.*

**F***r*ance having contrary to reason and justice moved and maintained War in the States of the Emperor, and of my Lord the King, given extraordinary Succours both of men and money, to their rebellious subjects; procured the Swedes to invade the Empire, received and bought of them the Towns of Alsatia, and other hereditary Countries of our most Royall House, not sparing the Catholick League it self, which had taken Arms for no other end but for the good of Religion. And it being notorious, that the same *France*, (after all these publick and manifest contraventions to the Treaties of Peace) hath finally proceeded to a breach thereof: whereas we rather had cause to denounce the War, in that she hath sent her Armies to over-run the Low Countries, the Dutchie of *Millain*, and other Feoffs of the Empire in *Italy*, and now lately the Country of *Burgundy*; contrary to the Lawes of Neutrality, contrary to the Publick Faith, and contrary to the expresse promises of the Prince of *Conde*: Disguising in the mean time, these attempts and breaches of Faith before all Christendome, with certain weak pretexts and false surmises, contained in divers Declarations, approved in the Parliament of *France*; and accompanying all these unjust proceedings with sundry Insolencies, Calumnies and Contempts of sacred persons. And having also observed, that this so long continence of ours at so manifold injuries hath served to no other purpose, but to make our enemies more audacious and insolent, and that the compassion we have had of *France* hath drawn on the ruine of those  
whom



whom God had put under the obedience of their Majesties : For these considerations, according to the power which we have received from his Imperiall Majestie, we have commanded our Armies to enter into *France*, with no other purpose then to oblige the King of *France* to come to a good & secure Peace, for removing those impediments, which may hinder this so great a good. And for as much as it principally concerneth *France* to give end to these disorders, we are willing to believe that all the Estates of that Kingdome will contribute not only their remonstrances, but also if need be, their forces to dispose their King to Chastise those who have been the Authors of all these Warrs, which these seven or eight years past have beene in Christendome ; and who after they have provoked and assailed all their neighbours, have brought upon *France* all those evils which she doth now suffer, and draw on her those other which do now threaten her. And although we are well informed of the weaknesse and divisions, into which these great disorders and evil counsels have cast her ; yet we declare, that the intentions of their Majesties, are not to serve themselves of this occasion to ruine her, or to draw from thence any other profit, then by that means to work a Peace in Christendom, which may be stable and permanent.

For these reasons, and withal to shew what Estimation their Majesties do make of the prayers of the Queene Mother of the most Christian King, wee doe give to understand, that we wil protect and treat as friends all those of the *French* Nation, who either joyntly or severally shall second these our good designes; and have given Order that Neutrality shal be held with those of the Nobility, and with the Townes which shal desire it, and which shal refuse to assist those who shal oppose the good of Christendome, and their own safety ; against whom shall be used all manner of hostility, without giving quarter to their persons, or sparing either their houses or goods. And our further wil is, that all men take notice that it is the resolution of their Majesties not to lay down Arms, til the Queene Mother of the most Christian King be satisfied and contented, til the Princes, unjustly driven out of their estates, be restored; & til they see the assurances of peace more certain then to be disturbed by him who hath violated the treaties of *Ratisbone*, & others made before, and sithence he hath had the managing of the affairs of *France*. Neither do we pretend to draw any other advantage from the good successe, which it shal please God to give unto our just prosecutions, then to preserve & augment the Catholick Religion, to pacifie *Europe*, to relieve the oppressed, and to restore to every one that which of right belongeth unto him.

*Given at Ments, the fifth  
of July. 1636.*

FINIS.





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